













THE  
WESTMINSTER  
REVIEW.

*JANUARY*

(*INCLUSIVE*)

1899.

"Truth can never be confirmed enough,  
Though doubts did ever sleep."

SHAKESPEARE.

Wahrheitsliebe setzt sich darin, daß man überall das Gute zu finden und zu schätzen weiß.

GÖTTE.

VOL. CXL I.

LONDON:  
FREDERICK WARNE AND COMPANY,  
15, BEDFORD STREET, STRAND.



# THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

VOL. CLI. NO. 1.—JANUARY 1899.

## CHARLES STEWART PARNELL.<sup>1</sup>

IN the bad days of the year 1800, when those who had so scandalously misgoverned Ireland were proceeding to rob it of its national parliamentary rights, Sir John Parnell rose in the last session of the last Irish Parliament to defend Grattan from the imputations of treason cast upon him by Lord Castlereagh. Grattan had asserted that the Irish nation would yet rise "to recover its rights." "Rebellion, treason!" cried Castlereagh. "No," retorted Parnell, "*for we shall recover our rights by constitutional means.*"

The faith thus professed by Sir John Parnell in 1800 was put in force by his great-grandson, Charles Stewart Parnell, three-quarters of a century later. It is in this short sentence that the key to the whole story of the life of Charles Stewart Parnell—a life both tumultuous and tragic—is to be found. An Irishman among the Irish; inheriting from his father's side the spirit of sturdy and logical independence that withstood the invasions of the Crown in the seventeenth century; inheriting from his mother's side, as a reinforcement, the spirit that laid the foundations of the great American Republic—thus inspired, he fought for Ireland with the whole armoury of constitutional weapons, and all but won a victory in the face of bitter English resentment and the mistrust of a large section of those on whose behalf he was fighting. That his career came to a premature and almost tragic conclusion was not owing to any mistakes of a political kind. It was owing to the weakness—and such a truly human weakness!—of a lonely and sensitive man, who in accepting the devotion of a woman's life, forgot that his was His own word," said

<sup>1</sup> *The Life of Charles Stewart Parnell, 1846-1891.* By F. J. F. I would trust any of  
*Fifty Years of Concessions to Ireland, &c.* Two vols. Vol. 151.—No. 1. One thing; to make him a useful

defying political foes had not rendered him proof against the more insidious antagonism of a shocked society. As Achilles had his vulnerable point, so Charles Stewart Parnell, moving proudly and independently in a solitary world of his own, forgot that England is a country in which a man or woman may break every one of the ten commandments except that which is usually spoken of as the seventh.

Thus much having been said, it really almost seems as if there were nothing more left to say. All the rest, occupying as it does the two solid volumes of Mr. Barry O'Brien's recently published *Life*, is mere detail. The reconquering of Ireland's constitutional independence by constitutional means being his one and single object, every action, every utterance, of Charles Stewart Parnell had its direct reference to that central idea. The appreciation he earned from Mr. Gladstone is recorded in Mr. Barry O'Brien's pages. "There was no one," said Mr. Gladstone, "in the House of Commons whom I would place with him." For the present generation, at least, no appreciation could be higher. Yet the careers and characters of the two men—the statesman who appreciated, the patriot who was appreciated—were as different from each other almost as they could well be. Mr. Gladstone, with his profound knowledge of history, his exalted culture, his deep religious emotion, his extraordinary power of understanding every movement and aspiration of a great and complex nationality; Parnell with his gloomy temperament, his ignorance of literature, his curious superstitions, his imperious persistence towards one definite aim—surely no two men could in these respects be more unlike. Nevertheless, they had qualities in common which went far to render them appreciative of each other. Both were, in their pursuit of a political ideal, absolutely clean-handed; both were unpossessed of the power of making many personal friends; both held themselves as much aloof as they could from the ordinary social whirl; and both, to those who knew them most intimately, endeared themselves by the gentleness and considerateness which are, after all, the truest distinguishing marks of a gentleman. Mr. Gladstone chatting with the Hawarden shoemaker; Parnell creeping upstairs to bed on tiptoe for fear of disturbing the inmates of the house where he was staying—both these are incidents which serve to throw light on the real character of men whose public performances have been criticised from the supremest height of praise to the lowest depth of denunciation.

The manner of Parnell's entrance into public life was as phenomenal as his career when once he was fairly in Parliament. The events of the few years preceeding his resolve to serve his country as M.P. had brought two facts into prominent notice. One of these was the profound discontent of the Irish people; which the discontent was regarded by

Ministers in London. The rescue of the Fenian leaders at Manchester, involving as it did the unhappy death of Sergeant Brett, had placed Irish discontent before the English public in a new and vivid light. Events that occurred in Ireland seemed to Englishmen vague and indistinct. They were accepted with an impatient shrug of the shoulders as part of the ordinary and normal state of things across the Channel. Fenianism translated to English soil was another matter altogether. The English public became alarmed, and the Ministry became alarmed in company. Fenianism, it was agreed, must be put down with a strong hand. The law of constructive murder was stretched to the utmost for the purpose of making an example. The example was set by the execution of the three men of whom it is now permissible in any society to speak as "The Manchester Martyrs." The example, however, cut two ways at once. If it served to express the determination of an English Ministry to put down all attempts at insurrection in Ireland, it also served to prove to the Irish people that their efforts after liberty were justified. The constitutional and physical force parties at once joined their ranks for the promotion of the common cause, while the national feeling of Ireland was exhibited in the extraordinary demonstrations in honour of the "Manchester martyrs" in Irish cities. Irishmen despaired of getting any concession from England except by force. The Home Rule movement, then under the talented and genial leadership of Mr. Butt, became discredited. Was there, it was silently asked from end to end of Ireland, any possible alternative between being laughed out of existence and engaging in a physical struggle which, however gallant, could only, in reason, have one termination?

It came to be the duty of Charles Stewart Parnell to answer this question in the affirmative. As bitter as the most Irish of Irishmen against England, inheriting the determination and the courage of two lines of distinguished ancestors, he was at the same time possessed of all the coolness and logic which gave strength to the English Liberals of the seventeenth century. That his resolve to enter Parliament came as a surprise to his nearest friends there appears little reason to doubt. Charles Stewart Parnell in the House of Commons seemed as unexpected as the inclusion of Saul among the prophets. As a parliamentary candidate he was an utterly unknown quantity. He had never read up political questions, never appeared upon a public platform. He was High Sheriff of Wicklow, was fond of cricket, and, like most Irishmen, knew a good deal about horses. Both his youth and his shyness, in the eyes of not a few of the members of the Home Rule League, were against him. His name, however, went for a good deal. "If he gives his word," said the veteran John Martin, "I will trust him. I would trust any of the Parnells." To trust a man was one thing; to make him useful



representative in Parliament was another. First experiences were by no means happy. His performance as a candidate at the Dublin election in 1874 was in the highest degree unpromising. According to one 'Nationalist' member, he seemed "a nice gentlemanly young fellow who would be an ornament but no use." Mr. T. W. Russell was struck by what he thought "his extraordinary ignorance and incapacity." Mr. O'Connor Power's impression was that he was "hopelessly ignorant," and "had no political capacity whatever." His published election address placed him in a somewhat better light, and the parish priest of Rathdrum, in supporting his candidature, declared that "his coolness, sound judgment, great prudence and consideration, as well as capacity as a practical man," would be of great service to the National party if he should be returned for Dublin County.

He was not, however, destined to be returned for Dublin County; being left at the bottom of the poll, and it was not until the following year (1875) that he first entered the House of Commons as Member for Meath. With fifty-nine representatives in the House of Commons, the Home Rule party was at that time discontented and divided. Mr. Butt, as leader of the party, stuck to the traditions which he had acquired at the Bar, and studiously refrained from any act or language which might be offensive to English sentiment. At the opposite end of the party spectrum, if the term may be used, was Mr. Biggar, illiterate, uncompromising, contemptuous of the forms of the House and of everything English, and imbued with the conviction that the only way to get any concession for Ireland was to make the English members uncomfortable. When he did attempt to speak, it was not, according to Mr. Barry O'Brien, with the view of saying anything effective, but with the view of doing something offensive. "He proved"—this in reference to a four hours' speech on a Coercion Bill—"that one member could stop the business of the House for four hours, and make its proceedings absolutely ridiculous. The lesson was not lost on Parnell, who sat calmly by and watched the performance with interest and amusement." Such a performance was quite in accord with his own practical view of things—a view which, while regarding parliamentary oratory as of second account, laid stress upon the necessity for straight voting and the keeping of a vigilant check upon members of the House by their constituents. The policy of the Home Rule party was still, comparatively speaking, passive. Irish Bills were ruthlessly sacrificed, but it had not occurred to more than one or two Home Rulers to retaliate by interfering in English business. As Mr. Biggar quaintly put it, the Home Rulers "were all too gentlemanly." The hint for the adoption of an aggressive policy came from Mr. Ronayne, who then represented the City of Cork. "Let us," he said, "interfere in English legislation; let us show them that, if we are not strong enough to get our own work done, we are strong enough to prevent

them from getting theirs." Mr. Butt declined such counsel; Mr. Biggar approved it; and Mr. Parnell, when he heard of the suggested policy, gave it his unhesitating support.

The seed thus sown in the Session of 1876 bore abundant fruit in the Session of 1877. Parnell, since he entered Parliament, had been gradually feeling his way, and had attracted no small attention to himself by the courageous manner in which he defended the "Manchester martyrs" against the charge of murder levelled against them by Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, then Chief Secretary for Ireland. When the Session of 1877 opened, he revealed himself in the guise of an accomplished parliamentary tactician, who had reduced the work of obstruction to a fine art. Members of the Government suddenly became alive to the fact that Home Rule members were taking a marked interest in English legislation, and that the Member for Meath was a force to be reckoned with. It was known that, in adopting obstructive tactics, Parnell was rebelling against the recognised leader of his party, Mr. Butt, by whom he was openly rebuked. One marked result of Parnell's increasing ascendancy was, however, that English candidates, both Conservative and Liberal, began to consider the necessity for courting the Irish vote in English constituencies. In spite of Mr. Butt's protests, Parnell, aided by his four or five stalwarts, persisted in the tactics they had adopted, and in July 1877, when Lord Carnarvon's South African Bill was under discussion in Committee, succeeded, by prolonging the sitting for twenty-six hours, in making himself "the most universally detested man in England" and a national hero in Ireland. As a further result, he was by acclamation elected President of the Home Rule Confederation of Great Britain, thus passing over the head of Mr. Butt.

This, as Mr. Barry O'Brien truly says, was the turning-point in Parnell's career. "The Irish in England and Scotland had practically passed a vote of censure on Butt, had practically endorsed the policy of Parnell." Parnell quickly grasped the fact that, while a Constitutionalist was a man "who was ready to go into Parliament for Ireland," a Fenian was a man "who was ready to go into penal servitude for Ireland." In fact, Fenianism was the propelling force; it was the mainspring that kept the clock going: Parnell resolved to be the pendulum to govern the action of the mainspring. That this was both a difficult and in some respects risky position to take up there can be no doubt. It exposed Parnell, on the one hand, to the resentment of the English members of the House of Commons, and, on the other hand, to the suspicions of the more extreme section of Fenians. It led him along the very brink of prosecutions for treason-felony, and exposed him in some degree to the censure of the Special Commission that sat in 1889. It was, however, by reason of the risks he ran, as well as by reason of his studied contempt for

English opinion, that he gained and kept to the very end of his life the confidence and affection of the great body of the Irish people, even in spite, latterly, of the influence of the priests. That he was justified both by circumstances and on principle in taking an Irish view of all political questions there can be no doubt. It was never openly intended, even by the most rigorous friends of the Union, that the individuality of Ireland was to be wiped out, and it was only when Irish measures were persistently sacrificed by an English majority that Parnell organised his system of reprisals. At the same time, there can be no doubt that he was not always obstructive, for the mere sake of obstruction. His determined intervention in the framing of the details of the Prisons Bill and the Mutiny Bill in 1877 undoubtedly resulted in both these measures being materially improved in a humane direction, and his action had the hearty support of a very large section of the English Liberals.

By the death of Mr. Butt in May 1879, Parnell's leadership of the Home Rule party in the House of Commons passed beyond all possibility of challenge. A new set of complexities immediately rose for him to deal with. Increasing distress in Ireland, resulting in and augmented by an increasing number of evictions, had brought the Irish people to a state of mind verging on desperation. A new machinery of national resistance was invented in the Land League. "Stand to your guns," was Parnell's earnest advice to the farmers, "and there is no power on earth that can prevail against the hundreds of thousands of tenant-farmers of this country." The people must rely on themselves. "It is no use," he urged at a land meeting held in Tipperary in September 1879, "relying upon the Government, it is no use relying upon the Irish members, it is no use relying upon the House of Commons. You must rely on your own determination, that determination which has enabled you to survive the famine years and to be present here to-day; and if you are determined, I tell you, you have the game in your own hands." What Parnell was afraid of—and the fear was to some extent subsequently justified—was that, in a Land League organised on Davitt's plan, the central authority, while not always able to control the branches, would be held responsible for the acts of those branches. He faced any risks of this kind, however, on the strength of his practical recognition of the fact that, for the Land League to exist side by side with the Home Rule League, but apart from it, would be to incur the risk of a divided Ireland, in place of that united Ireland which was to be the first step towards a restoration of legislative independence.

That Parnell had, by his acceptance of the presidency of the Land League, placed himself in a very difficult and delicate position, there can be no question. Mr. Barry O'Brien, quoting the words of an Irish Home Rule member, shows how he placed himself between

the Scylla of the House of Commons and the Charybdis of the Clan-na-Gael. "If," said this gentleman, "Parnell speaks with an eye to the House of Commons, his speeches won't go down with the Clan. If he speaks with an eye to the Clan, his speeches will be used with tremendous effect against him in the House." Parnell himself, however, never hesitated. He cared little for the opinion of the House of Commons; he cared a great deal for the creation, *en permanence*, of "a union of all Irishmen, not only in Ireland but all over the world, against England." Animated with this project, he visited America early in 1880, and, in spite of the suspicions entertained against him by several of the leaders of the Clan, gained the complete confidence of the majority. In his view, to attack the land system was to attack English misrule. "The feudal tenure and the rule of the minority," he said at Cincinnati, "have been the corner-stone of English misrule. Pull out that corner-stone, break it up, destroy it, and you undermine English misgovernment. When we have undermined English misgovernment, we have paved the way for Ireland to take her place among the nations of the earth. And let us not forget that that is the ultimate goal at which all we Irishmen aim." At the same time, as he reminded his hearers at a meeting held at Rochester, they must act with prudence when a physical contest would be hopeless, and refrain from rushing upon British bayonets.

As the year 1879 wore to its close, distress in Ireland bit deeper and deeper. Rents remained without reduction, while evictions increased. The agricultural figures became startling—so startling that a Tory Government was induced to pass an inadequate Relief Bill, a great part of the benefit of which, according to the evidence given by Sir Charles Russell (as he then was) before the Parnell Commission, went to the landlords. Then came the surprise of the dissolution of Parliament, followed by the still greater surprise—to some people, at least—of the return of an overwhelming Liberal majority. The dissolution brought Parnell from America, to be returned for the City of Cork by an immense majority, in spite of a rascally attempt, the history of which is contained in some of Mr. Barry O'Brien's liveliest pages, to misrepresent him as acting in the interest of the Tories. When Parliament met at the end of April, it was to find Mr. Gladstone with his mind taken up with questions of foreign policy, and Mr. Forster installed as Chief Secretary for Ireland. Almost the only leading member of the Cabinet who troubled himself about Ireland was Mr. Bright, who did not, however, see his way to taking any action. There was, perhaps, some excuse for this negligence in respect of Irish affairs. The Beaconsfield Administration was really upset on the question of its foreign policy, so that naturally foreign policy was uppermost in the minds of their successors. When conviction crept in, as to the

real urgency of the state of affairs in Ireland, Mr. Forster introduced the well-remembered "Compensation for Disturbance Bill," the effect of which, if the provisions of the measure were fairly carried out, would be to check the campaign of eviction upon which Irish landlords had entered. Ireland, however, was not destined to obtain the relief that was offered. After a discussion, extending over a couple of nights, the House of Lords, acting its part as the natural protector of the landlord, rejected the Bill by more than five votes to one.

The House of Lords thus distinguished itself by sowing the wind; the country, and Ireland especially, reaped the whirlwind. The refusal to relieve distress led, during the winter, to such disorders as are the natural outcome of despair. The Government, as a matter of fact, was only half-hearted on the Irish Question. It included a few men, such as Mr. Bright, who recognised the wrongs of the Irish tenantry, and would fain have done something in the way of redress, but by far the greater number of Mr. Gladstone's colleagues were tainted with the spirit of landlordism. In the view of Parnell and his colleagues in the representation of Ireland, to the Land League belonged the duty of affording that protection which the Government had failed to give. During the later months of 1880 land agitation, with its supplement of the "boycott," was in full swing in Ireland; by Christmas it was generally known that Mr. Forster, following the old bad example, had prevailed on the Cabinet to sanction a coercive policy for the following year. Before, however, this blunder could be perpetrated a blunder of almost equal magnitude had been committed in the shape of a State prosecution of Parnell and other organisers of the Land League. As might have been expected, the jury failed to find a verdict, so that the Land League claimed, and was justified in claiming, a decisive victory. In the face of such a blow the Irish Executive had only two alternatives—to throw up the sponge or to apply the screw of coercion. The Queen's Speech at the opening of Parliament showed what was coming. Mr. Forster, misled, as so many Chief Secretaries have been misled, by the Dublin Castle officials, imagined that he had only to suspend the ordinary law in order to lay hands on the "village ruffians" who, he was deluded into believing, were responsible for the general state of disorder. "Embarrass the Government" was Parnell's order in reply, and Mr. Barry O'Brien relates several anecdotes illustrative of the strict discipline which the Irish leader enforced among his followers. The attempt to secure precedence for Mr. Forster's Coercion Bill led to the famous forty-one hours' sitting. Then the Government resorted to other methods of forcing the measure through the House. The history of the series of struggles that ended in the wholesale suspension of Irish members is very clearly and succinctly given in Mr. Barry O'Brien's pages. Every Irish member felt that

it was his duty to Ireland to force the situation to its extremest point. As a result they rushed to be suspended as eagerly as ever Mussulman fanatics rushed upon the bayonets of the infidel.

All this violent policy on the part of the Government could only have one result. Politically speaking, Ireland steamed out into the Atlantic, viewing England with a hatred and defiance never, perhaps, equalled in the history of the relations between the two countries. Even the good intentions of the Government were thrown back at them. The Irish members refused, at Parnell's instance, to vote on Mr. Gladstone's Land Bill. Nevertheless, there is distinct evidence that the attitude of the Irish members led to immense alterations for the better in the measure which the Government decided to submit to Parliament, for, framed at first as a mere insignificant amendment to the Land Act of 1870, it finally included the once repudiated doctrine of "the three F's." The practical victory remained with the Home Rulers, and they proceeded to make the most of it. Speaking at Wexford on October 9, Parnell, referring to the successes gained by the Land League, said: "I trust as the result of this great movement we shall see that, just as Gladstone by the Act of 1881 has eaten all his own words, has departed from all his formerly declared principles, now we shall see that these brave words"—Mr. Gladstone's speech at Leeds two days previously—"of the English Prime Minister will be scattered like chaff before the united and advancing determination of the Irish people to regain for themselves their lost land and their legislative independence."

This in Mr. Forster's opinion, was a "treasonable outburst," and forthwith, acting on the extraordinary powers conferred on him by Parliament, he sent Parnell to keep company with other "suspects" in Kilmainham Gaol. The situation was, in most of its aspects, comical. The "suspects" already in confinement, who were chafing among themselves at Parnell's moderation, found this disciple of moderation placed under the same ban as themselves. One cannot help wondering how this step recommended itself to Mr. Gladstone's inner convictions and conscience, and what thoughts were suggested to him by the shouts of triumphant approval that greeted his announcement, at a City function, of the news of Parnell's arrest. No man knew better that Irish discontent was abundantly justified; no man knew better that the improvements in his own Land Bill were the result of the Irish parliamentary opposition; and yet he could, without protest, listen to the cries that hailed the arrest of the Irish leader as a national triumph. His position, of course, can be explained by reference to that fetish of Ministerial solidarity which has in other instances made loyalty to party disloyalty to principle: what strikes one in this case is the extremity of the contrast. But, while England rejoiced and triumphed, Ireland raged and wept; and it is not too much to say that the day when the key of Kilmainham

Prison turned upon Parnell was the day when the knives were forged for the Phoenix Park assassination. "If I am arrested," said Parnell after his Wexford speech, "Captain Moonlight will take my place."

Demoralisation in Ireland went from bad to worse. The official suppression of the moderates naturally transferred the power to the extremists. Constitutional means dropped into disrepute, and even the "No Rent" manifesto fell completely flat. Even Mr. Forster, as his published letters testify, was beginning to lose his faith in coercion, and went so far as to suggest that, when once order had been restored, it would be best to replace him "by some one not tarred by the Coercion brush." The Irish police returns meanwhile showed that coercion, instead of being marked by a diminution in the number of outrages, had been accompanied by an immense increase. The "village ruffian" was more busily at work than ever, while the influences that might have tended to eliminate him were safely locked up at Kilmainham. Coercion had failed so signally that even the Tories began to attack it; and it may be surmised that it was this attitude on the part of the Tories that more than anything else led to the proposal to arrive at a *modus vivendi* with Parnell. How the negotiations for the establishment of this *modus vivendi* were carried on Mr. Barry O'Brien very graphically describes; but surely never in the history of English Administrations did a Cabinet so completely cry "Peccavimus!" as did Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet when, on May 1, 1882, they decided to direct Lord Cowper to sign the order for Parnell's release.

Alas, that good resolves should have arrived so late! The suppression of the parliamentary leaders had strengthened the forces of the extremists, and the extremists among the extremists resorted to the wretched and futile policy of assassination. That the blows struck in Phoenix Park against the Irish Executive were also blows struck at the Irish parliamentary party was a consideration that, in all probability, troubled the perpetrators of violence but little. On the contrary, those blows expressed, in the extremest form, the contempt in which the Irish moderates had always been held by the advocates of physical force. As a result, the stone that had been so arduously rolled uphill by Parnell rolled back again. English opinion, always failing to discriminate in matters respecting Ireland, insisted once more on a policy of repression. Lord Spencer, who had been appointed Viceroy of Ireland a few days before the Phoenix Park tragedy, had sincerely wished to rule Ireland by placing himself in contact with the people. The Phoenix Park tragedy rendered such a course difficult; English opinion rendered it impossible. Ireland was punished by the enactment of the Crimes Act, and Lord Spencer could not do otherwise than administer its provisions "up to the hilt."

There is little that is edifying in the history of the relations between England and Ireland during the three years between 1882 and 1885. The two countries stood towards each other "like rocks that had been rent asunder," and it was only natural that when, in 1885, the Irish members had a chance of retaliating, they should join forces with the Tories for the purpose of placing Mr. Gladstone's Government in a minority. Parnell was, indeed, beginning to despair of gaining anything from the Liberal party, for he knew well that, even if they were to carry a Home Rule Bill through the House of Commons, they could not carry it through the House of Lords. That the Tories might not be indisposed to coquette, for their own purposes, with the Irish party was made clear by the negotiations that took place between Parnell and Lord Carnarvon in the latter part of 1885. The story of these negotiations, as communicated by Sir Charles Gavan Duffy to the Central News Agency in 1886, is included as a chapter in Mr. Barry O'Brien's volume, where it serves a very useful purpose. The next matter of interest in the story of Parnell's life is the proposal made by Mr. Gladstone in 1886, after his return to office, to give Ireland that independent Parliament for which Irishmen had striven ever since the beginning of the century. From this point the incidents in Parnell's career moved rapidly. The rejection of the Home Rule Bill; the enactment of a perpetual Coercion Bill; the "Plan of Campaign"; the accusations levelled at Parnell by the *Times*; the sitting of the Special Commission; the exposure of the Pigott forgeries; Parnell's final triumph—all these are events which lead up to the real tragedy of his life—the tragedy that shattered so many friendships, and, in the opinion of not a few, gave the death-blow, for the moment, to the hopes of Ireland and the Irish party. "Had Parnell lived," said Mr. Gladstone in 1897, "and had there been no divorce proceedings, I do solemnly believe there would be a Parliament in Ireland now." A momentous announcement, no doubt, but an announcement which it is impossible to consider apart from the fact that it was Mr. Gladstone's publication of his letter in 1890 to Mr. Arnold Morley that, by splitting up the Irish party, brought Parnell to his grave. And about this what is to be said?

• Was that publication the result of moral or of party considerations? Of Mr. Gladstone's own personal feelings on the subject there can be no doubt. In respect of such a matter the moral principle would appeal to him first, even though consideration of its effects on the prospects of the Liberal party might come afterwards. But, in his interview with Mr. Barry O'Brien in 1897, Mr. Gladstone justified himself by reference to the views expressed by Sir William Harcourt and Mr. Morley, who came to him from a meeting of the Liberal Federation at Sheffield. "I do not think," said Mr. Gladstone, "that Harcourt had any convictions on the subject. I do not think



Morley had. Therefore they 'came as unprejudiced witnesses.' Mr. Gladstone, no doubt, meant moral convictions, and in that respect his two colleagues might be called 'unprejudiced.' But can it be doubted that they were impressed by the effect that these unhappy proceedings might have on the prospects of the Liberal party, and can it be doubted that they advised Mr. Gladstone in that sense? That, in the event of Parnell returning to his position with the full sanction of the Liberal leaders and of his own Irish colleagues, there might well have been a revolt on the part of Liberal Nonconformists is entirely credible; indeed, it was essentially by the Liberal Nonconformists, as personated by Mr. Hugh Price Hughes and Mr. W. T. Stead, that the opposition to Parnell's retention of his position was started and kept alive. Thus on one side, while on the other side it is impossible to overlook the fact that until Mr. Gladstone's letter, largely originating in party considerations, was published, there was a very general agreement, both among Home Rulers and English Liberals, to stand by Parnell.

It is difficult to feel proud of a morality of this kind, which will repudiate, on party grounds, the generous view which it was otherwise prepared to adopt. It is difficult to believe, either, that those of his colleagues in the fight for Irish rights who left Parnell to consume his last days in the fires of a bitter and heroic struggle can have felt proud of the course they pursued. If they have, in any respect benefited their own consciences, they have not much benefited Ireland, and they may yet come to the conclusion that they would have better served the cause for which they were returned to Parliament if, estimating their leader as they knew him to be as a public man, they had sturdily resolved to stand by him in spite of the sharp revelation of a personal irregularity. They would at least have gained the admiration of the world, and they would at least have avoided that split in the Irish party which still continues to prejudice the Irish cause. That Parnell would, under the conditions that arose, have retired from public life, retired from the leadership of the party which he had created, no one who knew him could have supposed for a moment. His life, his energies, his personal comfort had been sacrificed unsparingly for his country, and his proud regard for his country and for his own work for his country outweighed any sense of deference to that English opinion which he had always despised. Such a course may in some sense have been wrong and unadvised; but it was at least heroic. One thing is certain: Parnell will be better remembered for that final year of tragic pain and defiance than he would have been if his life had never gone through such a furnace. Being thus better remembered, his public work will be the better remembered also, and will serve to give additional point to that pathetic remark of his own—that no Irish statesman is ever praised while he is living.

## THE COMING STRUGGLE.

SEVERAL months ago it was declared in these pages that the first question for the Liberal party to tackle, if they wished to improve their position in the country, was the question of the legislative powers of the House of Lords. When that declaration was made, it must be confessed, the question was one which seemed to be carefully avoided by all who professed to speak for the Liberal party. During the last few weeks, however, the conviction appears to have been slowly making its way that this question is, after all, the first work to be carried in the Democratic attack upon the fortress of the classes. The House of Lords and its veto is, it would now appear to be held, the obstacle in the way of every other kind of Democratic reform. It was not, therefore, surprising that, at the end of November, the question of "How to Deal with the House of Lords" formed the subject of an address and a discussion in the Conference Room of the National Liberal Club. An attractive feature of the occasion lay in the fact that the reader of the address was Lord Coleridge, who, occupying the position of a peer in spite of himself, has, while excluded from sitting in the House of Commons, declined to take a seat in the House of Lords. Although duly dead and confined as a commoner, he has steadfastly resisted the invitation to allow himself to be deposited in that "gilded cemetery" which is found so comfortable by so many. As an ex-Member of the House of Commons, and as a peer in spite of himself, Lord Coleridge possessed peculiar qualifications for dealing with the subject, while the occasion was rendered more interesting by the presence in the chair of an ex-member of the last Liberal Administration, Sir Robert Reid, M.P.

That such an occasion was fairly representative of the views of at least the more advanced section of the Liberal party may, therefore, be most allowably assumed. Lord Coleridge's address was really an address of elimination. Dismissing one by one various proposals and suggestions that have from time to time been made for limiting the powers of the House of Lords, he finally anchored himself upon the expedient of the creation by a Liberal Government of a sufficient number of peers to outvote the present Tory majority. To send up a Bill to abolish the House of Lords would be simply to court defeat. To tack such a Bill on to a money Bill would be a straining

of the constitution. To influence the House of Lords by stopping the vote for its annual upkeep would be to punish innocent people for faults which they had not themselves committed. One method, in Lord Coleridge's opinion, only was possible—the constitutional act, or even threat, of creating fresh peers. It may be remarked in passing that there is one method of constituting an Upper House of Legislature which, in his review of all the possibilities, Lord Coleridge omitted to mention, viz., the election of an Upper House by the same constituencies as the Lower House, only acting in extended districts. That is the method which obtains in the Cape Colony, and it does not seem to be open to so many objections as methods that have been adopted in other parts of the Empire. This, however, is not for the moment a practical question. The problem immediately before the Democratic masses is how to deprive the House of Lords, representing as it does a most ridiculous minority in the country, and a still more ridiculous minority in the Empire, from putting a stop to all Democratic legislation. In Lord Coleridge's opinion, the only possible method is to swamp the Tory majority in the House of Lords by the creation of new peers. This proposal gains all the more importance by reason of the fact that it was completely approved and warmly supported by Sir Robert Reid. Clearly a proposal which has the approval of so talented a lawyer as Sir Robert Reid, who has himself occupied a place of high responsibility in a Liberal Administration, must have something in it that is worthy of grave consideration.

No one can entertain a doubt as to the constitutional power of the Crown to create peers, either singly or in batches, either as a reward for personal services, or as a means for getting over some constitutional deadlock. The creation of peers on personal grounds is continually going on, the dignity being conferred equally on victorious soldiers or successful brewers. As regards the creation of peers in batches for a special purpose, it was once done in 1712 and once threatened in 1832, the mere threat having at this latter date been effective in securing for the country what it was resolved on having. Circumstances, however, alter cases, and there can be no doubt that a most important circumstance connected with the matter now under discussion lies in the question of numbers. In 1712, in order to avoid a political crisis, twelve peers were created. That was a trifling matter, the number of peerages being increased by just about 5 per cent. The case was, in point of numbers, a little more serious in 1832. As will be remembered, the Lords had passed the second reading of the Reform Bill by a majority of nine, 184 in favour of the Bill and 175 against it. It was when the Bill was in Committee that the Government was defeated by thirty-five—151 to 116—on Lord Lyndhurst's proposal that enfranchisement should precede disenfranchisement—a clever move on behalf of the

proprietors of rotten boroughs. The Ministry, having resigned, resumed office on the understanding that they should have power to create as many peers as might be necessary in order to carry the measure. As Lord Coleridge has argued, the mere threat was enough. And obviously so, for the 184 supporters of the Government on the second reading would undoubtedly have rallied to the aid of Ministers, who thus commanded almost an absolute majority in a House which then consisted of 400 members. To give them that absolute majority only fifteen or twenty new peers need have been created, a step by which, at the outside, the total number of peerages would only have been increased, as in 1712, by about 5 per cent. The odds were, therefore, so hopelessly against the Opposition that they gave in.

Now it is all very well to argue that the principle is the same, whether five peers are created or five hundred. In principle, no doubt, a leg of lamb is much the same as a leg of beef; practically, there is a vast difference between them. The question may very well be asked whether there is not so wide a difference between the creation of twenty peers and the creation of five hundred as to constitute an actual difference of principle. It is not, either, beside the mark to talk of five hundred. Here is an example of what the peers can do. In 1880 they defeated the Compensation for Disturbance (Ireland) Bill by 232 votes to 51, a majority against the Government of no less than 231, or not far from fifty per cent. of the whole House. If at that time the Government had possessed an adequate conception of the state of affairs in Ireland, and had resolved to create fresh peerages in order to save that country from desolation, at least 250 new peers would have had to come into existence, increasing the size of the House by no less than fifty per cent. Indeed, it is exceedingly doubtful if that number would have been sufficient, for doubtless the Opposition could, if necessary, have whipped up another eighty or hundred peers to reinforce them. Now if the Lords proved so obstructive on a question affecting the position of Irish landowners, how much more doggedly obstructive would they be when it was a question of their own legislative privileges? Hence the estimate of five hundred new creations is by no means beside the mark. Is this a step that could be contemplated without serious misgivings? It must be confessed that the vision of this ghostly procession of five hundred peers *ad hoc*, carrying their coronets before them into an antagonistic House of Lords, has a good deal of the ludicrous about it. Certainly such a step could not be taken unless the Government of the day had a tremendously strong public feeling behind it, amounting almost to a threat of revolution. And then the question arises—if such a tremendously strong public feeling existed, would not the Lords be compelled to give way before it without the adoption of the doubtful

and dangerous step of doubling, for a specific purpose, the dimensions of the Upper House?

Let us leave this point, however, and come to something more practical. If the truth must be told, Lord Coleridge's address and the discussion that followed it were to far too great a degree merely academic. Ignoring the precept of the famous Mrs. Glass, those who took part in the proceedings, while they had all sorts of suggestions as to the manner of cooking the hare, forgot to pay attention to the very necessary preliminary of catching it. In order even to carry a Bill for the reform of the House of Lords through the Commons you must have a very strong and united Democratic majority, and in order to secure that strong and united Democratic majority you must have a very strong and united Democratic feeling throughout the country. At the present moment neither of these things exist, and seem to have very little intention of existing. In the House of Commons the Liberal party is completely demoralised and disorganised. It seems hardly to possess courage enough to call its soul its own. It has no real leader, and, as a consequence, is quite in the dark as to what it wants. There is probably far more difference at this moment between the extremes of the Liberal party than there is between the average Tory and the average Liberal. There is little or no agreement among the leaders, and still less among the led. Throughout the country, notwithstanding one or two exceptional successes at bye-elections, the same state of things prevails. The leaders have no light for the people; the people have no confidence in the leaders. Every section of the Liberal constituency is going after its own little fad, all shouting against each other for a first hearing. Nonconformists want to get at the Established Church; temperance advocates want to get at the publicans; Socialists want to get at everybody. Even at this moment, when there seems to be some sort of unanimity growing up with regard to the necessity for restricting the powers of the House of Lords, there is no certainty that this growing unanimity will not at any moment be destroyed by that discord which is so frequently mistaken for earnestness. And if the question is asked—"Who is there among prominent Liberals capable of uniting Democratic feeling on this one essential point, and conducting it to a victory?"—if this question is asked, the answer so far can only be—"There is no one."

And yet, if any salvation for Democratic principles is to be achieved, this thing has got to be done. Democratic feeling and conviction has got to be aroused, strongly aroused, and united for the purpose of insisting on the termination of what is without question the gravest abuse now existing in any civilised country under the sun. It is nothing less than a monstrosity that some five hundred persons, representing not one per cent. of the whole popula-

tion of the United Kingdom, and nine-tenths of whom persistently neglect to discharge any kind of legislative duties, should have the power, whenever their own interests are concerned, of negating the legislative decisions of the whole country. It has been argued by some that, before any move is made towards curtailing this power, the House of Lords should show its disregard of the public voice in some marked and special manner. That, it must be confessed, seems to be a weak and half-hearted policy, and, moreover, a policy that fails to realise the magnitude and enduring character of the existing evil. It is a notorious fact that whenever a Liberal Government is in office, it is useless to pass through the House of Commons any Democratic measures. The sin of the House of Lords is not accidental, but a trade. The agitation created by any special case is neither prolonged enough nor intelligent enough to effect anything. What is needed is to have the viciousness of the principle, with all the instances of its viciousness, consistently and persistently rubbed into the minds of the whole electorate. The mine must be kept charged; it must not be merely hurriedly contrived to meet a particular emergency, even though some particular emergency may more vividly illustrate the reality of the evils that have to be contended with. In order to secure this, the matter has to be taken determinedly in hand in an organised manner. And if examples of the manner in which it should be taken in hand are sought for, the attention immediately fixes itself on two names and two struggles—the name of Cobden and his struggle for Free Trade; the name of Parnell and his struggle—not yet, unhappily, brought to a successful termination—for the legislative rights of Ireland.

The two issues above alluded to are among the most momentous that have marked the more recent political history of this country. Both had beginnings—for the Home Rule movement of Parnell was practically a new thing—which were in the highest degree insignificant; both grew to dimensions which occupied the whole area of politics. Cobden was a totally unknown man when he started his anti-Corn Law agitation; Parnell was a totally unknown man when he first entered Parliament as the member for Meath. Wherein lay the secret of their success? In their single-minded and unswerving determination to put an end to one particular abuse. As Cobden devoted himself unsparingly and exclusively to Free Trade, so Parnell devoted himself unsparingly and exclusively to the recovery for Ireland of its independent legislative rights. Whatever effort was needed to advance the one adopted cause, that effort was made; whatever means might be found to reinforce it, those means were enlisted. The power that lay at the back of both movements is illustrated by the influence they exercised upon the leaders of public opinion, the masters of political action in England. Sir Robert Peel adopted Cobden's views at the cost of being regarded as

a renegade by his own party. Mr. Gladstone became converted to Parnellism at the cost of the secession of nearly half the Liberal army. Neither Sir Robert Peel, however, nor Mr. Gladstone ever regretted the course they had taken. The country is now waking up to the realisation of an evil fully as great as those which Cobden and Parnell sought to rectify. Fully as great? No; the evil represented by the unchecked power of the House of Lords is infinitely greater than the evil represented either by the Corn Laws or by the suppression of the national rights of Ireland. It is an evil that makes itself felt in a thousand ways. But for the House of Lords the disorder that, fifteen or sixteen years ago, turned Ireland into a pandemonium would not have occurred. But for the House of Lords Ireland would at this moment be once more in enjoyment of those rights of independent legislation of which she was so scandalously robbed by the Act of Union. Hopes of democratic legislation wither as soon as they come under the influence of the privileges of the landowners' Chamber. Socially, too, the evil is not less great. The possession of hereditary rights of legislation exercises a paralysing effect upon individual independence throughout the whole country. "Kind hearts," it was once said, "are more than coronets." But we have changed all that; indeed, it is probable that Tennyson himself, in his later days, would have hesitated to commit himself to so levelling an opinion. The man who desires a coronet desires a good work; the man who lives next door to the owner of a coronet shapes his opinions in accordance with this propinquity; the distant cousins of a coronet live upon the faint scintillations of its glory; while the tradesman would go to prison and to death sooner than be out of favour with the titled authors of large orders and dilatory payments. A good deal of this social influence would doubtless remain even if the legislative rights of the Peers were placed under restriction. Let it be so; if persons possessed of hereditary titles can command the worship of those who have none, it cannot be helped. What is of importance is that, with the restriction of its legislative powers, the House of Lords would become a thing to be good-humouredly tolerated till, in all probability, it disappeared by pure force of its own uselessness. Put the matter in this way: There are, more or less, five hundred members of the House of Lords, of whom probably nine-tenths never dream of discharging any kind of legislative duty until some matter involving their own special interests is touched. Then, indeed, they come down by shoals to justify their existence. Take away their power of perpetual veto, and the nine-tenths would never appear at all. The House of Lords would thus become an apparent and inexcusable farce, consuming a certain portion of the public revenue, occupying a certain portion of the public time, without giving the country anything in return. When matters reached this stage, then the question of the necessity for a second Legislative

Chamber and the question as to how such a Chamber, if necessary, should be constituted, would assume a practical aspect. In short, discussion as to the best mode of cooking the hare would become appropriate.

In the meantime, the hare has to be caught ; that is the practical question now before us. How is that to be done ? Let no one who is interested in the prevalence of the Democratic idea persuade himself that the task will be an easy one. The restriction of the legislative powers of the House of Lords will not be accomplished by the making of speeches and the passing of resolutions. The walls of Jericho do not in these days abolish themselves at the sound of trumpets. The fight for Free Trade was an uphill fight ; the fight for Ireland's legislative independence has been, and is still, an uphill fight. The fight of Democracy against the legislative privileges of the House of Lords will be a stiffer fight than these two. It will not be a rose-water business by any means. Those whose duty it may become to organise the campaign must expect both to give hard knocks and to receive them. Who these organisers will be it seems as yet impossible to say. They may possibly be found among those Liberal leaders who have, so far, adopted such odd ways of wearing Mr. Gladstone's mantle. It is perhaps more likely that they are as much unknown as Cobden was prior to 1840, as much unknown as Parnell was prior to 1876. What one wishes to believe is that, as the thing has to be done, the men will be found to do it. The weapons they will need will be an unfailing courage, an absolute and sincere conviction, a complete contempt for those compromising gauds of office which Cobden so faithfully refused. When the country sees such men earnestly at work, then it will be justified in looking forward with confidence to the time when the "gilded cemetery" will become a peaceful garden of historic memories, among the groves of which will wander, mild and innocuous, the shade of Mr. Hooley.



## THE LIBERAL PARTY AND THE PEERS.

THE division in the House of Lords on September 8, 1893, when the Home Rule Bill was rejected, was an event not only of great political importance, but also of the utmost consequence in its bearing upon the relations of the two Houses of Parliament. The political importance of the division lay in the summary rejection of a measure, the principles of which had formed the chief subject of party controversy during the preceding seven years, and which, twelve months previously, had been approved by a great majority of the electorate of the United Kingdom. The constitutional significance of the division depended upon the fact that a Bill introduced by the Government of the day, and forming the chief battle-ground of the two great parties of the State, was refused a second reading in the Lords by a majority of 378 in a House of 450 members.

The divergence of view between the two Houses, resulting in the rejection by the Peers of an important Government measure, was not in itself an event of a novel or disturbing character. Almost every great constitutional change effected during the present century was rejected at least once by the House of Lords. The great Reform Bill was rejected by a majority of 41 in a House of 359; the Franchise Bill of 1884 was rejected by a majority of 59 in a House of 357. The novel feature in the division on the Home Rule Bill was the overwhelming preponderance of Conservative opinion. While in 1832 the Conservatives formed 55 per cent. of the House of Lords, and in 1884 58 per cent., in 1893 93 per cent. of the Peers voted in the Conservative lobby, a disparity of numbers which involved the practical abolition of one of the most important of our constitutional safeguards—namely, the creation of new Peers with the object of securing harmony between the two Houses. This established principle of the right of the Cabinet to advise the creation of Peers was a practicable and convenient constitutional expedient, when it involved summoning to the House of Lords thirty or forty young gentlemen who, as the eldest sons of Liberal Peers, would eventually, in the course of nature, arrive there. But when the exercise of this right required the creation of not fewer than 379 new peerages it ceased to be a practicable means for over-riding the opposition of the Peers

to any particular legislative proposal, and the House of Lords thus secured in 1893 an ascendancy over the Executive Government such as it had possessed at no previous stage in its history.

The Peers were not slow to appreciate the new strength of their position. The Liberal Ministry did not hastily assume that it was impossible for the work of Government to be carried on by a Liberal Executive. But the rejection by the House of Lords of the Employers' Liability Bill, the fundamental changes inserted in the Parish Councils Bill, and the total rejection of the Irish Evicted Tenants Bill convinced even the more moderate members of the Liberal party of the hopelessness of attempting constructive legislation upon the initiative of a Liberal Administration.

The result of the election of 1895 has been claimed as an emphatic repudiation of what I still venture to call "the Newcastle Programme." It would be far more accurate to say it involved the exclusion of the Liberal party from power until such time as they should discover a means of giving effect to their programme. The people had to choose between a party who possessed the power to legislate and a party who did not possess it, and they chose the former, not because they preferred its policy to that of its opponents, but because the policy of the Conservative party, as represented by its exponents, was preferable to legislative stagnation.

The legacy which Mr. Gladstone, in his final speech in the House of Commons, left to the Liberal party was to find a means by which the Queen's Government could be carried on by a Liberal Ministry. It cannot be denied that his colleagues and successors have addressed themselves with great perseverance and ingenuity to this task. That the present condition of things is intolerable and must be remedied, that the House of Lords must be made amenable to the popular will, is reiterated with a unanimity which may be said to distinguish their pronouncements upon no other important questions.

But as regards the means by which this result is to be attained, their utterances are far less encouraging, and it may be said without exaggeration that for every leader there is a separate plan of campaign.

To consider one or two of the most important of these plans, there is the proposal to proceed by means of a resolution of the House of Commons. This suggestion, coming from Lord Rosebery, must command the sympathetic attention of all Liberals; but it may well be doubted if the recording of a pious opinion in the Journals of the House of Commons would carry with it any tangible result unless promptly followed by more vigorous measures.

As to the nature of these more vigorous measures no guidance is offered us. No responsible Liberal leader has suggested the total abolition of the House of Lords, and except for the purpose of voting

for entire abolition, the creation of 379 new Peers cannot be entertained. Mr. John Morley has advised that the House of Lords should be deprived of its ablest members by permitting them to enter the House of Commons. For the purpose of rendering the House of Lords ridiculous such a suggestion is valid if somewhat superfluous. But as a solution of the difficulty which confronts the Liberal party it is obviously ineffectual.

The most widely-accepted panacea for dealing with the House of Lords is an Act limiting its veto to a single rejection of any Bill. Assuming that such a measure would satisfactorily define the relations of the two Houses, is there any reasonable probability that the Peers would accept it? Their strong inducement to agree to unpalatable measures in the past has been the fear lest by standing out too long their rights might be seriously curtailed. There would be no similar inducement to pass a measure which involved so vital a limitation upon their powers. But even if the House of Lords, face to face with the threatened alternatives of destruction or restriction of power, chose the latter as the less of two evils, is it certain that any great gain would have been achieved? There are other ways of preventing legislation than by rejecting it outright. If the Lords retained the power to insist upon amendments their influence might be even more pernicious than at present. Technically, the Peers did not reject the Employers' Liability Bill, but by insisting upon an amendment which would have rendered the Bill valueless, they procured its abandonment. It is better, on the whole, to abstain from legislation than to pass measures freely amended by men hostile to the principles to which they are designed to give effect. On the other hand, if it is proposed that on the second time of asking the Lords shall accept the Bill exactly as it stands, this leaves the House of Lords no influence upon controversial legislation except such as may be derived from obstruction. For even within the limits of these restricted powers it would be practicable to seriously delay legislation by exercising the right of single veto and by protracting the subsequent proceedings—possibly even to the length of carrying them over the termination of the Session.

Finally, we have the alternative plan, suggested by Mr. Asquith and endorsed by Lord Kimberley, of a suspensory veto *plus* the referendum. The proposal appears to be that the House of Lords shall be permitted to reject or amend a Bill on one occasion, but on the Bill being returned to them, their option shall be either to pass the Bill as it stands, or submit it to the decision of the electorate of the House of Commons.

The result of this system unquestionably would be that a Liberal Government would be faced by the alternatives, either of abstaining from legislation or of plunging the country every few weeks into the turmoil of a general election. A Conservative Government, on the

other hand, would have no difficulty in carrying any measures they proposed.

Such a condition of things requires only to be stated to be rejected, not only by Liberals, but by every section of the public who have other occupations than settling the details of legislation. To transfer in this manner the work of legislation from Parliament to the electorate would involve a constitutional revolution compared with which the total abolition of the House of Lords would be unimportant. It would be absolutely destructive to the principle of representative government, which is held by most Liberals to constitute the highest constitutional expression of the principles of democracy, and one which I am convinced the Liberal party will never consent to abandon.

From this necessarily cursory criticism of the suggested methods for securing the "Sovereignty of the House of Commons" it is quite clear that wide differences of opinion exist among prominent Liberals, while at the same time it is a matter of considerable doubt whether any one of these suggested methods would really accomplish its purpose.

It is a fact of considerable significance that the demand for the absolute abolition of the House of Lords is seldom advanced as a practical solution of the difficulty. One reason for this is the natural tendency of the British people to transform rather than destroy institutions; another reason undoubtedly is, that it is recognised that certain members of the House of Lords do perform some useful functions, for the discharge of which it would, under any circumstances, be essential to provide.

The work of the House of Lords falls naturally under three heads: (1) judicial; (2) quasi-judicial; (3) political. In other words the House of Lords may be considered (1) as a court of justice; (2) as a committee of experts for the consideration of private and non-partisan legislation; (3) as a standing committee of the Conservative party.

Although each of these functions is discharged by what is termed the House of Lords, each, in fact, is the concern of a distinct body. The House of Lords as the Supreme Court of Appeal consists of the Law Lords, and it is a recognised principle of our constitution that no other Peers can exercise their nominal right to a voice in the legal decisions of the House of Lords. For the consideration of private and non-partisan legislation, the Law Lords are re-inforced by a comparatively small number of distinguished public servants and administrators, of proved capacity and wide experience who devote almost their entire time to public work. It is only when acting in its capacity of a partisan committee for the prevention of Liberal legislation that the House of Lords includes the whole body of Peers, and it is in this capacity alone that the powers of the House of Lords are inconsistent with the public interest. ♀

The fact that all Peers, although nominally equal, do not in fact take part in all the functions of the Second Chamber, suggests an alternative method of dealing with the House of Lords which, I venture to think, is more strictly in accordance with the evolution of our Constitution than any of the methods which have been suggested.

The present position of the Privy Council affords a complete example of this method of dealing with the House of Lords. Originally every member of the Privy Council attended all its meetings, and was identified with all its powers. Gradually committees were formed for particular purposes, and the real work of the Council ceased to be the concern of all its members, until membership of the Council unless involving membership of a committee became a mere honorary distinction. This transformation has been effected by means of the prerogative of the Crown to select certain of the Privy Council, to whom summonses are to be sent. It is a recognised constitutional principle that no Privy Councillor can attend without a summons, and since the Hanoverian Succession no right to attend in the absence of a summons has been claimed. The Crown is advised by the Cabinet as to which members of the Council are to be summoned, and as the Cabinet exists by the will of the House of Commons, we obtain the result that the composition of the House of Commons determines the composition of the Privy Council, and a body which if all its members attended would be as Conservative as the House of Lords becomes the ready instrument of a Liberal Administration.

If, then, the Crown will exercise the right which at one time it unquestionably possessed to select from among the Peers those who are required to exercise the office of Lords of Parliament, this power being exercised under the advice of the Ministry of the day, we should attain the result that, while the non-partisan work of the Peers would uninterruptedly continue, its partisan duties would be discharged by a body which would always reflect the views of the Government, and therefore of the House of Commons. When the Conservatives are in power, a majority of the Peers summoned would be Conservative; when the Liberals are in power, the majority would be Liberal.

The objections which I assume will at once be urged against this proposal are twofold. In the first place, it will be said that it is unconstitutional; in the second place, that it involves a dangerous extension of the prerogative of the Crown. The latter of these objections appears to me to be absolutely invalid. As a fact, the Crown prerogative is a convenient fiction for securing the sovereignty of the House of Commons. If royal prerogative meant the acts of the sovereign upon her own initiative, the objection would be fatal. But the British people, two centuries ago, convinced their sovereigns by unanswerable arguments that it meant something entirely different

—namely, the acts of the Crown as advised by the Privy Council, which body depends absolutely upon the House of Commons. The acts of the Queen in Council are therefore more fully democratic than the acts of the Queen in Parliament, and no Radical ought to object to a step which is in fact a further extension of popular liberties.

The objection that the proposed change in the composition of the House of Lords is unconstitutional is a more serious one. It cannot be denied that the weight of juridical opinion favours the view that the Peers possess a customary right to be summoned to Parliament. During the infancy and youth of our Parliamentary institutions the king undoubtedly exercised a very wide discretion as to which of the Peers should be summoned. But for five centuries it had been the custom, with certain statutory exceptions, to summon all Peers to the House of Lords. But, in spite of this uniform practice, three principles have survived—(1) that no Peer can attend unless summoned; (2) that a peerage is not a necessary qualification for a Lord of Parliament, as is evidenced by the Law Lords and the Bishops; and (3) that Peers are not all Lords of Parliament, as is shown by the Scotch and Irish Peers, who have no seats in Parliament. It, therefore, involves no change in the theory of our Constitution to return to the state of things when Peers should constitute a class from amongst whom the bulk of the Lords of Parliament would be selected. A peerage in itself would constitute a title of honour in the same way as a Privy Councillorship, with the additional distinction of supplying a qualification to sit, *if summoned*, in the House of Lords.

Assuming that custom has created a right for Peers to be summoned to Parliament, what would be the result of the refusal of the Crown to summon a large proportion of the Peers? The entire responsibility would rest upon the Ministers advising such exercise of the Crown prerogative. These Ministers would possess the confidence of the House of Commons, and, therefore, although their action might be unconstitutional, no means would exist by which they could be removed. On the other hand, if we imagine a House of Commons resolved to insist upon the Ministers advising the Crown to thus select the House of Lords, and if the Ministers refused to give such advice, the refusal of the House to pass the Army Annual Bill, for example, would involve the Executive in far-reaching illegalities for which they would be answerable to the law. Having, therefore, to make their choice between illegalities approved by the House of Commons and illegalities in which the House of Commons would give them no support, it can hardly be supposed that Ministers would hesitate to adopt the former.

Professor Dicey, in his *Law of the Constitution*, recognises the possibility of such a step when he says: "If Government By Parlia-

ment is ever transformed into Government by the House of Commons the transformation will, it may be conjectured, be effected by use of the prerogative of the Crown."

The course of action which would have to be pursued by the Liberal party in order to give effect to this Constitutional change would be that, having obtained a majority in the House of Commons, the Liberal leaders should refuse to accept office unless they had received an assurance from the Sovereign that only such Peers as the Ministry should nominate would be summoned to the House of Lords, or, if summonses had already been issued, they should be withdrawn on the advice of the Ministry. A certain number of Peers who possess a statutory title to their writs of summons would necessarily remain. These are the Representative Peers, five of the Bishops, and the Law Lords. In addition, all Peers who had held high Ministerial office would undoubtedly be summoned, and also any Peers with special qualifications. It is probable, therefore, that a certain number, perhaps thirty or forty new creations, of Liberal Peers would be necessary, a very different matter, however, to 379 new Peerages. Having thus secured a majority in the House of Lords, a Bill would probably be passed through both Houses withdrawing the writs of the Representative Peers and the remaining Bishops, and possibly securing a right of summons to all ex-Ministers who were also Peers, and removing the disabilities of Peers, not members of the House of Lords, to sit in the House of Commons.

I do not suggest that these measures are not strong measures, or that they would not vitally modify our constitutional system. But I submit that they are the necessary outcome of the profound constitutional revolution resulting from the overwhelming Toryism of the House of Lords as at present composed. The creation of new Peers no longer can redress the balance; existing Peers must, therefore, be removed. The one paramount necessity of our Constitution is to carry on the Queen's Government in accordance with the popular wish, and before this necessity the claims of custom cannot be upheld.

Every one who examines, however cursorily, the British Constitution is struck with the enormous difference between its theory and its practice, with the consummate imposture by which the forms of mediæval absolutism are employed to cloak the freest Government in Europe. Many have claimed that this seeming inconsistency is a proof of the superlative merits of our Constitution. It would be far nearer the truth to say that it proves the political genius of the British people, since they have preferred the substance of democratic government to the forms, and have been content to exercise a sovereignty which they have pretended not to possess.

The reconstitution of the House of Lords, leaving it with undiminished powers, which I have briefly shadowed forth, is, I

contend, strictly in accordance with this characteristic spirit—far more so than any statutory limitations of power. The main body of hereditary Peers, who practically take no part in the deliberations of their House, will be unaffected except by being deprived of the two or three annual occasions when they have been in the habit of assembling to reject a Liberal measure. Their concern in legislation will cease as their concern in judicial matters ceased centuries ago. But we shall still be able to thank Providence for our House of Lords, and boast with undiminished confidence of the glory of our Constitution, and it may be that some day will be summoned to the Upper House representatives of our colonies and dependencies, whose presence will add strength and dignity to our Empire. With the possibilities of a reformed House of Lords I am not here concerned. It is enough to have suggested a means by which the existing deadlock may be finally and completely removed.

F. G. THOMAS.



## THE ASCENDENCY OF THE UNITED STATES' EXPORT TRADE AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE.

THE chimera "made in Germany" appears as though it were about to yield to the new bogey "made in United States of America," and the outcry against German competition to be succeeded by a lugubrious denunciation of the competition of the United States. Hitherto, to the average Englishman, the United Kingdom has had but one serious commercial adversary, and arguments based upon Germany's growing trade have formed an integral portion of the stock-in-trade of every self-respecting political agitator. Doubtless the statement recently issued by the United States Treasury Department will materially alter all this, and will furnish a prolific source of more or less influential and important inferences.

To the average individual the fact that the value of the exports from the United Kingdom has, for the first time in the history of modern trading nations, been surpassed in the same year by the value of those of another country will come as a bolt from the azure, and will, consequently, form the nucleus of a considerable amount of misapprehension and exaggeration. It is unfortunately the case that the bulk of the nation appears to be almost entirely ignorant of the most rudimental teachings of political economy and still has a hazy notion that the success of one nation is necessarily to the disadvantage or loss of the others, and that the criterion of a nation's progress is the expansion of its foreign trade.

Howbeit, there can be no doubt that the growth of the United States' export trade is in some respects a subject of great import to us. The information conveyed by the Washington statement is of great moment, and it becomes the imperative duty of every thinking inhabitant of these isles to carefully investigate the subject. It is hoped that this paper will be found conducive to a perspicuous review and assimilation of some of the most important facts, and that it may lead to a clearer and wider consideration of the great questions of commercial policy involved.

It has long been apparent to those who look beneath the surface that it is the United States which will prove to be England's most

formidable commercial rival, and not Germany. Under existing conditions, when the pre-eminence of trade passes away, in the natural course of affairs, from England, it will be apprehended by the United States. The publication of the figures for the exports of merchandise from the United States during the last fiscal year will bring this home to the people, and will arouse slow-moving public opinion by showing the very real and true facts of this rivalry. Even the most cursory examination will effectually demonstrate the absurdity and irrationality of viewing Germany as our great rival. It cannot be too strongly impressed upon the contemplative individual that it is from the United States that earnest and effective competition will come.

A very brief investigation will show that the United States is far in advance of any other foreign country in the possession of those essential qualities, active and potential, necessary to constitute a great trading nation. This superiority is manifested in all the regions of modern life. There is no surer method of gauging the relative advancement, moral and intellectual, physical and material, of a nation than by means of the extent and value of its literature. If the United States and Germany be thus compared it will be clearly seen that, viewed in this light, the former country is eminently to the fore. Again, the very difference of laws, customs, race, and environment tends to make the gulf wider, and to place the United States in a vastly superior position. Every consideration of social and industrial surroundings and conditions emphasises the fact that it is the United States, and not Germany, with which we shall have to reckon as the holders of the world's commercial supremacy.

In this article it is not intended to enter into a detailed analysis of the export trade, but rather to present the principal features of that trade, and to give a general view of the whole subject. Many comparisons are vitiated by reason of the inadequate period of time over which they extend, and the conclusions drawn from them are often invalidated by reason of limitations of area—of extent. It is unprofitable to found a general comparison upon restricted and isolated groups of facts; in the same way abnormal growths of trade should not be considered too seriously, although valuable lessons may be learned from them. On the other hand, no good purpose would be served in an article like this by giving a long array of statistics. The best way will be to concisely and lucidly present the facts of the export trade by arranging the figures in the form of a chart. Accordingly, the diagram given on p. 30 has been prepared.

The diagram graphically represents the progress of the exports of domestic produce from the United States, and also from this country, during a period of a quarter of a century. It has been constructed by arranging the twenty-five yearly periods on the horizontal axis of the abscissæ: the dots denote the summits of the ordinates, which

are drawn proportional to the respective values of the special exports. The summits of each series of ordinates are connected by a line, which thus forms a sort of curve, and vividly portrays the progress of the export trade during the period ending with the last fiscal year.

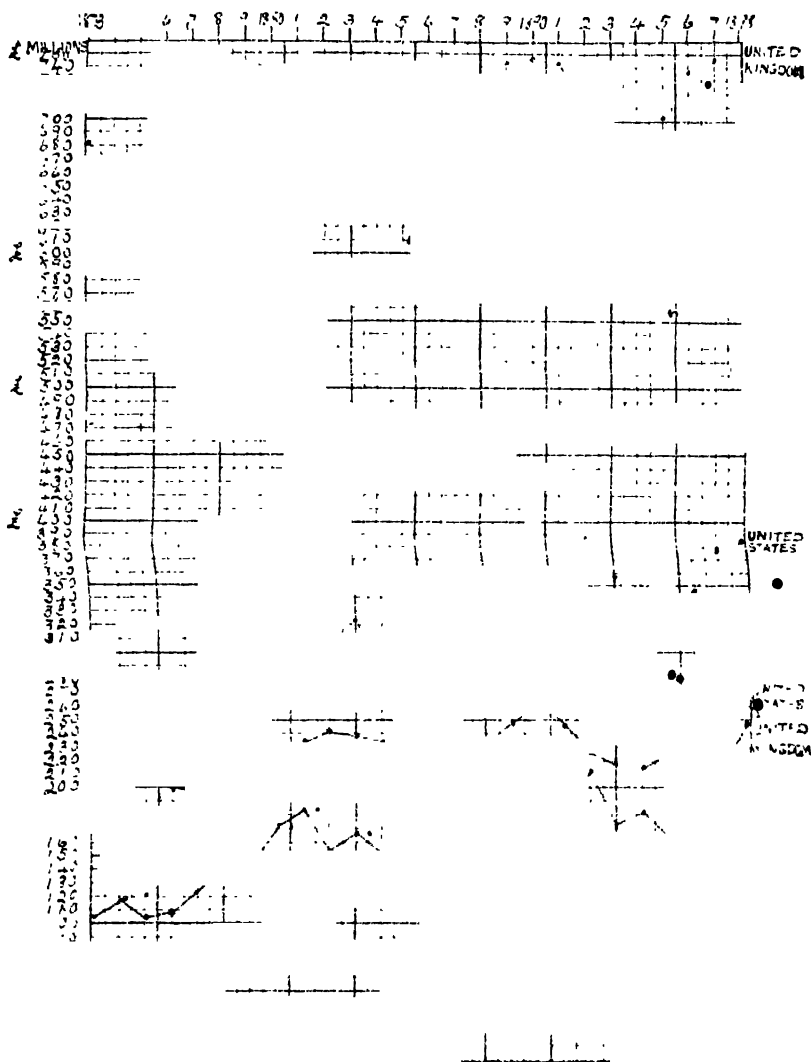


Diagram showing Value of Foreign Trade.  
 -- Exports (Special).      .. Total Trades.

in 1897. As it may prove useful, the total general trade of each country has also been represented; it is distinguished from the export trade, by the curve being a dotted line. The fiscal year of the United States terminates June 30, and the value given of the special trade for the year 1897-98 is, of course, subject to alteration.

The most striking feature in the diagram is the very erratic progression of the rapidly alternating United States' export trade. This is characteristic; a case in point is that of the exports during the fiscal years 1866 and 1867. In the former year the value of the special exports was only £27,599,000, but in the succeeding year it had risen to £57,842,000—an enormous increase. In 1860 the value of the exports of domestic produce amounted to £65,883, and the corresponding exports of the United Kingdom stood at the figure of £135,891,000.

There is no need to dwell further upon this part of the subject as the diagram represents the facts so well. It may be pointed out, however, that the value of the United States exports for the last fiscal year reaches the maximum ever attained; the English special exports for the years 1872, 1873, and 1890 exceed them, the value having been £256,257,000, £255,165,000, and £263,531,000 respectively.

Next turning to the Washington preliminary statement. Unquestionably the most important and significant portion of the statement is that dealing with the exports of manufactured articles. For the first time in history the value of the manufactured goods exported exceeded the value of the manufactured articles imported. The exportation of these goods has fluctuated, but the value has shown a steady growth. In the lustrum 1887-91 they amounted to an average rate of 19 per cent. of the total value of the special exports; in 1892 they shrank to 15·6, from which period they have shown an increased proportion; thus in 1896 the proportion was 26·5 per cent., and the value fell short of the corresponding imports by \$101,759,731. This latter deficiency was reduced to \$27,362,217 in 1897, and was transformed into a surplus in 1898. Of course the chief articles exported are those classed as products of agriculture. In the lustrum 1887-91 they amounted to 73½ per cent. of the exports; in 1896 the proportion had decreased to 66·0 per cent. The imports of manufactured articles during 1898 show a remarkable decrease when compared with previous years, while the exports show an equally remarkable increase. In his annual report the Secretary of the Treasury states that the satisfactory condition of the United States' foreign trade extended to its commerce with practically every nation. The sales to Europe alone increased \$161,420,601, while the purchases from that section of the globe decreased \$124,258,514; this falling off was almost entirely in manufactures and articles of food.

Owing to the Dingley legislation the imports show a great diminution of \$148,680,758, and, as the exports have expanded, the result is an excess of general exports amounting to \$615,432,676 out of a total general trade of \$1,847,531,984; this excess is nearly

the same value as the total imports. Breadstuffs in 1897 were exported to the value of \$191,090,341, in 1898 the value was \$324,706,060. As stated before, the most important increase is the one which has taken place in the export of manufactured goods. It is not yet possible to say what the exact amount is, but it will be somewhere about double last year's figures. It should be remembered that, wherever the date is mentioned in the preceding portion, it is the fiscal year ending on June 30 which is referred to in the case of the statistics for the United States.

All the statistics given hereafter have been calculated or abstracted from various reports and memorandums issued by the English Government, and the fiscal years are specially so called in order to avoid any misconception as to actual date.

During the year 1897 the trade of the United States did not suffer much from strikes. The output of pig iron was the largest in any calendar year, notwithstanding the low price prevailing, being 9,652,680 tons as compared with 8,623,127 tons produced in 1896. The production is progressive, while the imports are rapidly declining, being only 155,000 tons of iron and steel in 1897; in 1887 it was 1,783,000 tons. This is conclusive evidence of progress, and the number of blast-furnaces is rapidly increasing. There was a prodigious increase in the exportation of such manufactured articles as steel rods, rails, wire and nails, and bicycles. The export of locomotives was valued at £611,000 as compared to £592,000 in 1896, and the number had increased from 312 to 348. Scores of similar examples could be given to show the gigantic strides taken in the manufacture of articles. Some goods are exported in larger quantities but yield smaller values, thus an excess of 428,000 bales of cotton over the quantity for 1896 was exported; but the value was twenty million dollars less in consequence of fallen prices. On the other hand the value of the exports of food-stuffs has been increased by reason of higher prices.

Investigation shows that the country is in a progressively prosperous condition. The money passing through the clearing-houses has been augmented while the failures have been reduced. The failures in 1897, when compared with 1896, show a decrease of about 11 per cent., and the liabilities have diminished by 32 per cent.

If the substance of the above brief review of the United States as an exporting nation has any significance, it is that the manufacturers of that country are not only supplying their home markets, but are actually competing in the markets of the world against the products of free trade. It demonstrates that the time is now past when the United States had to rely solely upon foreign countries for the manufactured articles it required; and it demonstrates that this independence is rapidly progressing.

The United States has already emerged from the condition of a

sparsely-populated country, possessing only an agricultural people. A study of the statistics of population will reveal that its town population is increasing at a swift rate, and considerably faster than its country population. By taking the figures back for a period of a century from the last census year it will be found that the proportion of urban to rural population has grown from 3·35 per cent. in 1790 to 29·20 in 1890. At the present time this change is taking place at a rapid rate, and, although it is not possible to get reliable figures till the next census, it is very probable that the town population is now equal to that of Germany and the absolute increase greater than that of the United Kingdom.

The population of the whole country has grown, and is growing, enormously, both by births and immigration. Indeed, between the years 1820 and 1897 no fewer than 18,240,872 immigrants settled in the States, according to the published statistics. A good proportion of these were skilled workpeople who became engaged in the manufacturing industries of the country of their adoption. These facts are given to show the character of the change which has taken place and to account for the increase in the export trade.

The country possesses in a great degree the essentials of a manufacturing nation. Labour—that important requisite of production—is abundant and, vulgarly speaking, cheap. This is especially true of the labour of the Italian immigrants, who have formed the largest proportion during recent years of the whole, considerably over one-third, of the male immigrants; in fact, nearly two-fifths during the year 1897. Taking the whole population, it was estimated that the total increase in the twenty-five years ending 1895 was 31,000,000, as compared to an increase of 8,000,000 in the population of the United Kingdom. These figures show what a vast change is taking place in the relative populations. Naturally, the greater population will enlarge more rapidly, and, under the circumstances, an increase in the commercial and industrial classes—that is, the non-agricultural—will take place. It is obvious that the result will be a complete change in commercial relations, and that England's paramount and predominant industrial and manufacturing position must infallibly be profoundly altered.

The large towns are becoming more and more industrial. It will be interesting to know which of the great towns absorbed the greatest amount of the foreign trade. According to the British Consul at Boston (Sir D. Colnaghi), New York absorbed 47·3 per cent. of the whole during 1897. Then follow Boston (10·3 per cent.), New Orleans (6·2), Baltimore (6), Philadelphia (5·2), San Francisco (4·4), and Galveston (3·4 per cent.).

The immense growth of population is bound to have a great influence upon the exportation of surplus food, for it is well known that the agricultural yield of the United States will in a short time

reach its maximum, and be checked, owing to the assimilation of the already rapidly-decreasing excess land. The enlarged population will require a greater amount of food. In other words, the home consumption will be larger, and the exportation will consequently wane. Again, the growth of that portion of the people following agricultural pursuits must also receive a corresponding check. It follows that the manufacturing and industrial population will be disproportionately augmented as compared to its present correlation. There will be an unduly increased output of manufactured articles, and it follows that there will be a correspondingly large surplus which must be exported.

When this change takes place Canada, with its immense extent of fertile lands, will gain the position in the world's export trade now held by the United States. The change will deflect a large proportion of our trade, for out of a total of 62,743,280 cwt. of wheat imported into the United Kingdom during 1897, no less than 34,603,200 cwt. came from the States, and also 14,062,970 cwt. of flour out of a total importation of 18,680,660 cwt.

From the preceding remarks it will be seen that the United States is bound to become a great rival to our supremacy as a manufacturing nation. It has enjoyed a long period of peace in which to develop its resources. It has made the best of its opportunities, and, thanks to the energy and foresight of its citizens, is now able to take a prominent position among the manufacturing nations. Year by year, unless unforeseen circumstances happen, the amount of efficient labour and, therefore, capital will rapidly increase until it seems at present it will ultimately occupy the exalted position now held by England as a manufacturing power.

We preponderate in the export of manufactured goods, and there is no reason to suppose that we are being excelled or displaced in foreign trade. It is unquestionably true that the relative proportion of business done by the United Kingdom, in comparison to the other nations, has decreased, but nevertheless the actual magnitude has been enlarged. Measured per head of population our export trade is immensely superior to that of any other country—indeed, it is fully three times larger than that of the States. It is difficult to imagine the proportion of manufactured to other goods being much enhanced: it is doubtful if any other nation will ever export a proportion so large. In 1896 the proportion of British and Irish manufactures exported amounted to 87·3 per cent. of the total value of the merchandise exported. It will be remembered that the corresponding figures for the United States were 26·5.

The small diagram gives a graphic view of the two export trades during the last eight years. The black lines represent the value of the exports of manufactured articles, and the chart has been constructed in the same manner as the preceding one. It may be

considered to be the bottom right-hand corner of the large diagram, but with the curve of total special exports dotted, instead of lined, to avoid complication.

The diagram shows the preponderance of unmanufactured goods exported by the United States very clearly, and it shows that the value of the exports of manufactured articles is quite free from the violent fluctuations characteristic of the former class. The two classes of the British and Irish exports harmonise so well that the

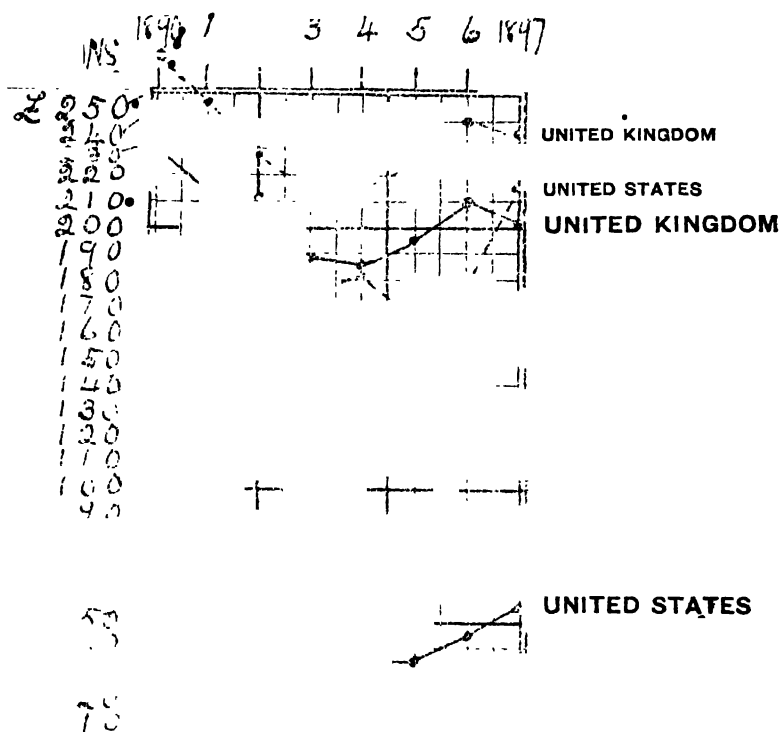


Diagram showing Exports of Manufactured Articles.

curve for the total special exports is nearly parallel with the curve for the manufactured portion of the whole.

England will have little to fear from the competition of the United States until that country considerably modifies its high protective duties. There can be no reasonable doubt that protection has done much to foster its trade. It has brought new industries into the country and is still doing so, but there are reasons for thinking that the time has come for an alteration in the mercantile policy. Few people thought, at the time Sir Robert Peel declared his conversion to the principles of free trade, that fifty years after England would practically be the only country following its principles. It is easy to see how this is. A policy of protection must be followed in



new or partially-developed countries which possess plenty of food and little effective labour. Such countries could not attempt to compete with a country like England, which could swamp its markets with cheap goods produced under the most approved economical methods. On the other hand, when a country produces more manufactured goods than it can consume, and when it is dependent upon other countries for a large proportion of its food, then free trade, or a modification thereof, is undoubtedly the better policy. The United States is approaching the first of these conditions, and it is evident that the whole of the productions of protected industry cannot successfully compete with the productions of free trade.

It has been seen that the United States is making gigantic strides in its export trade, more especially in the important branch of manufactured articles, the value of which has doubled in a single year. It has been seen that this is not a sudden nor capricious change, but is evidence of a steady progressive movement. It has also been seen that all the circumstances point to the rapid elevation of the United States as a great industrial nation. It has also been seen that the ultimate effect of these changes will be to render that nation the great industrial country—although the United Kingdom is not likely to have a diminution in the aggregate amount of its trade. It has been seen that influences of the most important character are at work which are bound to thoroughly modify and reconstitute the existing commercial relations and policies. And it has been seen that the centre of gravity of the manufacturing world is steadily shifting.

The conclusions arrived at by the consideration of the ascendancy of the United States' export trade should not give rise to any dejection as to the future of the United Kingdom's industrial supremacy. It is too often forgotten that we had a great start over the other nations, and that while they were warring we were building up a mighty trade, with the result now evident. The other nations are now awake to the importance of that trade, and are endeavouring to become more independent and more self-contained. They start at a low level and consequently make a greater relative progress. The United Kingdom is but a small country in area, but it possesses capital, labour, skill, and natural conditions not surpassed by any nation. In ordinary language, it has money and brains unapproached by any nation—with the important exception of the United States. It is well to note that if the whole Empire be included the whole circumstances are vastly altered. The British Empire occupies a commercial position which is altogether unequalled, and which is persistently being improved. However, an examination of these considerations, and also of those of commercial methods, omissions, and shortcomings, would scarcely be pertinent here.

In conclusion, it is not too much to say that the proud position held by the manufacturers of the United Kingdom can never be lost so long as they bear in mind that only those institutions and establishments are stable which are elastic, and which possess the capability of adjusting themselves to the inexorable mutation caused by new conditions:

MARK WARREN.

## OUR VOLUNTEERS.

I FEAR that some readers of the WESTMINSTER REVIEW, when they see the title of this article, will be disposed to pass it over unread, with the remark that they have already heard enough about the volunteers. If these can be persuaded to read a *little* of what I have to write, they will, I think, admit that their first impression was erroneous; and that, though they may have heard too much, they have not yet heard enough!

I made some notes some time since, which might, I thought, form the basis of a paper to be read at the United Service Institution, or at least of an article in the *United Service Gazette*: but, when I found myself unable to use either of these means of making my views public, I determined to address myself to the general reader, and it is better that I should do so. I do not propose to go into any technical details; and, though I hope that what I have to write will be read with interest by many volunteers, I do not desire to attract their attention only. The question is one in which every one is, or ought to be, interested.

If the volunteers are entitled to be regarded seriously, it is as the contribution of the civilian population to the force necessary for the defence of the country; and if there is anything which needs amending, the power to do so is in the civilian population, who will, I believe, do what is needed if the evil and the remedy are made clear.

We must not expect perfection in a moment: the forest tree does not grow rapidly even in the most fertile soil; it is only in the fable that a bean planted at night yields a flourishing tree in the morning.

My first duty is to give proof that I have some knowledge of the subject, and that I write because I wish to benefit the force, and not because I have fads to air or nostrums to recommend. Let me say, then, that it is more than thirty-five years since I was enrolled a volunteer, that I had about two years' service in the ranks, and that I have commanded a battalion for twelve years. What I am now going to write is the result of the experience thus gained. I do not propose to adopt the violent style popular in some quarters, especially in connection with military matters. To assume that every one who

occupies a prominent position is either a knave or a fool is not likely to lead to good results; and, while I hope to be able to avoid anything calculated to give offence, I shall not hesitate to state my views as clearly as I can, even if it be necessary in doing so to "call a spade a spade."

I have said that it is some time since I made the notes on which this article is based. I was prompted to do so by a letter from a "Soldier and ex-Militiaman" which appeared in a leading journal. The object of the writer appears to have been to excuse the shortcomings of the militia, for he states that there are "five principal disadvantages from which the militia suffer." I am neither a soldier nor a militiaman, and I am old-fashioned enough to think that those who wish to *teach* should first *learn*; but I may be permitted to refer to one of these five disadvantages—which, oddly enough, is numbered *six*! It is "the little notice that is taken of the force." I will not refer to the other points, further than to remark that an inefficient workman generally excuses himself by complaining of his tools.

This is what he says is the *sixth* reason why militiamen are not better than they are: "Nowadays it is the fashion to be all for the volunteers. I do not suppose there is anything which militiamen feel more deeply about than their absolute exclusion from all notice, in favour of the volunteers." I have been unable to find any foundation for this statement; indeed, I think I can mention some facts which compel one to come to an exactly opposite conclusion.

Let me take, first, the Army Estimates. I pass over those items which relate to the regular army, and confine my remarks only to those relating to the militia and volunteers. The cost of the militia is put down under the head of "Pay and Allowances," the total of which is £573,300, and, as the total number of men is stated to be 140,230, the pay and allowances average £4 2s. per man. Under the head of "Volunteer Corps" we find that the "Pay and Allowances" amount to £824,600, and, as the number of men is 226,413, the amount per man would *appear* to be £3 12s. 6d.

Any ordinary individual, reading these figures, would come to the conclusion that militiamen and volunteers are *both* paid, the former receiving £4 2s. each on the average, and the latter £3 12s. 6d. Let us see how the accounts are manipulated for the purpose of bringing out this grossly misleading result. In the cost of the volunteer force is included the sum of £173,600 for the pay of adjutants and instructors. These are officers and sergeants of the regular army who are serving with the volunteers, and whose pay is included in the cost of the volunteer force. In every militia regiment there is an adjutant and a certain number of army sergeants who receive *similar* pay, but *their* pay is charged to the regular army! Not one penny of it is included in the cost of the militia. This is a

monstrous injustice to the volunteers; but this is not all. There are two other items under the head of "Pay and Allowances" to volunteers to which I must refer. These are "Capitation" and "Camps," which cost £608,500; these items cover maintenance of headquarters, cost of uniform and accoutrements, expenses of camps, and rations of men in camp. Similar expenses are incurred with regard to the militia, but the cost of them is not charged to the militia force in the Army Estimates. There is a fifth item under the head of "Volunteers," amounting to £42,500; I can say nothing about this, except that it is for "miscellaneous charges." With the exception of that item, the whole of the £824,600 stated to be the "Pay and Allowances" of "Volunteers" covers expenses which are incurred also in respect of the militia, but for which there is no charge under the head of "Militia" in the Army Estimates.

The expression "Pay and Allowances" is appropriate in reference to the militia force, for every militiaman—from the colonel to the smallest drummer-boy—is paid for his services, whereas in the volunteer force no one is paid, and the officers incur heavy expenses.

The Army Estimates enable me also to make another comparison between the official treatment of militia and volunteers, and a very important one in the eyes of any one who aims at efficiency. A consolidated volunteer battalion of ten companies has a permanent staff of four!—an adjutant, an acting-sergeant-major, and two instructors. Four teachers to 1000 pupils! The permanent staff of the militia numbers 4571, and, as the strength of the force is 140,230, the number of the permanent staff exceeds thirty per 1000, against four per 1000 in the volunteers! There is not much favouritism to volunteers there. Those who compare a militia with a volunteer battalion are apt to overlook this fact. Is it reasonable to expect a civilian colonel to have an efficient battalion with the help of only four professional soldiers? And, as if this was not enough, volunteer instructors are also required to act as recruiting-sergeants for the army and militia.

The Army Estimates are probably under the control of the Financial Secretary of the War Office. Let us see whether the volunteers receive better treatment from the Under Secretary of State. At the end of the official *Army List*, which is published monthly, the changes which have taken place since the last publication, are recorded in proper order. Here we find the alterations made in the cavalry, artillery, engineers, infantry, militia, and yeomanry; but no mention is made of any alterations in the volunteers. This, it may be said, is a small matter, and the defect would be remedied in a moment if attention were called to it. 'I can only say I have tried—and failed!—who likes, may try again. There are two official *Army Lists*. A small one is issued monthly for 1s. 6d.,

and this contains the names of the officers of each volunteer battalion; Hart's *Quarterly Army List* entirely ignores the existence of the volunteer force. But, people may say, the newspapers treat the volunteers better. Is that true? Twice a week, certain leading journals publish extracts from the *London Gazette*, but no mention is made of the volunteers. When I retire, as I shall shortly be obliged to do, after nearly forty years' service, the fact will be duly recorded in the *London Gazette* and in the Service Papers. If I were a greengrocer in a small town in Northumberland, and unable to pay 20s. in the pound, the fact would be published gratuitously by the *Times* in every country where the English language is understood, but being *only* a colonel of volunteers, with over thirty-five years' service, the leading journal will not think it worth while to record the fact that I am no longer permitted to serve the country at my own expense.

The writer of the letter I have already referred to complains of the absolute exclusion of the militia from all notice, in favour of the volunteers. In February last certain honours were conferred upon officers of the auxiliary forces. It should be borne in mind that the strength of the militia force is 140,000, and that of the volunteers 226,000. Let us see to what extent the militia are *excluded* in favour of the volunteers. On the occasion referred to, four militia officers and two volunteers were admitted to the Order of the Bath. No one will grudge the granting of a K.C.B. to the senior of the four militia officers, as I find it is forty-four years since he obtained command of his battalion; the other three, who were made C.B.s, obtained command in 1884, 1889, and 1894; the two volunteer officers who were made C.B.s obtained command in 1871 and 1881!

• There is another honour which is conferred on militia and volunteer officers—the position of Aide-de-Camp to the Queen. I have examined the list of A.D.C.s at intervals of five years from 1860, and I find that, from that year to 1880, the number varied from thirty-three to thirty-six; the number of militia A.D.C.s from nine to ten. In 1885 there were forty-six A.D.C.s, including ten from the militia and six from the volunteers; in 1890 and 1895 the total number was forty-one, including in each year ten from the militia and seven from the volunteers. It is interesting to examine the *names* of the volunteer A.D.C.s. In 1885 the list was composed of one duke, one earl, two viscounts, and two baronets; in 1890, one duke, two earls, two viscounts, one lord, one baronet; in 1895, one duke, two earls, one lord, one baronet, and two commoners. The House of Lords has many opponents and many supporters, but I do not know that any one of the latter has called attention to the fact, that during the last fifteen years, when it became desirable to select

from the 284 commanding officers of volunteers, six or seven specially eminent for efficiency, nearly all of those selected have been hereditary legislators.

He would be a foolish person who regarded such appointments as an indication that the volunteers were favoured to the exclusion of the militia; or, indeed, that such appointments were an honour to the volunteer force. I should not have thought it worth while to refer to the subject, if it had not been for the letter from which I have quoted, for we volunteers are not satisfied to make our efficiency duly proportioned to the honour we receive; but, as the question has been raised, I venture to ask what right has a militia officer to expect any honours at all? Companionships and Knighthoods of the Bath and other orders are conferred upon soldiers for distinguished service—they are not given for seniority. Why, then, should a militia officer who has seen *no* service be thus decorated? He renders certain service at home, for which he receives *pay*, and thus his account is squared each year. I had it from a field officer of militia recently, that he made something like thirty shillings a day when in training. A volunteer officer not only receives *no* pay, but *pays*, annually it may be, as much as, or more than, his militia compeer *receives*: but he does not grumble; perhaps that is because he is not a good enough soldier. A volunteer is proud to serve his country for nothing, and to pay for the privilege; the militia officer is paid for everything he does, receives honours out of all proportion to the strength of the force, and is dissatisfied.

But I have spent too much time over this foolish letter; I have done so advisedly, for it has enabled me to bring out certain important facts which I wished to bring out, and it will assist me in making clear the difficulties which beset those who are seeking to improve the volunteer force if I refer to some public utterances recently made; I allude to a paper on "Compulsory Service for Home Defence," read a few months ago at the United Service Institution. The author is a volunteer officer; the chair was occupied by Lord Kingsburgh, and several well-known volunteer commanding officers took part in the subsequent discussion.

I can only very briefly refer to the remarkable proposals which the writer of the paper makes. What he is pleased to call his "scheme" involves the abolition of the volunteer force, and three years' compulsory service for every male between eighteen and twenty-one years of age. This is not to interfere with the business life of the country; the conscript will not be a soldier in any part of his three years, for the writer says that "an amount of training, rather more than that acquired by our best and most zealous volunteers, would be amply sufficient." The suggestion is, that every year 300,000 young men should be compelled to join this force. I have been unable to learn whether or not they are to be paid, nor

do I know *where* they are to be drilled, or *how* they are to be clothed and armed; but I learn that "a period of commissioned service in the home defence army will probably be a necessary condition to a commission in the active army." I am amazed that any one should be bold enough to propose such a scheme, and that officers of experience should be willing to treat it seriously. The volunteer force has been growing for nearly forty years. In every town one or more companies, or it may be a battalion, has headquarters. There is an organisation; the men have uniform, arms, and equipment, and have attained a certain amount of efficiency. Even the writer of the paper acknowledges that many of the regiments are really good; and yet he has the courage to propose that all this should be swept away, and to substitute a wild experiment, which he has not even taken the trouble to work out! What would be thought of a forester who, finding in a plantation some flourishing trees of forty years' growth, and some stunted and weakly saplings, determined to clear the ground and replant the whole with seedlings? The illustration is one which rather tells against myself, for it may be that the best thing to do with the stunted and weakly tree is to cut it down; but there is no volunteer corps so bad that it cannot be improved.

It is now time to refer briefly to the history of the volunteer force. It was established in 1859, when, strange as it would have seemed a year ago, there was a real apprehension of French invasion! Companies were formed in every town; the ranks were filled by men who were able and willing to buy their rifles and their uniform. Government did *nothing*! The movement was due to an outburst of patriotism, and people said that it would die away as quickly as it arose when the scare was over; but when the panic was at an end the movement did not die away, and very gradually the volunteers have come to be recognised as part of the military forces of the country. It is comparatively recently, however, that much encouragement has been given. The first adjutants were men who were tired of soldiering, and had left the army; the instructors were superannuated sergeants; the annual inspection was a farce! I well remember the time when, in anticipation of the annual inspection, the colonel and adjutant arranged a programme, which was practised for some weeks, and, having been written on a card, was handed to the inspecting officer on arriving on the ground. How different an inspection is nowadays! The inspecting officer decides upon what is to be done, and one by one the officers are called out, in order that their ability may be tested. Though the volunteer force is nearly forty years old, its present state of efficiency is not due to *continuous* growth during that period. For many years it progressed slowly in *spite* of discouragement. I was well acquainted many years ago with a corps whose colonel lived seventy-five miles from his headquarters,



whose adjutant lived twenty-five miles away and was believed to be interested in some kind of insurance business, and whose sergeant-major kept a beerhouse within a hundred yards of the drill-hall.

We should not forget that the last thirty years has been a period of great improvement in military matters, and the improvement has been as marked in the regular army as in the volunteers. I have been inspected by a colonel in the regular army who did not know the length of a pace in quick time ; and it is not too much to say that there are hundreds of volunteer officers to-day who are better drilled and better instructed than the average officer of the regular army was thirty years ago. It is not for me to say whether the rate of progress has been greater in the army or in the volunteers, but I cannot help expressing my unbounded surprise that any one, finding that progress had not been as great and universal as he expected, should deliberately propose that the existing organisation should be completely done away with, and a fresh start made on lines certain to lead to speedy failure. In this, as in other matters, it is the greatest mistake to listen to a man who builds a great structure on an imaginary foundation, and yet that is what the writer of the paper above referred to has done. He has constructed a scheme which the merest tyro can see is bound to fail, and then he invents a fact to support it ! He says it is admitted that "the voluntary system which forms the basis of the whole structure of our army has broken down." It is true that these words were spoken, and even printed, before the victory at Omdurman. I hope there is no one in the volunteer force who would dare to say such a thing now. I know it is the fashion to say that we have an army of useless boys, but that does not make it true. I venture to hope that the splendid achievements of Lord Kitchener in the Soudan will have silenced the silly grumblers. I know it is said—as it always has been said—that we cannot get recruits. Surely every thinking person must know that, if the recruit we want to get exists, we can get him if we set about it in the right way.

The recruiting-sergeant has competitors in the labour market ; and if a shilling a day, subject to stoppages, is not sufficient to attract the men we want, we must make it thirteenspence. But I am dealing with the volunteers, not with the regular army, and I have no hesitation in saying that the volunteer is much more efficient than John Bull has any right to expect. I make this assertion without fear of contradiction.

I readily admit that there is much room for improvement, but I will now mention some facts, which I think support my contention, and make some suggestions for the attainment of greater efficiency.

An efficient force, whether of regulars or volunteers, requires time for growth ; and, in considering the question whether there has been sufficient time to justify us in expecting greater efficiency, we must

not count from 1859, for the force received little encouragement during the first twenty years of its existence; and those who expect a high state of efficiency may fairly be asked what has been done to justify the expectation? I think we may begin the account in 1880, though it is true that the annual money grant was commenced long before that year, and it should be borne in mind that the conditions under which volunteers work are not of their own making: this is a very important point, to which I shall have occasion to refer again. Another important point is—that every one who started a volunteer corps had to begin absolutely from the beginning. There had been a great volunteer force sixty years before, but all trace of it had been carefully wiped out, and the promoters of the present force began *de novo*, and had to provide drill-halls, armouries, and other necessary buildings, drill-grounds and rifle-ranges, uniform and accoutrements, without assistance or guidance.

Ridicule is another point which must not be overlooked. In *Punch*, and elsewhere, a volunteer was continually being made a laughing-stock, and even now indications are not wanting that he is still regarded, in some quarters, as a man who pretends to be what he is not.

Let us consider for a moment the position of a volunteer with regard to musketry. "Surely," some critics say, "if he is not great at drill, he will certainly be a great shot." Let us look at the conditions under which he learnt to shoot—conditions, be it remembered, which were made by the War Office, and in the framing of which the volunteer had no voice. These were the conditions when I became a volunteer—and it is only during the last ten or twelve years that a more rational system has prevailed. In order to be efficient and to earn a grant for his corps, every volunteer was required to fire twenty rounds at certain ranges. If he failed to make a certain score he was required to fire another twenty rounds at the same ranges, and if he again failed a third twenty rounds had to be fired—and then he was efficient. In other words, if he fired twenty rounds, and made one point less than the official minimum, he was *non-efficient*; if he fired sixty rounds, and never hit the target, or tried to hit it once, he was an efficient shot! Is it possible that a scheme like this would lead to good marksmanship? Scores of men began by trying their best to hit the target. If the result was a "miss," owing to unsteadiness, inaccurate aiming, the force of the wind, or the recoil of the rifle, they tried again; and not knowing whether the first shot was high, low, right, or left, the second shot had no better success than the first; and, believing that from defective sight, or some other cause, they were unable to become good shots, they did not try any more. I believe that many of those who criticise the marksmanship of the volunteer do not know that he was trained under such idiotic rules. I well remember when this system

was done away with and the present system introduced, under which the volunteer cannot earn the full grant, unless he makes the prescribed score, for it led to opposition—started, if I remember rightly, by Colonel Sir Howard Vincent, C.B. Fortunately, this attempt failed, and the present rational system is leading to great improvement in musketry.

Let us see, now, how the volunteer stands with regard to attendance at drill. For a trained volunteer the Government requires twelve attendances per annum; until a year or two ago the number was only nine, while an annual average of thirty attendances per man is now no uncommon thing. An officer is not required to attend any larger number of drills, but he must satisfy the inspecting officer at an inspection that he has competent knowledge of drill. This is all he *must* do; but he *may* do more if he likes. He may spend a month at a school of instruction; he may go through the musketry course at Hythe; or he may pass an examination in tactics, artillery, or signalling. Two or three years ago I took the trouble to ascertain how many volunteer commanding officers possessed these extra qualifications, and the figures were published in the *Volunteer Service Gazette*. The result was shortly this: that I found 194 certificates for extra qualifications possessed by the 284 volunteer commanding officers.

It is alleged that there is no organisation in the volunteers. This is asserted by the writer of the paper above referred to. All I can say is, this is not *my* experience, and I am ashamed that any one holding a commission in the force should venture to make such a statement without supporting it with a single particle of proof. He says, moreover, with regard to discipline, "will any one assert that the condition of our auxiliary forces is satisfactory?" I should like to ask him if he ever heard of a volunteer corps refusing to fall in when the bugle sounded? or of any volunteers who were unable to parade because they had destroyed their clothing? I could tell him of a battalion of the Guards who gave evidence of a "satisfactory condition" with regard to discipline, by refusing to obey the "Fall-in," and cases of destruction of saddles in more than one cavalry regiment are well known.

I almost fancy I can hear the chuckle with which the lecturer reminds me that a volunteer corps was recently disbanded for want of discipline. I am thankful for the reminder; the illustration will be useful to me; but if I refer to the case, I must first state that I know nothing of it but what I read in the newspapers at the time. I know none of the parties concerned, even by name, and do not even remember where the battalion had its headquarters; and with my apologies to the officers and men of the battalion, I will, for the sake of argument, assume the accuracy of all that was said by the Under Secretary when he made merry at its expense for the amuse-

ment of the House of Commons. I will only ask if the battalion had an adjutant, and was annually inspected by a colonel in the army? If so, and it is true, that a man attended a full-dress parade wearing a pair of carpet slippers; what has the adjutant to say? My experience of volunteers is, that they are only too anxious to do the right thing if they are properly instructed; and if, in the case in question, things happened as they are said to have happened, the adjutant and the sergeant-major should bear a fair share of the blame; but, instead of this, they get off scot-free, and the whole volunteer force suffers for their inefficiency.

Let me now mention another very important point: that the difference between a soldier and a volunteer should always be borne in mind by all who have to deal with the force. A commanding officer of volunteers is certain to receive kindness and courteous consideration from those under whom he serves—that is *my* experience—and it is perhaps not to be wondered at that officers who have experience of soldiers only should sometimes overlook the essential difference between a soldier and a volunteer. It should always be borne in mind that a volunteer is first of all a civilian; and that he has to attend to his civilian duties, upon which his livelihood depends. Therefore he is not unreasonable in expecting that the discharge of his military duties, for which he receives no remuneration, should not be made to interfere unnecessarily with his ordinary avocations.

Another point to which I must call attention is the privilege enjoyed by metropolitan volunteers. If one is to believe what one reads in the London papers, there are some very good volunteers in London, and some very bad ones in the country—that is what one may expect; but why should the authorities favour the London volunteers? All volunteer officers are alike encouraged to spend a month at a school of instruction. To the country volunteer this means staying away from home and business for a whole calendar month, and involves him in the expense of living in a strange place for that period. The metropolitan officer can live at home, free of expense, and attend to his business in the daytime: and, by putting in a couple of hours each evening, can qualify, and *receive pay*, without the inconvenience and expense suffered by the country volunteer officer. This is a very important point for young officers, since it covers the earning of a grant for uniform. Only the other day a young officer applied in due time for permission to attend a school of instruction in a certain month, and was promptly informed that he might do so if a school were formed. He made his arrangements accordingly, and it was not until after the month had commenced that information was received that there would be no school!

But it is now time for me to make some practical suggestions. I do not propose, as some others do, to speak of the army or the

militia, for I am one of those old-fashioned people who think that any one who speaks publicly should select a subject with which he has some acquaintance.

The first point which I wish to impress upon all those who have to do with the volunteers, either as members of the force or as controlling it in any way, is this: never forget that they are volunteers. This is not only my first point, but it is, in my opinion, so much the most important one that all others sink into comparative insignificance. The moment you begin to pay the volunteer he ceases to be entitled to that name, and you lose the greatest guarantee that you have for his efficiency. When a man is paid he is bound sooner or later to compare the work done with the remuneration. Does any one suppose for a moment that if a volunteer was paid for his services it would be possible for any regiment to average thirty drills per man when twelve would make him efficient? The volunteer is a volunteer because he likes it. When he ceases to like it the sooner he leaves the force the better for him and the better for the force. I cannot lay too much stress upon this, and I am amazed that there should be many—including some who are in the volunteers—who advocate payment. What I say is, treat the volunteer as a volunteer; treat him well, make the work interesting to him, and he will do anything in reason. By *interesting* I do not mean that his work should be made play. There are many who are disposed to say that the volunteer will not go to camp unless it is made more or less of a gigantic picnic. It is a common thing to say that he will not go unless it is at the seaside. I can disprove that assertion. I know a battalion which has been in camp at Aldershot now for three years out of four; and, though there is plenty of sand there, Aldershot is not in any other sense a fashionable watering-place. The men like Aldershot because the work is interesting. They come in contact with the regular forces and they see something more than ordinary drill on the barrack square; and if they can only understand what they are doing they take a thorough interest in it and realise, moreover, the value of the comparatively uninteresting barrack-square work.

Another important point is co-operation. I think it is a great advantage for officers of battalions to meet together—especially for commanding officers. I am always glad to communicate the result of my experience in any respect; and I am never above taking a hint if I find that in any other battalion anything is done better than in mine. I have been astonished to find evidence of hostility to anything like an organisation of commanding officers. It has been said that the military authorities are afraid that, if commanding officers were allowed to meet together, they would discuss things which they have no right to discuss. I do not in any respect sympathise with this idea, and I readily joined the Association of

Commanding Officers when it was formed some years ago in London. The rules of that Association give evidence of the existence of the feeling above referred to, for it is one of the rules that the President shall be the General commanding the Home District. I think that is not a good rule. It shows want of confidence in the members, and may lead to the discussions taking place under the presidency of a chairman who is unacquainted with and takes no interest in the subjects under discussion. I cannot say that I derived much benefit by my membership. A great deal of time was wasted in the discussion of trivial matters, such as the presentation of officers at Court, the exemption of volunteers from service on juries, and like matters; and it soon became apparent that, though the organisation professed to embrace the whole of the volunteer force, it was really a metropolitan one. Evidence of this is not wanting. One of the early results achieved by the Association was the arrangement with regard to the uniform of young officers, to which I have already referred as really only benefiting those who live in the metropolis. In this connection I think I may also mention the arrangements that were made for the Queen's Jubilee. Every volunteer battalion was entitled to be represented, and a grant of 2s. per man was made. This was ample for the metropolitan volunteers, but the country volunteer attended at the expense of his corps. In my case, the grant I received amounted to £2 1s. and the expenses to £16 5s. 7d.

I was obliged to withdraw from the Association, and I think the last straw was a proposal, apparently seriously made, at one of our meetings, that a commanding officer of volunteers should have the powers of magistrates in petty sessions. It is a very common thing for a weak person, when he finds himself inefficient, to say, "It is because I have not power enough. Give me more power, and all will be well." Just for a moment conceive what would happen to the volunteer force if a fussy commanding officer were to give a man seven days' hard for blowing his nose on parade! I say every commanding officer has the power of dismissal; that is enough for me, and I not only do not want, but I decline to have, any more power.

Another point is encouragement from above. By encouragement I distinctly do not mean financial encouragement. I have no experience of the management of an administrative battalion, and I express no opinion as to whether the present grant is sufficient for a corps having many outlying companies; but I am bound to say that for a consolidated battalion the present grant is ample. By encouragement I mean that every commanding officer should be assisted in every effort to make his battalion more efficient. I will give two instances in which I know that such assistance was withheld. A colonel I know, whose men, until a few years ago, possessed but one coat, a tunic, realising the inconvenience and danger of this state of

things, determined to provide them with kerseys. To purchase one thousand kerseys would cost something like £400. So he asked for permission to purchase the old kerseys of a line regiment, which were then sold by tender. He knew how they were sold. They all went to the Jews, who made a ring round the War Office and fixed the price at 4*d.* apiece. He asked permission to buy what he required, saying to himself, "If one out of three only is serviceable, I shall get the garments I want at 1*s.* apiece. It is true they will not last very long, but I shall be able to supply new ones gradually as the old ones become unserviceable, and so spread the cost over several years." The application was refused. He was told he might purchase from the purchasers. He tried to do so, and the price asked was 2*s.* for that for which the Jew had given 4*d.* He was, therefore, compelled to purchase new kerseys and to incur the heavy outlay above referred to.

Take another instance. A commanding officer was officially informed that his organisation was defective, inasmuch as he had no transport. He said he would buy some waggons, and made application accordingly. The official applied to was unable to deal with the matter without the sanction of the Secretary of State. The commanding officer applied for this sanction, and in due course received the usual official answer on quarter-margin foolscap. Permission to purchase waggons was refused. He then tried to buy some cast waggons. These used to be sold periodically, but for some years the Government have preferred to destroy them rather than to allow the volunteers to use them.

Another inconvenience from which volunteers suffer is the incessant changes in drill and uniform. Two or three years ago a new drill-book came out in the middle of the year. In all volunteer battalions throughout the country many recruits were being instructed according to the old book, and they had to be told that, in certain respects, what they had been taught was all wrong. Moreover, this drill-book was marked "Under revision," and further alterations were made in the following year. I do not like to express an opinion on military matters requiring more technical knowledge than I possess, but I venture to think that no battle was ever lost or won because a captain said "Half right turn," instead of "Right half turn." By all means let us have improvements, but do not let us have *incessant change*. It is the same thing with regard to uniform. The changes in this do not necessarily affect the volunteers, because the authorities do not insist upon the volunteer changing with every change in the army. But it is an important matter still, for if the uniform of a volunteer is different in certain respects from that of the regular army, he is at once sneered at as being in "fancy dress."

It has often struck me as very remarkable that in the army,

which is probably the most conservative profession known to us, change, for the simple sake of change, is not only fashionable, but prevails to an extent unheard of in other walks of life. I remember pointing out to a distinguished general the inconvenience which the volunteers experienced from the incessant changes in drill, and he told me that the inconvenience was quite as keenly felt in the regular army, and he did not seem to know why it was that those changes were always taking place. I learn from the *Army List* that there is a Dress and Equipment Committee specially appointed. Perhaps there is another such committee having the details of drill under its care, and it occurs to me to wonder whether this is the cause of the evil from which all suffer. If officers are appointed on these committees for a certain term of years, it is too much to expect that they should allow their period of service to expire without doing something, and therefore they make changes which are unnecessary and undesirable.

In all the arrangements for the volunteers their convenience should be consulted. I do not mean that whims and fancies should be allowed to prevail; but I mean that if a volunteer is required to go to camp or to attend a mobilisation parade, the arrangements should be such as not *unduly to injure him*. It should be borne in mind that he is not paid for his attendance, and that it is unreasonable to expect a man, for the purpose of attending a mobilisation parade, to run the risk of losing his situation, having, it may be, a wife and children dependent upon him. If the volunteers are called out when it is known they are really required they will attend: I have no fear of that; but is it reasonable to expect a volunteer to come at great loss or risk to himself, when he knows that he is not required, and is only called out when he is *not wanted* because some people say he would not come *if he were wanted*?

Let also the employers of labour be consulted. This is a matter specially for commanding officers. I have made a point of this for some years, and I am glad of an opportunity for saying I cannot wish for more support from the employers of labour than I have uniformly received. This is not a matter of opinion or guess. I had occasion recently to make special application to a large number of employers, and I have the written replies that I received, which I value highly.

I make a point of personally looking after the finances of my corps, knowing well the value of a finance committee, each member of which is apt to think that, though he knows nothing of a certain item, some other member does; the important point is, that one person should sanction every order and examine every bill before payment is made. If this is done, no additional advantage accrues from passing accounts before a committee, and the larger the committee the less responsibility rests on each member. I am able to say that the plan



which I advocate will lead to financial success, and I can readily understand that financial failure may result from an opposite course.

Another point also for commanding officers is the provision of complete headquarters. I do not mean merely drill-halls and armouries: I include arrangements designed to keep the men together and make them acquainted with each other when they are not on parade. I consider no headquarters complete without officers' and sergeants' messes and a canteen; and I attach great importance to schools of arms and other similar organisations. A commanding officer should never forget that a good volunteer learns other things besides drill; and drill, it should be borne in mind, is not properly appreciated if it is regarded merely as learning how to shoot your enemy. If any one doubts this, let him take the height and chest measurement of a recruit before he is enrolled, and compare it with the corresponding figures after he has been drilled for six months.

The selection of suitable commanding officers is a matter of great importance; and of no less importance is the selection by the commanding officer of suitable officers and non-commissioned officers. The officers of a regiment should be selected with the knowledge that they will have to associate together off parade as well as on, and it is a great mistake to suppose that all will work well if discordant elements are introduced. The best commanding officer in the world can hardly have a good battalion unless he is well supported.

There are many other points to which I might refer if time would permit; but if it is necessary that I should conclude with a suggestion, it is one which I think would lead to an improvement in the position of the volunteers in matters to which I have referred and in other respects. It is that there should be on the War Office Staff, as assistant to the Deputy Adjutant-General (or, as he is now called, Inspector-General), an officer who is, or has been, a commanding officer of volunteers. I have every reason to speak with gratitude of the courtesy which I have received from the successive Deputy Adjutant-Generals with whom I have had to communicate; but it cannot be supposed that, with every desire to assist the volunteers, they can do so as effectively as they could if some knowledge of the force was available to them, and I am one who believes that no one can know the strength and the weakness of the force who has not commanded a battalion of volunteers.

A VOLUNTEER COLONEL WITH THIRTY-FIVE  
YEARS' SERVICE.

## A BOOK ABOUT THE SOUDAN.

THERE are at the outset two things to commend in connection with this volume.<sup>1</sup> First, the promptitude of its production; next, its maps. The publishers deserve credit for the former virtue; the authorities of the Intelligence Department at the War Office for the latter. The fact that the authorities of the Intelligence Department sanctioned the use of maps in its possession is sufficient proof that the volume appears with an official *imprimatur*; for who does not know the peril, to members of the military profession, of publishing anything to which the archangels of the War Office may object? Having regard to this official sanction, the stipulation of the various military friends of the joint authors, that their names should not be mentioned, seems somewhat superfluous.

It has been said that the maps and the promptitude of its appearance are the most praiseworthy features of the volume under notice. It is, however, by no means thereby implied that, apart from this, the volume is worthless. On the contrary, a very considerable amount of praise is due to the authors for the clear and concise manner in which they have dealt with the facts within the scope of their work, as well as for the way in which they have avoided the temptation of boring their readers. It was not to be expected that subaltern officers in line regiments would display any wide independence as historical critics. They accept unhesitatingly and as matter of unshakable faith all the popular watchwords with regard to the Soudan—the “revenging of Gordon,” the horrible cruelty of the Mahdi, the fiction by which a theoretically Egyptian Government is used as the stalking-horse for a policy which, be it good or bad, is purely British. The volume, indeed, is respectfully dedicated, “by permission,” to that most unhappy puppet, the Khedive, “whose rule,” it is declared, “will be distinguished throughout history by the recovery of the lost Egyptian provinces.” Whether the Khedive deserved to recover those provinces is a question for discussion. That the Government which he still theoretically represents well deserved to lose them is candidly admitted by the authors, who, on page 7, remark, in connection with the rise of the Mahdi, that it

<sup>1</sup> *The Egyptian Soudan; its Loss and Recovery.* By Henry S. L. Alford and W. Dennistoun Sword. London: Macmillan.

was "only to be expected" that the inhabitants of the Egyptian provinces of the Soudan "would, sooner or later, rise in a body and fall upon their oppressors." It was his recognition of this very important aspect of the situation that led Mr. Gladstone to refer to the Soudanese as "brave people struggling to be free." The authors, when on page 244 they indulge in a cheap sneer at Mr. Gladstone's remark, must surely have forgotten what they themselves had admitted on page 7. It does not help them very much either to stigmatise the Khalifa and his followers as unorthodox Mahomedans. There is no great love lost, on religious grounds, between English Churchmen and English Nonconformists; yet it may be reasonably assumed that in a matter of really national concern the Churchmen would not object to stand side-by-side with Nonconformists. The whole moral and political position, however, is a hopeless Chinese puzzle. The people who in 1882 were bravely struggling to free themselves from the Egyptian Government are in 1898 shot down in thousands on behalf of the same Government, and that by the forces of the very nation which refused to call to account the Sultan, the supreme ruler of Egypt, for his diabolical exploits in Armenia.

The authors of this volume, however, do not write, and do not profess to write, as moralists or as politicians. They write as soldiers, from a military point of view, and, writing thus, deserve, as has been said, very considerable credit. Their true soldierly spirit craves out when, at page 245, they repudiate the idea that the Khalifa was guilty of a "cowardly" and "dastardly" act in attempting to explode torpedoes under the gunboats advancing against him. The attempt was unfortunate for the Khalifa, for, if all accounts are true, the only steamer damaged was one of his own. As the authors remark, "the construction of submarine mines is perfectly legitimate, and a recognised procedure in civilised warfare." Writing, too, as soldiers, the authors several times bear testimony to the bravery shown by the enemy in the decisive battle before Khartoum. Here is a passage referring to the earlier phase of the action:

"Simultaneous with the frontal attack, a formidable attempt was made to force our left flank, and the enemy were now swarming round Surgham Hill. On they rushed, with their banners aloft, and charge after charge was made; but, though their courage was unsurpassed, their tactics were suicidal, for no troops could live in the face of the awful fire which was poured into them from the zariba, and those who were left alive were forced to withdraw from the field, which had by this time become a veritable shambles" (p. 260).

Here is another picturesque passage:

"The Daggara cavalry, on this occasion, showed remarkable and reckless daring. They evidently intended to break through our lines and divert our fire, so as to give the Dervish infantry an opening. To carry this out was hopeless, for it meant riding to certain death—but they

galloped forward in loose open order, their ranks presenting one long ridge of flashing swords. Every soldier in the Sirdar's army watched breathlessly this daring feat. Nearer and nearer they came until the foremost horseman emerged almost within 200 yards of Macdonald's lines. A continuous stream of bullets from our lines was emptying the saddles, but on they came, until not a single horseman was left. One Baggara succeeded in getting within thirty yards of the lines before he fell. The whole of the Dervish cavalry had been annihilated. There is no instance in history of a more superb devotion to a cause, or of greater contempt for death than was shown on this occasion."

All this is said in a very soldierly spirit, and one cannot help asking whether people who possessed these splendid qualities of courage and devotion might not have been satisfactorily dealt with in some way that would not have involved their massacre. That the conflict was at one moment critical seems to be admitted on page 263, where it is remarked that the steadiness of the Soudanese battalions under Macdonald averted what "at one time had threatened to be a terrible disaster." It is a peculiarity of conflicts of this kind that they are bound either to be most crushing victories or terrible disasters. In the decisive battle between British troops and the Zulus at Ulundi, if the Zulus had not been completely broken, the British force must have been practically annihilated. So also at Omdurman; if the Khalifa's forces had succeeded in breaking through the British right, a terrible decimation of British troops must have followed. As it was, the attacking force was bound to suffer enormously.

There are two or three points dealt with in passing which are worthy of a moment's attention. The authors, soldiers though they are, take a very fair view of the controversy that arose between the Sirdar and the newspaper correspondents, several of whom suffered personally during the progress of the hostilities. They dwell (p. 234) on the value of newspaper representatives from what may be called a national point of view, though perhaps they are hardly justified in drawing a parallel between the modern "special" and the ancient bard. The warlike bard has become a trifle too common amongst us lately—common and cheap. Referring to Wady Halfa, the authors incidentally supply a very remarkable argument in support of the policy, only recently abandoned, of regarding that point as the southern boundary of Egyptian territory. "To the south of Halfa," they remark (p. 75), "lies a vast stony wilderness, the *Batn-el-Hagar*, or 'Belly of Rocks,' which forms an impassable boundary to any invading force of savages," quoting Gordon to the same effect. An invasion of Egypt, then, from the south was an impossibility, and the reasons for the abandonment of a defensive policy on the part of Great Britain have yet to be sought. On page 269 occurs a passage which possibly the authorities who practically gave their *imprimatur* to the volume may wish had been omitted.

Referring to the advance on Omdurman after the battle, the authors say :

"Even now, those Arabs who were on the verge of death, endeavoured by every means in their power to kill at least one more 'Turk' before entering Paradise; and these fanatics had to be despatched, *by an advance party of Soudanese*, before the Sirdar's army could with any degree of safety cross the thickly-strewn battlefield."

May this be regarded as the real truth about a matter which has been the subject of considerable controversy?

## THE BOOK OF THE MASTER OF THE SECRET HOUSE.<sup>1</sup>

IN this far-seeing, clear, and picturesque book the author has given a succinct account of the religious astronomy of Egypt, and has shown how it was inextricably interwoven with the whole civil polity of the country. He begins by showing that the primitive lawgivers of Upper Egypt treated it as a country ruled by astronomical laws, for its limits from the southern boundary, called the Gates of the Nile, to the mouths of the river were laid down as containing one-millionth part of the earth's orbit (pp. 63, 14), and this measurement agrees with that made by modern astronomers. It was within this sacred district that, as is shown in chap. iv. pp. 39-50, the priest-astronomers watched and recorded by the revolution of the stars the changes in their year of three seasons. These seasons were (1) that of the inundation of the Nile, beginning at the summer solstice; (2) its fall during the season of the ploughing (Pir); (3) and its rest during the third season of Semou or heats, the time of the ripening grain. It was here they measured the orbit of the earth as shown by the path of the sun through the ecliptic, and that they accurately determined the length of the year and recorded it in two calendars (p. 31). The first was the Civil Calendar, reckoning the year as one of 365 days, and in this each year formed a part of a great cycle of  $4 \times 365$ , or 1460 years. In this all the minute discrepancies between successive years were so compensated as to bring back the positions of the heavenly bodies at the end of the cycle exactly to the point from which they started. The second, or Sacred Calendar, recognised a year of only 360 days, the degrees of the perfect circle. This was marked by the solstices and equinoxes, the great turning-points in the sun's course. The Calendar corrected the errors of this year by adding to it in ordinary years five, and every fourth year six, days, which were kept as a national jubilee (pp. 32, 33). It also divided the year into half-orbits of 180 days, each containing eighteen decades. These were each depicted in the Calendar painted on the walls of the Temple of the Virgin Mother at Denderah as headed by a solar spiral snake which marked in its coils "the curve

<sup>1</sup> *The Book of the Master.* By W. Marsham Adams. London: J. Murray, Albemarle Street.

traced out on the surface of the earth by the vertical sun in the course of each half-year."

The preliminary chapters, showing the astronomical calendar to be the "politico-religious instrument whereby the priesthood co-ordinated the social economy of the nation with their theosophy," lead up to the main purpose of the work. This is to show how the teachings of the great national religious manual of the Egyptians (called by them *The Book of the Master of the Secret House*, but hitherto named by Egyptologists the *Book of the Dead*) are not only depicted in the official pictorial illustrations of the work called the *Papyrus of Ani*, but that also the halls and passages of the Great Pyramid of Khufu at Ghizeh were built as the representation in stone of the roads, resting-places, and final goal traversed and reached by the soul in its journey after death. During this progress it passes from the corruption of the grave to the glorious illumination of the perfectly enlightened spirit which has attained its final immortality among the souls of the blessed dead. In short, he proves that, according to the words spoken to him by Professor Maspero (Preface, p. iv.), the *Pyramids and the Book of the Dead reproduce the same original, the one in words, the other in stone.*

But, before dealing with the far-reaching consequences springing from this conclusion, it is necessary first to treat of the lessons set forth in chap. vi. as those taught in the temple of the Virgin Mother of Horus the sun-god at Denderah. The author there shows how intimately the temple is associated with Khufu's Pyramid at Ghizeh. This, which was built about 4235 B.C., is based on a perfectly square foundation, and its sides are accurately oriented to the four points of the compass. Its one opening on the north is the inclined open shaft leading from the floor of the pyramid to the point (p. 67)  $26^{\circ} 7'$  above the horizon of its base. The elevation,  $26^{\circ} 7'$  of this shaft is the latitude of Denderah, and when the temple there was built (3440 B.C.) the Pole-star at this elevation at Ghizeh was  $3^{\circ} 53'$  from the true Pole. But at Denderah, owing to the difference of latitude,  $30^{\circ} 53'$ , the Pole-star, the Akh or turning-point of the ecliptic to which the temple was oriented, was exactly on the north horizon.

The story which tells how this exact coincidence between the site of the temple and the Pole-star was attained is one of the most wonderful ever told in history or romance, and yet every word of it is true and vouched for in the records deposited in the temple when it was built. These tell us that the temple was designed not by Pepi I., who built it in 3440 B.C., but by Khufu, the builder of the Great Pyramid in 4235 B.C. He (p. 65) deposited in a secret chamber, where Pepi found it, an instruction written in archaic characters, directing the temple to be built on the date when the Pole-star Hathor would be at midnight on the horizon at Denderah. The

instructions prove that the astronomer-king, Khufu, and those who succeeded him as national astronomers, could not only reckon time by the annual march of the heavenly bodies, but could predict their future positions at a distance of eight hundred years. It was this great royal astronomer who also founded the national astronomy of Egypt on the secure basis of the great cycle of 1460 years. For the Civil Calendar was begun by Khufu in 4241 B.C., when the Ghizeh Pyramid was commenced, and the initial point was the heliacal rising of the star Regulus in Leo (Note E, pp. 197, 198).

The national temple of Annu, or Denderah, built by Pepi I. from the designs of Khufu, is shown by the name of its site to be an astronomical building, for the Egyptian form of Denderah is Tam-ta-rer, or the Place of the Orbit, the orbit of the sun-god ruler of heaven, and Anu is an Akkadian word brought from the Euphrates to Egypt, meaning Heaven and God. Pepi I., when founding this temple as Sechem Ur, Grand Master, at midnight on the night fixed by Khufu, stood with his face to the north. He saw before him in the centre of the horizon the Pole-star Hat-hor, the Virgin Mother, the house (hat) of Horus. She is depicted as giving birth to the sun-god Horus (pp. 71, 68) in the Hall of the Child in its Cradle, whence access was gained to the "great house of watching, the sealed shrine only entered by the High Priest once a year at midnight." There in this watch-tower, where Pepi stood on the night he traced the Akh of the temple, the High Priest saw spread out before him the starry firmament. This is depicted in the Planisphere which is now in Paris, but which Pepi's artists painted on the walls of his temple. In it the heavens are shown as a square panther's hide, the sacred dress of the Egyptian kings. On this square the equinoctial points are called by the recorded name of Horus, and those intermediate between at the corners by the name of Hat-hor. These points, when united by horizontal, perpendicular, and transverse lines, form the eight-rayed star, the sign of God and barley-seed to the ancient Akkadians and Chinese, and the Eshmun or eight-rayed god of the Phœnicians. It was by the union of these points in the Planisphere that the heavens were divided into the eight sections recorded by the Egyptian priests, beginning with that of the north. (1) The Head of the Circle, the seat of the Sacred Dances in the Six Heights of Horus. (2) Palace-chamber of the Height of Light, the rising-point of the sun at the summer solstice. (3) Burning Height of the Priestess of the Holy Moon. (4) Meeting-place; Region of the Gods, Head of the nurse of Rā, the setting-point of the sun at the winter solstice. (5) Heavenly Flame of Burning Gold. (6) Golden Heaven of Isis, the rising-point of the sun at the winter solstice. (7) Horizon of Light. (8) The Great One of the Lady-mother, the setting-point of the sun at the summer solstice.

These divisions were formed by placing a St. George's Cross over



the Cross of St. Andrew; and that St. George's Cross is the sign of Horus, the god of the year measured by the equinoxes with their equal days and nights, has been proved by M. Clermont Ganneau.<sup>1</sup> He shows that the Egyptian statue at the Louvre representing Horus as the bird-headed knight riding on the sun-horse and slaying the dragon of winter with his spear is identical with the Byzantine pictures of St. George. Also the St. Andrew's Cross represents his mother, the sun-bird mother of a bird-headed son, the Shyena bird of the *Rigveda*, who at the time of frost (shyā), the winter solstice, brings the Soma, or rain, from heaven. She is also the hawk-headed Greek goddess Kirke (Circe), the hawk (κίρκυς), and the Northern goddess Freya, mother of seed (frio), who wears hawk's plumage in the *Edda*. She, as the Hindu sun-bird of the solstitial year, is the bird of the winter solstice, when her year begins.

But this ancient star chart, based on the foundations laid down by the most primitive astronomers of the infancy of civilisation, also showed itself as the work of men who had watched and recorded daily and hourly the exact positions of the heavenly bodies, and who were, therefore, able to plot them on the map exactly in the places they occupied on the nights when Denderah was founded. It was only the records of centuries of watching in unbroken order the movements of the stars that could have told the priests where to place the stars on their chart, or have prompted the image recorded in one of the titles of the first section of the Planisphere, that of the Seat of the Heavenly Dances of the Six Heights of Horus. For this refers (p. 69) to the measure  $3^{\circ} 53'$  of the meridional distance between Denderah and the Great Pyramid. This is "within a few seconds the sixth part of the space between the equator and the ecliptic, and divides it into six equal parts on either side of the equator. This is the space through which, owing to the effect of precession, the heavenly sphere appears to be shifted once northward and once southward in the course of the great cycle of 1460 years." It was these shiftings which were called the Heavenly Dances in the Six Heights of Horus, and the name could only have been given by observers who had at their fingers' ends the observations of 1460 years.

The evidence given by the Great Pyramid as to the precision and antiquity of the astronomical knowledge of the Egyptian kings and priests is no less striking than that of the temple. The Pyramid is a perfect square representing a period of the four complete years, the multiplier of 365 which produced the cycle of 1460 years. Each side measures exactly 9140 British inches, and each of the casing stones covering the masonry measures 25.025 inches. This last measurement goes (p. 134) exactly 365.25 times into the total length

<sup>1</sup> Clermont Ganneau, "Horus et St. George." *Revue Archéologique*, Nouv. Ser., xxxii. pp. 388-397.

of 9140 inches, and therefore each side represents a complete year. Also the base circuit of the Pyramid (pp. 130, 131) is within a yard or two one-thousand-millionth part of the earth's orbit, or just a thousandth part of the length of the Nile through Upper Egypt, and the altitude of the Pyramid also represents one-thousand-millionth part of the radius of the earth's orbit—that is, of its distance from the sun (p. 131).

This great building was intended to record, in stone, the whole astronomical knowledge learnt by the Egyptians more than 6,000 years ago, and it was through the winding paths inside it that the spiral year-snake was conceived as drawing its length in the course of a year. This annual journey is depicted in the roads and chambers traversed by Ani before his advent to the realms of bliss, and these, as I have said before, are figured in stone in the Pyramid. Through it the national soul of Egypt is supposed by the designer to wind its way from the earthly base to the heaven of Osiris at its summit; the innermost chamber of the house (pp. 119, 120, 181) the open tomb whence the dead Osiris of the past year has risen again as the sun-god of the new year. This risen sun-god assures a similar resurrection to the mortal soul which, by the long course of initiation in and practice of the duties taught in the national school of spiritual perfection, has cast off the pollutions of sin and has become holy, as the gods are holy, being, like them, unable to think or do evil.

The evidence thus recorded in these culminating products of Egyptian learning, the Great Pyramid and its exponent *The Book of the Master of the Secret House*, prove incontestably the great antiquity of the theosophy, ethics, and national organisation of which they are the fruit. But this high intellectual and practical level could only have been reached by ages of national education and preparation, and of these many traces appear in this volume.

The Pyramid of Ghizeh was, as I have said above, encased with stones each measuring 25·025 inches; and that this was the cubit used by the builders is proved by the two standard cubits of 25 inches, dating from the time of Khufu, found by Mr. Petrie near Ghizeh (p. 133). This, like every organic part of the Pyramid, is the pictorial reproduction of an astronomical fact, for Sir J. Herschel has shown that its length is the millionth part of the Polar axis of the earth. But this was not the earliest official unit of length, for that used before it was the cubit of 20·6 inches, the standard cubit of the Tat or measuring pillar of the Inundation. This cubit is extracted from the measurement of the Polar cycle of the precession of the equinoxes. This is marked by the successive constellations in which the Pole-star appears during its course in a circle of about 25,800 years. "The radius of this circle is 4122 inches, and taking an inch to a century, the half-radius gives us the cubit of 20·6" (p. 138).

Thus this cubit is the result of a long series of recorded astrono-

mical observations and calculations, and that these were not only made by Egyptian astronomers, but were also made by the star-gazing priest-kings who built the temples of the Euphratian Delta called *Zigurrats*, or observatories, is proved by the use of this cubit at *Girsu*. This is the earliest capital of the mixed Akkadian and Semitic races who ruled the Euphrates Valley. On the top of the diorite statue of *Gudea*, made of stone brought from Sinai, is a plan of the city drawn to a scale of 20·6 inches. There can be little doubt that this somewhat rude statue is very much older than that of *Khufu* made of the same stone and planned on similar rules of modelling; and hence the *Girsu* kings who used this cubit must have worked out the calculations which produced it centuries before *Khufu's* Pyramid was built.

To this evidence of the antiquity and of the identity of the studies and discoveries of the people of Egypt and Mesopotamia must be added that given by the Egyptian god *Dhu-ti*, whom we call *Thoth*. He was the god with the ibis feather, the god of Wisdom and Measurement (p. 30), who weighed the heart of *Ani*, and clothed him when he appeared in the vessel of *Rā* in a garment of pure linen. He was the supreme god who directed the course of *Ani's* passage through the first regions of the lower world called the realm of the *Dhu-hāt*, or house (*hat*) of *Dhu*, before he reached the gates of heaven, opening into the *Aahlu* or Land of Illumination. This god *Dhu-ti* with the ibis feather is a form of the ibis-god called by the Egyptians *Khu*, the bird. This bird *Khu* is also an Akkadian god, who also appears in the form of the Akkadian *Zū* bird. This is the bird who stole the "tablets of destiny and the attributes of the god *Bel*." The name of this bird-god is also, perhaps, enshrined in the name of *Gir-su*, also *Su-gir*, and it certainly appears in that of the chief Akkadian mountain province *Shushan*, with its serpent god *Susi-Nār*. This bird parent of the *Shus* of *Shushan* was also the sacred cloud-bird, ancestor of their brethren the *Shus* or *Saus* of Western India. It was to them that *Shushan* owed its civilisation, for it was their ships, built of the timber of the forests of Malabar descending to the water's edge, which first brought the rules of trade and commerce to the dwellers on the treeless coasts of the Persian Gulf. It was the Northern Ugro-Finn bird-god *Khu* of the Akkadians or mountaineers of Elam and India, who became the bird-gods *Zu* and *Shu*, and also the Egyptian *Dhu-ti* with the Akkadian suffix "*ti*," meaning god, a form of the word "*zi*" life. Thus *Dhu-ti* was the bird of life.

But the sacred land of Upper Egypt has also other guardian gods besides this recording bird-god who gave his bird head to *Horus*, and bird attributes as the ruler of time to the mother of *Horus*, the Pole-star bird *Hathor*, who directed the annual course of the

<sup>1</sup> Sayce. *Hibbert Lectures* for 1887. Lect. iv. p. 297.

flying cloud, and sun-bird of the year, the Hindu Shyena bird. The four guardians of the land were the four apes of the South, North, East, and West, who watched the holy Hapi, or Nile, flowing in their midst (pp. 11, 12). This god Hapi is also shown by his name to be an ape-god, for Hapi is the Egyptian form of the Hindu Dravidian Kapi, the ape, and the correctness of the derivation is proved by Vignette VIII. of the *Papyrus of Ani*, which depicts Hapi, the eldest son of Horus, as an ape. The supreme ape-god Hapi, who afterwards became the god Set, the god vanquished (*st*) by the sun-god, was the ruler of the South in Egypt, and in India he was the ape-god Hanuman, or Maroti, the tree- (marom) ape, the Vedic god Agastya, the star Canopus, whose chief Egyptian temple was at the Rosetta mouth of the Nile, the gates of the land of Rusta, the earthly realm of Ani's pilgrimage. In India he dwelt in Lanka (Ceylon), the land of the South Pole; and his brother Su-griva, the ape with the neck (griva) of Su the bird, the bird-headed ape, is in the *Rāmāyana* the husband of Tārā, the Pole-star bird, and the Indian form of the Egyptian Hathor, mother of Horus, who was bird-headed, and whose original ape parentage is shown in his son, Hapi. In this marriage of the Pole-star with the Ape-star brother of Canopus we have an authentic date marking the infantile beginnings of the Hindu and Egyptian astronomy of the Polar cycle, for it tells us of a time when the Pole-star was in the constellation of the ape Kepheus, the Greek κῆπος, the Latin *Cebus*, that is, of the years 21,000 B.C. to 19,000 B.C. It was in the South, ruled by the Ape-star, that the sun-bird of the early watchers of the solstitial sun began its year's journey at the winter solstice, for it was then that, as we are told in the Vedic year story (*Regveda* IV., 27), Krishānw, the drawer (Karsh) of the bow of heaven, the rainbow, shot with his arrow the Shyena bird, the frost- (shyā) bird, and brought to earth her life-giving blood, the rain, and the sacred feather of Dhu-ti. It was from this feather that the Indian tree of life, the Palāsha-tree (*Butea frondosa*), grew to be the first recorder of time in its three seasons of growing, flowering, and ripening, and thus fulfilled the duties of Dhuti, the recorder and measurer of the Egyptian year. This earliest year began in the South-west with the northward flight of the year sun-bird to its Northern resting-place, the Rusta temple of Canopus, and thence it returned to its home in the South in the course marked by the *Papyrus of Ani*, which begins in the land of Rusta. This year, based on the death of the year Pole-star-bird at the winter solstice, opens a new period in Pole-star reckoning, when the Pole-star was in the constellation Cygnus, called by the Greeks *Orniś*, the bird. This was from 17,000 to 15,000 B.C., and the stars of this constellation are in the form of Hathor's cross, that of St. Andrew. The next

age is that of the vulture-star Vega, to which, as Sir N. Lockyer has shown, the Egyptian temples of Abydos and Luxor were oriented. This was the Pole-star from 10,000 B.C. to 8000 B.C., and she was in Hindu mythology Gandbhārī, the vulture wether (dhārī) of the village lands (gan), who laid the egg whence the hundred Kaurāvya, or Kushika, were born. These rulers of India were the race who called themselves Nāg-bunsi, the sons of the Nāga or spiral snake, whose image they, like the kings of Egypt, wore on their foreheads. These people left India and settled in the Persian Gulf and Southern Arabia, where they worshipped the vulture mother-goddess El Nasr, and thence, by way of Abyssinia, to Egypt, bringing with them, as the sign of the royal dignity of their kings, the Nāga snake, whose image crowned each decade of the year in the national temple of Denderah. Their vulture-mother became the vulture-goddess Ma'at, the star Vega, the goddess of Law and Order, and the divine mistress of the Double Hall of Truth where the soul of Ani received its final judgment. But these Kushika sons of the vulture and the serpent did not find the land they came to rule a savage and disorderly country, for long before their time it had been divided into villages, marked by boundaries, and united into provinces, each of which was ruled, as the author says, by "a sacred city," with a great temple surrounded by a consecrated enclosure guarding the shrine of the deity (p. 18). The whole of this political organisation of villages, cities, and provinces was founded on the model of the Indian village with its sacred grove of life in the centre, and on the union of allied villages into provinces ruled by a central capital. These had been brought to Egypt by the earliest navigators from the Malabar coast, the sons of the star Canopus and the ape Su-griva of Kepheus.

The rule of the Pole-star Vega was followed by that of the sun-god Horus, who became the supreme god when the Pole-star entered Hercules after 8000 B.C., and it is from Horus-worship that the subsequent teachings of the *Book of the Master of the Secret House* received their final development.

I could say much more as to the many lessons to be learned from this admirable book, but space will not permit me to pursue the fascinating subject further at present.

J. F. HEWITT.

Lockyer's *Dawn of Astronomy*, pp. 327, 328.

## THE PRÉSENT ASPECT OF THE SUNDAY QUESTION.

THE recent prohibition by the London County Council of the high-class Sunday Concerts given at the Queen's Hall has aroused a chorus of regret and condemnation. Public opinion, as voiced in the London Press, was never more unanimous in its expressions of disappointment and disapproval at this act of unwisdom by a municipal body who had hitherto won golden opinions for public spirit and disinterestedness in connection with the observance of Sunday in London. Avoiding the use of epithets and opprobrious stigmas so freely hurled at the heads of "our most potent, grave, and reverend signiors" at Spring Gardens, we prefer to trace the causes that led up to this wanton and repressive act on individual liberty.

In the debate which took place in the Council when the measure was proposed its advocates urged three negative considerations, not inaptly termed "fears," which undoubtedly swayed the minds of many Councillors, whose votes, added to the genuine Sabbatarians', brought about the deplorable result. Fear one was—that to renew the Queen's Hall licence without a proviso interdicting Sunday Concerts, by forbidding the opening of the Hall on Sundays for private gain, or by way of trade, would lead to general Sunday labour and the opening of shops as on week days. Fear two—a vague impression that in some way or other the Council would be encouraging an infringement of the Lord's Day Act of 1781, which, though antiquated, still remains on the Statute Book. Fear three—a dread of the spectre known as the Continental Sunday, as if the gay Parisian spirit, with its environment of climate, could ever be transferred to the banks of the Thames.

The forces opposed to culture and refinement centred in the Sabbatarian societies are congratulating themselves on the barrier they have induced the County Council to erect as an obstruction to the progress of modern ideas. The Lord's Day Observance Society is the oldest of the adverse influences working to deprive us of our Sunday freedom, and we therefore take the liberty of asking—What is their ground of opposition to the public performance of music on Sunday apart from religious worship? In their last annual report we find material to answer that question. They recognise "the

Divine obligation of the Sabbath, enjoined upon man at the creation, confirmed in the ten commandments, vindicated by our Divine Lord and transferred by Him and His apostles to the first day of the week and on that account called "The Lord's Day," and, further, that the "violation" of this day "brings down the Almighty's severest judgments upon all the undertakings of the nation, and the Divine chastisements now abroad in the world place before us the awful warning of neglecting it."

Such, in brief, is the awful creed of the Sabbatarians banded together in the Lord's Day Observance Society. And the mode of enforcing these antiquated tenets upon the English people to-day is, to again quote from the report, by "the strong arm of the law." They advise "new Acts of Parliament, the revising and amending of obsolete and *inefficient* statutes," and they have the hardihood to assert that "the British nation is bound to give this *protection*, because the Lord's Day [as understood by the Lord's Day Society] has ever been admitted as a law of the land." Here we have proof positive that impossible views of the Lord's Day and the stern policy of maintaining the sanctity of the Sabbath, though antiquated, are not obsolete, as the promoters of Sunday lectures and concerts have had abundant reason to know from the unrelenting persecutions they have suffered in the way of threats of legal proceedings, though seldom carried out, but which have operated in repressing many useful efforts to provide rational instruction and elevating enjoyment to thousands of busy citizens whose only opportunity to enjoy them is the weekly day of rest. The managers of the Royal Albert Hall concerts have been interrupted in their laudable work, and pestered with threats, extending over twenty years, whilst men like Sir Robert Ball have been deterred from discoursing on "the wonders of the heavens" on a Sunday afternoon. The other Sabbatarian Society, the Working Men's Lord's Day Rest Association, is imbued with the same spirit, as we gather from its Secretary, Mr. Charles Hill, who informs us "that many of the Sunday laws *have been and are extremely valuable*; and although great changes have taken place in the constitution of our country, in the modes of thought and opinions of successive generations, the belief in the *necessity and advantages of such laws has never been abandoned*." Softened in tone and modified in expression, still the "mailed fist" of law, including fine and imprisonment, is the ultimate appeal and last refuge for enforcing ancient Sabbatarian customs. With slight differences, the two societies go hand-in-hand in their obstruction to Sunday music and intellectual enlightenment. Still, we gladly notice that the Working Men's Lord's Day Rest Association has learnt something of the spirit of the age, and thus makes the graceful concession that, "as we advance in civilisation we gain more light than our forefathers had, as to the principles on which Sunday laws should be

based. We no longer endeavour to *enforce religious observance by the civil magistrate.*" Grateful indeed ought we to be that Lord's Day societies "no longer endeavour" to fine and imprison us for not attending church or chapel on their day of rest. And why not? Ah! we have gained more light than our forefathers by the advance of civilisation. Quite right; and may we not hope that with more light from the advance of civilisation the Lord's Day societies themselves may rise to higher things, and be led to modify their views still further; that we may hear them proclaiming that they no longer endeavour to bar the gates to the temples of art, or close the avenues to the centres of knowledge? Then they will "no longer endeavour" to close the halls where the refining influence of music is so potent a factor in the civilisation which they have already in part appreciated.

With such evidence before us of the aims and objects of the Sabbatarian societies, is it not matter for deep regret that the London County Council should have become in this matter an auxiliary of these organisations?

Englishmen justly deplore the influence of sacerdotalism in Spain and Italy, as instrumental in crushing out the life-blood of a nation, and yet we have in our very midst, and confronting us at every turn, the same intolerant spirit of the dark ages, which is now focussed in the Lord's Day Rest and Observance Societies.

With a feeling of relief we turn to view the forces that make for freedom, culture, and advancement.

The People's Concert Society ranks among the very first to revive music on Sundays. It has a record of nearly 1000 concerts given in and around London, and, with the names of five clergymen on its Committee, can scarcely be suspected of desecrating the Sunday, debasing the tastes of the people, or even of introducing any objectionable features of the Continental Sunday.

The National Sunday League has for many years provided Sunday entertainments in various parts of London, but, as we now learn from letters in the daily press that they have done this as a body of Protestant Dissenters, registering the concert halls for their entertainments as religious services, the members of the National Sunday League are really outside the question involved, which is the liberty of the people to enjoy music, literature, science, and art as such, a matter of the very first importance, seeing that the great majority of Englishmen cannot bring themselves to re-name any of these great influences as "religious worship." No one would wish to take from the National Sunday League of Protestant Dissenters any consolation they may derive from the devotional exercises at their registered places of worship, but both the orthodox believer and the agnostic will equally protest against the chapels of the Sunday League being given a monopoly in the matter of Sunday entertainments.



In the Sunday Society we find an organisation in which eminent Nonconformists, dignitaries of the Established Church, and representatives of every section of the community are united "to obtain the repeal of the Lord's Day Act of 1781, and the passing of a new Sunday Act that will give freedom for the enjoyment of literature, science and art whilst safeguarding Sunday from becoming an ordinary working day."

Thus the Sunday Society is an intellectual force advocating on broad lines of perfect freedom the right to spend Sunday in mental and moral advancement and to direct the energies of those who desire to make the Day of Rest a day of brightness, joy, and culture. The Sunday Philharmonic Union, Toynbee Hall and other University settlements are working in the same direction, and are diffusing sentiments of freedom and self-restraint, coupled with aspirations for a higher life than is comprehended in the round of daily labour, rest, and food—aspirations which will have to be satisfied despite the Lord's Day societies and their latest recruit, the London County Council.

Now, the London County Council had not overlooked these considerations previous to their late backsliding, for they had themselves taken the step of providing Sunday music in the public parks, so widely appreciated and so eagerly listened to by multitudes of young and old who too rarely hear the strains of classical music. Their recent decision, so far as influenced by a fear of a vast increase in Sunday labour, is absolutely unwarranted, for, in the case of the opening of picture galleries and museums, has not the result quite upset the predictions of the Sabbatarian societies? Indeed, the difference has been so infinitesimal as scarcely to be noticed even by the Sabbatarians themselves. Clearing away all the specious arguments to justify their recent action, the only valid excuse that can be adduced is to be found in the Lord's Day Act of 1781, which is after all the great stumbling-block to all progress, and until that Act is ended—and not mended—no sufficient relief can possibly come.

But although the Council pleaded the legal difficulty as a reason for their decision in closing the Queen's Hall, and at the same time encouraging the Sunday League to carry on its work without let or hindrance, their action was utterly at variance with the Lord's Day Act of George III., which imposes penalties in connection with Sunday entertainments where for entrance there is "payment of money or tickets sold for money." Then the Council, in its unwisdom, inserted a new regulation that Sunday entertainments should not be carried on for "private gain," thus prohibiting Mr. Newman from continuing his unrivalled concerts on the plea of "private profit," while during the debate it became evident that it was not only a question of profit but of how much profit. The Act of Par-

liament says that no building shall be open for entertainments on Sundays where there is payment for admission; but the London County Council, which should be a purely administrative body, issues a new edict authorising buildings to be opened on Sunday for public entertainment, with payment for admission, providing there is "no personal gain." But the terms, "personal profit," "private gain," or "trade," are not contained in the Lord's Day Act of George III., or, indeed, in any statute of the realm in this connection.

The whole contention arose undoubtedly from a dispute between the Sunday League and Mr. Newman; but it is difficult to believe that the members of the Council who are members of the League should have allowed their votes to be influenced by considerations that what could be permitted in the case of the League became intolerable when done by others.

On this point Mr. Mark Judge, the hon. secretary of the Sunday Society, in two able letters in the *Times*, has put the matter with much clearness. Referring to the remarks of Sir John Hutton, an active member of the League, Mr. Judge says: "The question at issue is a much larger one than Sir John Hutton, Sir Arthur Arnold, and other members of the Council realise, when they venture to suggest that all would be settled if Mr. Newman would consent to re-let the Queen's Hall to the National Sunday League." A much larger question indeed; and if the central municipal authority in London should remain under the suspicion of having stooped so low as to suppress Sunday entertainments in the interests of any particular organisation there is something more than Sabbatarianism to fight against.

As Mr. Judge says, "there is no doubt that we must look to Westminster for a solution of the main question, but in the meantime the London County Council would have acted wisely if they maintained their old policy of non-intervention between the public and the two Lord's Day societies." The Council had given satisfaction by their past policy, but in adding a new regulation to the already harassing Sunday laws, they have brought us to an *impasse* out of which Parliament ought speedily to release us, if we are not to become the laughing-stock of civilised peoples, in addition to the spirit of our time being bound in the swaddling bands of a bygone age.

SIDNEY HERBERT LAING.

## THE FALLACIES OF AMATEUR MEDICINE.

THE first doctor was an amateur, and the race is still with us. The irresponsible prescriber confronts us everywhere—in the street, at the club, in the drawing-room, on board ship. Go where we will we cannot escape him. Indeed, it is one of the penalties of ill health that we have to listen with courtesy to the medical suggestions of our friends, and sometimes, alas, to pretend that their advice has been followed! Celebrities are, it is well known, especially badly off, for they are pestered when ill with advice from hundreds of well-meaning strangers. Witness the case of Mr. Gladstone in his last illness and that of the Prince of Wales with his injured kneecap.

The amateur doctor is drawn from every class, but is found chiefly among nurses, county ladies, retired officers or merchants, and country clergymen. Nurses are very prone to give unasked advice, and their forecasts of an illness are listened to with an awe to which they are unaccustomed in medical circles. The Lady Bountiful, commonly the wife of the squire, at one time kept a whole armoury of "simples," with which she used to dose the no less simple villagers. But, of late years, port wine and beef-tea have been the staple prescriptions, and very good ones, too, for most of her cases. Among men, lawyers are conspicuously absent; they have, doubtless, too much experience of the follies of amateurs in their own profession. Retired officers and business men are not so free from reproach, possibly on the principle that "Satan finds some mischief still for idle hands to do." But the country clergy and nonconformist ministers are the greatest offenders, as shown by their readiness to give testimonials in favour of proprietary medicines. A "fearful example" is to be found in the case of the vicar of a charming parish in one of the home counties. Among his parishioners were a mother and daughter in rather poor circumstances. The former was paralytic, and the daughter, who was her sole nurse and attendant, wheeled her about in an antiquated Bath-chair. Finally the daughter's health broke down; the vicar prescribed for her, and admittedly caused her death. A poor man, he had not the means to pay for an attendant, and now conscientiously drags the chair himself.

. The inadequate popular idea of the mental and other processes

involved in the treatment of disease is largely responsible for amateurism in medicine. It consists in a hazy theory that for every disease there is a corresponding drug, as for every poison an antidote. Problem: Find out the disease, and then search memory or book for the appropriate remedy. No distinction is made between symptoms and diseases, or between the different stages or degrees of a disease; nor is any attention bestowed upon peculiarities of constitution, or upon complications or environment. The syllogism employed is something like this: "My friend had a headache, and was cured by iron; I have a headache, therefore I shall be cured by iron." But headache is not a disease; it is a symptom, and occurs in a very large number of diseases, of which congestion of the brain and anæmia may be taken as examples. When the name of the disease is substituted for that of the symptom, the syllogism becomes nonsense, thus: "My friend had anæmia, and was cured by iron; I have congestion of the brain, therefore I shall be cured by iron."

There is, however, scarcely a disease which a given drug will cure under all conditions and in all circumstances. But treatment implies a good deal more than the mere administration of drugs. It involves a knowledge of their physiological action, of dosage, of incompatibilities, and, where a drug otherwise beneficial has an undesirable effect upon a second organ, of the method of neutralising this effect. Moreover, proper diet is often an absolutely essential element in treatment, and dietetics alone is a big subject. It is necessary, further, to know when to enjoin confinement to bed or to the house; to determine whether exercise shall be taken, and, if so, to what extent and of what character; to decide when, if at all, change of air will be beneficial, and if it be, which will be the most suitable place.

To the initiated it seems strange that, whereas few men will set their opinion against that of an artisan in his own trade, many claim to speak with a kind of authority in this the most difficult of the learned professions, and almost all constitute themselves a final court of appeal competent to decide to what extent, if at all, the advice and directions tendered them shall be followed. The amateur's reasoning, if so dignified a term may be used, is, however, beset with fallacies on every side. The first is that of diagnosis. If an erroneous opinion of the nature of a disease has been formed, successful treatment can be scarcely expected. Yet to form a correct diagnosis may require a very wide range of knowledge, such as the position, shape, and function of every organ of the body both in health and disease. The mode of determining changes in them, by highly-trained senses, aided by such instruments as the stethoscope, the microscope, the thermometer, the ophthalmoscope, and the electric battery; a knowledge of the origin and course of the nerves, veins, and arteries; the bearing upon each disease of age, sex, heredity,

occupation, climate, &c. &c. Some idea of the extent of the knowledge required may be realised from the fact that enlargement of the liver occurs in no less than fourteen diseases. Obviously all this knowledge can be gained only by prolonged study with special opportunities for observation. Of course, in many cases long experience and skilled questioning will give the physician an idea where to look for the disease without employing his whole armamentarium. But this rarely applies to the amateur, for it must be pointed out that it is not enough to know all the symptoms of the disease in question; those of all diseases for which it might be mistaken must be equally familiar. It is not until these are excluded that the diagnosis becomes a certainty. Further, as in treatment there is no single remedy for each ailment, so in diagnosis there is practically no single symptom which indicates inevitably a particular disease.

The objection may here be made that the diagnosis has frequently been determined already by a doctor. But if his diagnosis is to be trusted, why is his treatment superseded? And if his treatment has been followed and proved unsuccessful, may it not be because his diagnosis is incorrect? If so, the proper course is its revision in a consultation, and not repeated trials of other drugs for a disease which may be non-existent.

But even assuming that the diagnosis is correct, another fallacy confronts the amateur—the fallacy of stage. The treatment proper to one stage of a disease may be useless or injurious in another. A burn, for instance, may present three different degrees—redness, blistering, and skin destruction. Each of these requires special treatment, and no popular remedy for a burn is suitable for all three degrees. Similarly with eczema, for which one application is proper to the dry stage, another to the moist, and a third to the stage of thickening. This source of error eliminated, a further fallacy lies in the possible presence of some concurrent affection which may necessitate modification of the treatment. To ignore this point may be dangerous even to life. For instance, a patient may be in a condition which ordinarily would be benefited by opium, but should there be kidney complication, opium would be highly dangerous.

The fallacy of mistaking a symptom for a disease has been already alluded to, but may be considered in more detail with advantage, as it is a point of very great importance. In general, no symptom should be treated until the condition or disease upon which it depends has been determined. A cough, for instance, is present as a symptom in something like fifty diseases. But there can be little advantage in treating the cough while ignoring the disease which causes it. Indeed, it is not always safe to do so. A cough is commonly an effort of Nature to remove a foreign substance, such as phlegm; but if the cough is stopped, the phlegm goes on accumulating until the patient's life is endangered. As well might the

traveller who finds signs of the presence of a lion in his neighbourhood seek safety by covering up the beast's footprints,

Once more it may be urged that there can be no objection to the employment of a proprietary medicine which has proved repeatedly efficacious for a given disease. The question has been already answered in part in treating of the fallacies of diagnosis, stage, and complications. The risk here is even greater, for the composition of such remedies is secret, and, even if one constituent be suitable, another may be harmful. The writer is informed by a trade expert that, to be remunerative, the actual materials for each shilling bottle of patent medicine should not cost more than twopence. If the same amount be allowed for advertising, the result obtained is that for every £7000 so spent 1,000,000 bottles (plus some at a higher price) will be sold, and some nostrums have £100,000 a year spent upon them. It would be strange indeed if, out of this multitude of cases, cures never resulted. Coincidence alone would account for a considerable number, and the failures are not advertised. The fact is that these medicines are in almost all cases made from a physician's prescription, which originally was designed for a special phase of a special malady in a special patient, and was no doubt accompanied by directions as to diet and mode of life of hardly less importance than the drugs themselves. By a perversion of reasoning, that which proved successful in a case presenting certain peculiarities is henceforth proclaimed from the housetops as infallible in all cases of the disease. In practice, however, it will prove successful only in cases which reproduce the characteristics special to the patient for whom it was first prescribed. The argument is equally valid against the practice of passing prescriptions on to friends. Success in medicine, as in everything else, depends largely upon attention to details, and it is precisely in these details that one patient differs from another. The prescribing chemist is somewhat outside the scope of this paper, but, apart from other considerations, it may be pointed out that his opinion is almost entirely the outcome of interrogation, and that this forms the weakest element in diagnosis. Indeed, the art of questioning a patient so as to elicit the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, requires very great experience. The same objection, but in a still greater degree, applies to the answers given in the medical column of a newspaper. Herbalists may be passed over with the remark that their favourite claim to innocuousness, owing to their drugs being exclusively vegetable, is quite untenable. Vegetable poisons are as common as mineral—one-fiftieth of a grain of aconitine will kill a dog.

Arrived at this point, the reader may possibly declare, in his bewilderment, that after all it may be safer to trust to Nature. Unfortunately, the *vis medicatrix nature* is a blind agent, and often

needs a guide. Nature is able to cure a case of typhoid, for instance, but not without skilful piloting. Not seldom, indeed, is she wrong-headed as well as blind. In the case of a wound of the eyeball, the danger to sight, and even to life, is due not so much to the injury as to the violent attempts of Nature to heal it. The last refuge of these who would dispense with professional treatment is the Faith Cure. The Christian Scientists (scientists, apparently, on the *lucus a non lucendo* principle) pray directly to God to cure the disease. But it is generally admitted by students of the Bible that the Almighty works through the instrumentality of man; the proper course, therefore, is to pray that the efforts of the instrument—*i.e.*, the doctor—may be successful. Had this been done in the case of the lamented Harold Frederick, he might still have been with us.

It is evident from the foregoing considerations that the path of the amateur doctor is beset with pitfalls ready to receive both him and his patient. But while the chances of benefit are few, the risk of injury is considerable. Time is lost, and its loss may mean much more than the direct delay. This is especially the case when an increased temperature is one of the symptoms; for not only do such cases run a rapid course and lead to early exhaustion, but what has been regarded as a "feverish cold" may turn out an infectious disease, dangerous to others as well as the patient. Even in chronic cases, the postponement of proper treatment may convert a transitory into an obstinate ailment, a simple case into one with dangerous complications, a curable into a fatal disease. If a man with no one dependent upon him choose deliberately to incur the risk of self-medication for any but the simplest of maladies, he has a perfect right to do so; but if he must prescribe for others, let it be for his enemies, not for his friends.

RALPH W. LEFTWICH, M.D.

## AN AGNOSTIC ON THE CHURCH QUESTION.

THAT a professed Agnostic should concern himself with the progress and prospects of an ecclesiastical controversy may at first sight seem a little singular, if not indeed impertinent. Moving about in the void that separates the fortified walls of a score of organised denominations, the Agnostic, it might be thought, would feel as little temptation to enter within those walls as they would experience willingness to entertain him. And, in truth, so far as these organisations are merely religious bodies, such a conclusion would be reasonable enough. At the same time it must be conceded that, however little the Agnostic may feel in sympathy with the theological conceptions of any religious denomination, he yet remains, and cannot help remaining, an interested member of that greater organisation which is spoken of as the nation. Being this, he cannot help taking a keen interest in all that is mixed up with national life and national history. When, therefore, an ecclesiastical controversy arises in connection with a religious body such as the Church of England, which is admittedly a national institution, even the Agnostic cannot avoid taking an interest in that controversy, and perhaps an interest all the warmer because of his own personal aloofness from its theological aspects. Such a feeling of interest—the interest of a member of the nation in the fate of a national institution—is sure to become all the greater if a visit happens to be paid to some one of those great ecclesiastical centres in which so much of the history of the nation stands recorded in stone and marble. There is little that is theological, nothing that is sectarian, in the Gothic cathedral, asleep amid the lime avenues of its “Close” and the sheltered homes of its happy dignitaries. It is a part of England that is before the pilgrim. The stories that can be traced in the varied styles of architecture; the dramas that are suggested by the tombs of kings, crusaders, and cardinals; the sense of national dignity and greatness that seems to rest under the vaulted roofs and to penetrate the perspective of long-drawn aisles—these are matters which, being national, are greater than the creeds which are associated with them. The men who raised these stones one upon another were Englishmen as we are. They believed firmly in the principles, in the creeds,



which these magnificent and enduring edifices were intended to express. And, believing, they laboured strenuously, persistently, and successfully in the carrying out of the work they had taken in hand.

As an Englishman, then, the Agnostic, banned though he may be by all the religious organisations among which he wanders, may well feel as warm an interest in a Church which is a national institution as he feels in the buildings which are part of that Church's inheritance. His interest becomes all the warmer through recognition of the fact that, whatever may be his own convictions, negative or positive, the creed of a Church which in any respect deserves to be called national must be what the people, or the majority of them, believe. It is the silent consensus of innumerable individual opinions that fixes the creed of the national Church for the time being: It may with propriety be said "for the time being," because it is a patent fact that, within certain limits, the beliefs of the people have from time to time varied. Nor is it in any respect necessary that the beliefs of the people should receive enthusiastic individual assertion. Most of what is believed by the people, in respect either of religion, politics, society, or commerce, finds its realisation far more in a negative than in a positive form. In politics a man may be a Liberal, but he will not give up the House of Lords. He may be liberally-minded in respect of social matters, but he would never countenance the legitimisation of children by the subsequent marriage of their parents. He may be a Liberal in respect of commercial matters, but he abhors the very thought of a bimetallic standard of coinage. So also in respect of religious matters, the standard is fixed not so much by what the average individual enthusiastically believes, as by what he would always refuse to give up. The majority of people, in average times, are not enthusiasts in anything, and it is just as well for the peace of the world that they are not. Nevertheless, their negative convictions more effectually fix the standard of popular belief than it could ever be fixed by the most logical of reasoners or the most enthusiastic of evangelists.

Hence it happens that the Agnostic, anxious always for the welfare of the nation and the State, desiring as sincerely as the most earnest Churchman that "peace and happiness, truth and justice," and even "religion and piety," may be "established among us for all generations," cannot but take note of the nature and level of the popular creed, and the manner in which it may act upon, or be acted upon by, the prevailing standard of conduct and morals. Included in this problem is the consideration as to how far what is best in the popular creed is encouraged or the reverse by the manner of the outward expression of that creed. Studying the whole subject from that outside position which he has so unfortunately chosen for himself, the Agnostic cannot but come in the

first place to the conclusion that among all the orthodox churches—the Roman Catholic, the High Church Anglican, the Low Church Anglican, the Evangelical Nonconformists—there are at least nine points of agreement to every one of difference; that is to say, that, in respect of 90 per cent. of the theological principles accepted, they are essentially at one, and only differ in respect of 10 per cent. of those principles. The recognition of this large proportion of essential agreement is not, in one sense, flattering to the Agnostic himself; for it seems to suggest the reflection that he must be a very rash and misguided person to venture to doubt the value of this concurrence of opinion. There the fact is, however, and the fact is not to be got over. Naturally, upon the recognition of this large proportion of essential agreement, comes the feeling of regret that those who are so much in agreement and are all, presumably, so sincere, cannot make up their minds to discuss their points of difference in a calm and judicial spirit—that is to say, if it is necessary to discuss them at all, a matter with regard to which there may, perhaps, be some doubt.

It has, however, seemed good to certain sections hitherto included within the limits of a national and historical Church to set to work to discuss their points of difference with unusual warmth. The waves of this discussion are being felt in every corner of the country, and the eagerness of each section to excommunicate the other appears to increase rather than diminish as the months go by. What gives special and peculiar complication to the controversy is the fact that it turns so much upon the actual meaning of certain remote events and legal enactments, the history of which is often extremely obscure and the force of which has admittedly been again and again overruled by what happened to be the custom of the moment, as well as by political necessities. The difficulty of resolving such a controversy is obvious. Still, there is in the existence of this difficulty nothing to be surprised at. An institution which is in any respect national must needs take its colouring from time to time from the changes in the political and social life of the nation. Just as new national conditions necessitate new legislation, so a change in national conditions will necessitate, will perforce bring about, changes in such an institution as a national Church. It is absurd to suppose that the customs of one period will of necessity apply to every period. Grant the existence of a national Church, and changes in its customs and its doctrines—or perhaps rather in the stress which it lays upon doctrines—are inevitable.

There are two causes that, since the sixteenth century, have exercised a powerful effect upon the fortunes of the national Church. These have been (1) the dread of external interference in the civil affairs of the realm, and (2) a disputed succession. Both these causes, it will be noted, have been political in their nature, not

ecclesiastical. Both causes, which are indeed very closely associated with each other, are also intimately connected with that dogged determination of Englishmen to manage their own affairs which belongs to their geographical insulation. That in the sixteenth century the national rights of Englishmen were in some degree threatened from without there can be no question, nor can there be any doubt that what chiefly made the threat serious was the ecclesiastical aspect which it largely assumed. In all probability the best move that could be made for the time was the vesting of the supreme ecclesiastical authority in the civil head of the State—an act which took place, it must be remembered, while the national Church, so far as its doctrines and practice were concerned, was still unreformed. By the most natural process in the world, the repudiation of the Pope's claim to the right of civil interference hastened the repudiation of the doctrines of the Church of which the Pope was the head. All through the ecclesiastical history of England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the political causes are seen lying underneath the apparent religious causes. It was still the dread of political interference in ecclesiastical guise that led to the Revolution of 1688 and the expulsion of the Stuarts. A little later, the dread of a Stuart restoration—a dread perhaps rather dynastic than national—degraded the national Church into that mere political machine which it became till the end of the eighteenth century.

There were several causes that combined to put an end to this state of things. To begin with, the dread of a Stuart restoration died out with the failure of the direct Stuart line, so that it was no longer necessary, from a political point of view, to keep up the Erastian traditions of the Church of the three first Georges. Then the earnestness of the Evangelical revival, itself a reaction against the deadness of the Church, also served to promote a rearrangement of ecclesiastical ideas. But, above all, these ideas were more or less revolutionised, often unconsciously to themselves, by the volcanic force of the French Revolution. The assertion of national and personal rights which that movement expressed put an end both to the fear of Papal interference in the civil affairs of European States—at least, of all States that had any vigorous existence—and relaxed the intolerance that had imposed religious tests upon those claiming the full rights of citizenship. Catholic emancipation, the removal of the disabilities of Nonconformists, the admission of Jews to Parliament, the abolition of University tests—all these changes, occurring in succession, were both directly and indirectly the result of the French explosion of 1789. These changes, however, brought most important consequences in their train. In the first place, they destroyed the justification for that parliamentary control over a national Church the existence of which has been so very generally assumed, and which, in the eyes, apparently, of a great many

remains in full force at the present moment. So long as every Member of Parliament was presumably a member of the national Church, it might seem appropriate enough that that Church should be subject to parliamentary control. The moment, however, that Parliament began to include Catholics, Jews, Unitarians, and all shades of Evangelical Nonconformity, the logic of such control entirely disappeared. Nothing, surely, could be more offensive or more unreasonable than to make an ecclesiastical body which is more or less bound to a certain collection of principles, both in creed and constitution, subject, to the will of an assembly composed in considerable proportion of persons by whom those principles are openly repudiated. The anomaly, the absurdity is one which every earnest member of the national Church is bound to resent, nor is the anomaly rendered any less striking by the anomalous position of the episcopal heads of the national Church in the Upper House of Legislature.

Another result of the growth of tolerance, as exemplified in the removal of civil disabilities on religious grounds, has been the increased readiness to investigate the position and traditions of the national Church apart from all dread of Papal interference in civil matters. The power of Rome being no longer a political and national bogey, it became possible to examine distinctive Roman doctrines in a more impartial spirit. Those doctrines, apart from any extremer developments of the last three centuries, were once the property of the national Church of England. What had that Church lost, what had it gained, by the repudiation of these doctrines? Here was a field for most interesting and legitimate inquiry. Such inquiry, too, was all the more encouraged by the new earnestness that had come into a Church set free from the fetters of utter and complete Erastianism. This earnestness, there can be no doubt, set in with the promoters of the Evangelical revival that commenced in the middle of the eighteenth century. This earnestness, once started, could not easily satisfy itself, passing on into new forms in some cases strangely differing from each other. Wesley, Whitefield, and Newton were as much the fathers of the High Church movement as they were of the scientific movement; they were no less the forerunners of Huxley and Darwin than they were of Pusey and Keble. In each case individual uncompromising earnestness was acting according to its particular intellectual bent. For all this uncompromising earnestness the world is infinitely the richer. Leaving the scientific aspect of the question out of sight, even the most Protestant of all Mr. Kensit's disciples will admit the debt due to the High Church party for rescuing the national Church from the ghastly coldness and ugliness of the ritual of fifty years ago.

Whence did this rescue proceed? Undoubtedly it proceeded from the researches made by earnest High Churchmen into the traditions and history of the national Church since it constitutionally

severed itself from the Catholic Church of Europe. Through these researches it has become a matter of notoriety that the practice and ritual of the national Church during the eighteenth century, and well into the nineteenth, was in many respects utterly at variance with both the intentions and the instructions of the framers of its Liturgy. It has become matter of notoriety that during that period much was cast out which was never intended to be cast out, while much was imported which was never intended to be imported. The anti-papal prejudice, based originally on national and political grounds, had by force of congruity extended itself to matters of doctrine and ritual. What has followed has been the most natural thing in the world. A disposition has arisen—and it has arisen quite as much with the laity as the clergy, who are, after all, only a section of the laity—to ask whether, in repudiating Papal interference in national affairs, it was right or wise or necessary to repudiate the doctrines which, up to nearly the middle of the sixteenth century, kept the national Church of England in harmony and communion with the Catholic Church of Europe. \*

It is this question that is being asked now in those developments of doctrine and ritual against which an agitation has arisen. The whole thing has come about, not by the wilfulness or unfaithfulness of any particular set of men, but by a most natural process of evolution. And it is from this standpoint that it ought to be criticised and dealt with. There are, no doubt, plenty of big stones lying around which can be hurled at the clergy who are said to be anxious to rush over to Rome, or at the bishops who are accused of declining to act the part of ecclesiastical policemen. No good, however, can possibly be gained by this kind of stone-throwing, and least of all from an ultra-Protestant point of view, for one of its certain results must be to drive crowds of really conscientious people either to seek within the fold of Rome the peace and decency which are imperilled in the national Church of England, or to repudiate religion altogether. It was difficult enough for Christian to keep a safe path under any circumstances between the snares on one side and the quagmire on the other. If his position had been additionally compromised by a number of pseudo-pilgrims indulging in a free fight he would have been lost to a certainty.

Regarding the developments of doctrine and ritual, against which an agitation has been raised, as the result of a natural process of evolution, a question arises as to the extent to which they are justified and the manner in which they should be handled. Now at the very outset there is one fact—a fact of the utmost importance—that has to be admitted on behalf of the High Church party. Assuming the historical view of Christianity held by all the Evangelical churches and sects alike to be correct, it is obvious that Christianity carries with it an injunction, a command, with regard to one particular

ordinance—the ordinance which, for the purpose of these remarks, may be spoken of as the Eucharist. Without doubt here is a divinely-appointed ordinance, even if there is no other. Bearing this fact in mind, nothing can be more right or logical than the practice of the High Church party in making, or seeking to make, this divinely-appointed ordinance the central and principal ecclesiastical ceremony, and in concentrating upon it all the assistance that can be rendered by those arts which are part of our modern development. In this respect the High Church party is in absolute accord with the Catholic Church as it existed prior to the sixteenth century, and with the Roman Catholic Church as it has existed since the Anglican Church declared its independence. In their contention for giving the first place to this particular ordinance the High Church party, whether moderate or extreme, are absolutely in the right. On the other hand, the practice which prevailed for so many scores of years in the Church of England—the practice of thrusting this divinely-established ordinance into a corner, as a thing altogether inferior to the endeavours of the pulpit—was absolutely wrong. It is quite possible that in the sixteenth century this ordinance had, in the Catholic Church, become associated with glosses and practices that tended to degrade and obscure it. Those glosses and practices, however, though they may have excused, in no way justified the tremendous swing-over in the contrary direction—a swing-over that was accompanied, as the Protestant Latimer sadly testified, by a terrible deterioration in national morals and manners.<sup>1</sup> Political causes, as has been already pointed out, for more than two hundred years stood in the way of any impartial examination of the position of the national Church. The Puritan, with his contempt for art and his affection for metaphysical disquisition, was master in the land, and a very fine fellow doubtless he was in respect of all that has to do with national independence. Adopting Latimer's famous saying—"Go hear sermons"<sup>2</sup>—he gave quite a secondary place to the ancient ceremonies of the Church: It is true that in the seventeenth century some of the old light returned in the person of such men as George Herbert, whose injunction to "resort to sermons, but to prayers most," struck a far truer note than had been struck by Latimer a century earlier. Unfortunately, the political jumble that resulted from the folly of the later Stuarts once more came in to deprive the Anglican Church of the chance of studying its old traditions, and by the time the political atmosphere was calm enough to permit of such study, the work of exhuming those old traditions was about as arduous as the work of exhuming the ruins of Pompeii.

From the Agnostic's point of view, then, the High Church party are absolutely right in their endeavour to insist on the supreme

<sup>1</sup> See Latimer's seventh sermon before Edward VI. at Westminster.

<sup>2</sup> See Latimer's sixth Friday sermon at Westminster.

dignity of the Eucharist; and if their endeavours seem for the moment to run into occasional exaggeration, such exaggeration should be regarded with toleration. As the High Church movement itself is a national development, so the gentle and unconscious influence of national conditions will, if left to itself, repress any tendency to exaggeration. Hence nothing can be more unfortunate, nothing can be less calculated to promote the professed end in view, than the ultra-Protestant agitation that has suddenly sprung up—an agitation which may be not unreasonably suspected of being inspired more by a desire for notoriety on the part of its promoters than by any sincere solicitude for the religious well-being of the community. Even this agitation, however, would perhaps be comparatively harmless were it not for the too evident desire on the part of professional politicians to make party capital out of it. Sir William Harcourt first set the example in this direction by his thunderous letters in the *Times*. A little later Lord Salisbury, in a letter to the Secretary of a Conservative Club,<sup>1</sup> expressed the opinion that “no one ought to have any office in the Church who is not prepared to stand by the Church of England Prayer-book as it is.” That the landed interest is not generally favourable to the High Church movement can be well understood, for the movement tends to diminish the social authority of the landowner. There is, however, no necessity for landowners to allow their dislike of the movement to lead them, under political pretexts, into positions which are as impossible as they are illogical.

For this is what both Lord Salisbury and Sir William Harcourt have done. Take the case of Lord Salisbury first. Lord Salisbury declares that “no one ought to have any office in the Church who is not prepared to stand by the Church of England Prayer-book as it is.” Why, there is not a single cleric in the Church of England, High Church, Low Church, or Broad Church, who dreams of standing by the Prayer-book as it is! Take only the one matter of the celebration of the Eucharist, and compare the general practice with the conditions laid down in the fourth paragraph of the Rubric at the commencement of the Communion Service. That fourth paragraph provides, as plainly as the English language can express it, for a Presbyterian celebration—precisely such a celebration as is depicted in Wilkie’s unfinished picture, in which John Knox is the principal figure, that hangs in the Scottish National Gallery. That fourth paragraph provides for a movable table placed in the “chancel or body of the church,” with its ends naturally east and west and its sides north and south, with the celebrant, as in Wilkie’s picture, standing on the north side. To stand by the Prayer-book “as it is” is, therefore, in respect of such a critical matter as this, to adopt a practice which even the lowest of Low Churchmen would utterly repudiate. In respect of this most critical matter, it is tradition

<sup>1</sup> Published in the *Times* of October 29, 1898.

and ancient practice that has been followed, and not the precisely-worded Rubric. And once admit that tradition and ancient practice may override the plainest rubrical direction, what becomes of the Prayer-book "as it is"?

Sir William Harcourt, in the letters first alluded to, takes what may be called the high-and-dry Erastian view. That view, no doubt, had some congruity about it when the Church of England was a mere political machine, when every English Member of Parliament was presumably a member of that Church, and when the rights and privileges of the legislative body of the Church—the two Houses of Convocation—had been utterly suspended. The moment, however, that the religious test in respect of Members of Parliament was abolished that position became absolutely absurd and impossible. How is it possible for an assembly comprising Catholics, Jews, infidels, and every shade of heretic to legislate for and control the Church of England, with its historical traditions and its distinctive doctrines? The thing is morally impossible, and its impossibility has been proved by the unhappy results of the passing of the Public Worship Regulation Act a few years ago—an Act which, after all, was merely empowering and permissive. The experience then gained ought surely to withhold all sober-minded politicians from again attempting to legislate in respect of the tradition and practice of the Church of England. But in very truth it was never intended that Parliament should thus legislate. The Church of England has its own charter of self-government in the Royal Declaration that precedes the Thirty-nine Articles, and has its own legislative body in the two Houses of Convocation, whose rights are in that Declaration recognised and enforced. That the rights of Convocation were practically suppressed early in the eighteenth century we all know, and we all know that these rights were suppressed because a large proportion of the clergy were suspected of anti-Hanoverian proclivities. The question of a disputed succession having disappeared, the rights and powers of Convocation naturally emerge once more from their obscurity. Those rights and powers are very wide and complete. They include the right of revision as much as they included the right of origination—for it is absurd and monstrous to suppose that the legislative powers of Convocation expired in the one act in which the Prayer-book "as it is" had its origin. The authority to originate includes the authority to revise and alter when new conditions seem to render revision and alteration desirable. And hence, when Lord Salisbury hints at the dispossession from office of all clerics who do not stand by the Prayer-book "as it is," and when Sir William Harcourt thunders against the bishops through the columns of the *Times*, they are both of them usurping functions which in no sense belong to them.

That the conditions of the time, with all its new and vigorous



moral and social forces, seriously call for a reconsideration of the relations between the State and any Church that aspires to be national in its character, no one can deny. In the minds of many, no doubt, the solution of a vexed problem is to be found in the word "disestablishment," and certainly disestablishment, out-and-out, would be preferable to making use of ecclesiastical differences as weapons in the strife of political parties. Against hastily adopting, however, the remedy of disestablishment two very grave arguments can be advanced. In the first place, there can be no question that one of the first results of disestablishment would be the migration of a very large section of the members of the national Church, and probably the best section of it, to the Roman communion, with the necessary further result of strengthening within the country that ultramontane ideal which the constitution of the Roman communion tends to encourage. That is not what the average Englishman wants; and that is what the Agnostic wants least of all. In the next place, hasty disestablishment would tend to the injury of the country by the disappearance of that protection to freedom of theological thought which a national Church undoubtedly affords. If, however, the nation were to come into possession of a considering mood, it might perhaps be seen that there is nothing to prevent the enlargement of the national Church by the inclusion within it of the great bodies of Evangelical Nonconformists, having their due representation in Convocation, and, while agreeing with the most advanced Anglican section in all essentials, tolerating differences in respect of matters of ritual. A Church thus enlarged, and with its various sections exercising tolerance towards each other, might well deserve the appellation of "national." And in such a Church even the Agnostic might possibly find a footing.

## THE TERCENTENARY OF EDMUND SPENSER.

A NATION is either intolerant, inimical, or indifferent towards its men of genius. It recognises the talent of a writer, seizes upon every pamphlet that he produces, and then, without rhyme or reason, neglects him and forgets him who, in the end of his days, must look upon his mirrored pond of fame become foully choked with reeds and sedgy slime.

At his death once again the nation rallies round his corpse. They realise their loss; they would reanimate him, but they shout aloud their praises in the ear of one now cold in death, of one who, after his short years of ephemeral prosperity, lived to listen to those self-same lips mortify him with their sneers.

So it was with Edmund Spenser. The author whose *Fairy Queen* could not be produced with sufficient celerity to please his well-favoured readers died from a death of semi-starvation, aggravated by the fatal stab of a fickle and changeable circle of admirers. Practically, though not officially so designated, the first laureate of England, his name still lives in the forefront of English writers. Little read, he has maintained so great a reputation that it is due to our appreciation of literary merit that we should remember and commemorate the tercentenary of the death of the "poets' poet," as Lamb has truly described him. Only last year was Cædmon's birth-place clearly marked by a cross. It would receive the gratitude of its successors if the same generation set up a tribute to the semi-pastoral, semi-political versifier.

It matters little when he was born; the undeveloped infant cannot face the world. We know that he died on January 16, 1599; his work was then done, and well done. Men had heard of Edmund Spenser, and men could not deny, though they were careless of, his reputation. By then he had moved at Court, by then had flattered the Queen to the uttermost. He had made an irreconcilable enemy of Lord Burleigh, who called him a simple rhymers unworthy of a queenly recognition. He had established a lasting and worthy record in verse of two of his most intimate friends—of the same two who had introduced him into the Court of Fame. Sir Philip

Sidney, the hero of Zutphen, will be for ever remembered as "Astrophel," "a gentle shepherd in Arcady," whilst Sir Walter Raleigh, his fellow "undertaker" in his Irish home, who "challenged him with oaten pypes by the banks of Mullá's river," will be known by generations yet to come as the "Shepherd of the Ocean."

Edmund Spenser was one of London's many citizens of note, that London who was "my most kindly nurse, that gave me this life's first native source." In East Smithfield was he born, probably in the year 1552, though there is no record to establish accurately this conjecture, and the scribes of Westminster who first engraved his name upon his tomb carved thereon 1510 as the date of his birth. This date would have made him a member of this world for eighty-nine years. This much is certain, that, like many other men of after fame, he lived in humble circumstances in his boyhood, for at an early age he went to Pembroke College, Cambridge, as a sizar, and there, as at Merchant Taylors' school, but then lately founded, he received, as a "poor scholar," welcome financial help.

He took the degrees both of Bachelor and Master of Arts, but his failure to gain a fellowship was a bitter disappointment to him. This was not unnatural, for throughout his writings he gives distinct traces of a knowledge, and that of no superficial kind, of the classics, both Latin and Greek. Even whilst he was still an undergraduate the writings of this then unknown and new poet gained attention, and it was said of him that "as soon as he shall be known he shall be beloved of all, embraced of the most, and wondered at of the best." Of the Italian writers, such as Ariosto and Tasso, of the French, such as Marot, he freely borrowed ideas and even sentences, so that he ran the risk of being accused of plagiarism. But his fertility of conception, his illimitable imagination, saved him from a charge which would have wrecked a man of less learning.

The reader is annoyed at Spenser's evident delight in so readily making other writers his creditors; he is angry, too, at the persistent manner in which the poet loved to snatch at an obsolete word in preference to one more frequently in use. For this eccentricity Daniel, his contemporary, censured him, because he fondled with "aged accents and untimely words." But it is probable that, like Shakespeare in *Love's Labour's Lost*, he was a student of Lyly's *Euphues*, which, from too close a study, would produce a repetition no less dreary than a shekel of aphorisms of Jonbert.

The poet was a dreamer, and yet a man of business. He gives the strongest proofs of his predilections for a quiet rural life, yet he loved a change and liked to spend his holiday at Court. Sore was his distress when, as a newly-married husband, he returned to Ireland to live his last days. He had moved amid the nobility in London, but murmured discontentedly

“of my long fruitlesse stay  
In princes' court and expectation wayne,  
Of idle hopes which still doe fly awaye,  
Like empty shadowes.”

The cause of his dissatisfaction is not perceptible, for though Lord Burleigh loved him not, Spenser seems to have had no open enemy, which in those days was fortunate. Perhaps this “little man, with short hair, little bands, and little cuffs” felt the seeming degradation of penury. His truest friends had passed away, unless Harvey, the Hobbinoll of his sonnets, his intimate companion at college, was still alive. Those who might have been his patrons found themselves slighted in some of his works, notably in the *Mother Hubbard's Tale*, of which, with his *Ruines of Time*, the publication was promptly stopped. His pension was not enough to support himself and his family, and the destruction of his castle at Doneraile by Irish rebels left him no resource but to return to London, where his death was probably hastened by his recent trouble. Here, though sent to England on an official mission to record the rebellion of O'Neill of Tyrone, he died almost at once in an inn in King Street, Westminster. The Earl of Essex, uncle to his greatest friend, Sir Philip Sidney, on learning of his distressed circumstances, is said to have sent with all speed twenty pieces of money, but these Spenser refused, on the ground that he had no time to spend them. Some have doubted this story, and it might appear inconceivable that a messenger to the Queen should have been so disregarded that he should have been destitute, he, moreover, who had so often sung the charms of her Majesty. But Elizabeth was rarely generous, and even favourites had frequently to shift for themselves.

Spenser was an assiduous student throughout his whole life, but he had an intense love for leisure when it brought him into the company of men of thought or action. He does not even betray a martial instinct, but, notwithstanding, his two chief friends were men in the service.

A man of peace amid a court of buccaneers, he could yet pipe as merrily as any sea rover of wars and deadly combats. His cantos in the *Fairy Queen* ring with the metalling clashing of sword against sword, or beating against shield, or indenting well-wrought helmet. His appreciation of a furious strife was undeniable, and his prejudices were directed not against war but religion. An ultra-Protestant, he did not hold in reserve his opinion of Roman Catholics. But he was no bigot, and no advocate of persecution. Those that differed from him in faith he tickled to anger. He mocked them and clothed them in monks' hoods which cover the bodies of foxes, deceivers, and tempters. He had animation, and he was an open enemy of the Irish, those men of “licentious barbarism.” Yet

he strove hard to find a means to make them settle down quietly and in contentment, for a peace unsullied, a prosperity unalloyed, was his one ambition. In this, however, he failed. He was scarcely strong enough to grapple with the Irish hedgehog. His remedies were sound, and, in comparison with the brutality of the age, full of mercy. He recognised the abuses of the English in billeting their soldiers on the peasants, and in claiming coigny and livery, a right which compelled the natives to find food and fodder for mounted travellers. But he was unheeded by those who held the reins of power in England, and his failure as sheriff in keeping control over the people of his neighbourhood, with their ultimate revolt, accentuated the belief that his policy was premature.

None would blame him in his attempt to soothe a country which was uncongenial to him; but those who look back are agreed that his suggestions were imprudent and little enhancing his literary reputation.

His pen wrote ceaselessly, and much that he wrote we have not. Yet we owe a debt of gratitude to the valet who lost his last six cantos whilst taking them over to the press across the Irish Sea. In the first six books of the *Faëry Queene* which are still extant we have enough to offer to his memory a never-fading wreath of bay. We have more than enough to make us replace the poem on the shelf with its last pages uncut. Macaulay boasted of having read through the whole work. He was a voracious reader, and, it would seem, a hasty one, since he writes, with a sigh of relief, at the end of the first canto, "Very few and very weary are those who are in at the death of the Blatant Beast." If the Beast died, it was Macaulay and not Spenser who gave him the *coup-de-grace*.

A poet could not escape becoming wearisome who had one set object before him—that was the sending forth of the twelve cardinal virtues, a book for each, to fight as a champion in the armour of knighthood the ghastly and loathsome arrays of sins and offences. Further, the writer has brought confusion into his work, for he has entwined with his main object two subsidiary motives which he felt constrained to include. The praises of Elizabeth had to be introduced, the disorders of Ireland could not be forgotten. The prolixity and the repetitiveness of the *Faëry Queene* recall to our mind the delight of an octogenarian, who, stopping us in an Oxford quad, exclaimed: "I have just finished Gibbon's *History of Rome*. I have been at it for twenty years and was determined to read it through." The man who lives to be eighty may successfully accomplish the whole of Spenser's works.

Yet for all that, the *Faëry Queene* is not to be kept closed as a forbidden book of wisdom. Its verbal richness, its pictorial word-painting, its effervescence of imagination, its freedom from the taint that ruined the grandeur of Marlowe or Fletcher, and its underlying

vein of satire are unsurpassed. Sir Philip Sidney complained of the rusticity of these writings, because "that same framing of his stile to an old rustick language I dare not allow, since neither Theocritus in Greeke, nor Virgil in Latin, nor Sannazarius in Italian did affect it." Yet it is in this very display of description that Spenser is pre-eminent. It is for that reason that the *Shepherd's Calender*, a production of less maturity, is in parts more graphic than the greater work. It describes objects common to daily life. It is the result of the keenest observation, and is grandly simple as the "silly sheep" of his pastorals. The *Fairy Queene*, on the other hand, is the personification of abstract qualities, extraordinary in its results, and clothing that which has less body than air.

With rich imagery of description the poet also combines a daintiness of detail. There is, for instance, the well-drawn sketch of the sturdy oak in the month of January which will serve our purpose :

"Yon naked trees, whose shadie leaves are lost,  
Wherein the birds were wont to build their bowre,  
And now are clothed with mosse and hoarie froste  
In steede of blossomes, wherewith your buds did flowre,  
I see your teares that from your boughes do raine,  
Whose drops in drierie yeicles remaine."

Many are the opportunities for quotation from the *Shepherd's Calender*, but Spenser was modest, and wrote under the pseudonym of "Immerit." It was a name scarcely well chosen, for William Webbe, writing seven years later, and still ignorant of the author's real name, hails the *nom-de-plume* as "the title of the rightest English poet that ever he read."

The brilliant passages in the *Fairy Queene* are also innumerable, which is not unnatural since "Fierce warres and faithful loves shall moralize my song." A Primate in the early part of this century was so religious a student of Spenser that he has scored whole pages, which show how greatly he valued the work of Spenser. And, indeed, we have only to watch, as it were, to see the incidents take place before our eyes as we read. The following, which occurs in the sixth canto of the first book, illustrates this living record :

"So long they fight, and full revenge pursue,  
That fainting, each themselves to breathe lett.  
And, oft refreshed, battell oft renew.  
As when two bores with ranciling malice mett,  
Their gory sides fresh bleeding fiercely frett;  
Till breathlesse both themselves aside retire,  
Where foaming wrath, their small tuskes they whett,  
And trample th earth the whiles they may respire,  
Then back to fight againe, new breathed and entire."

Who cannot see Uno standing aside and clasping her hands in

terror lest Satyrane the Saracen defeat her Red Cross Knight ! Who cannot hear the heavy angry blows that make the woods resound and the leaves tremble at the noise of the fierce combat ! It is passages like these that establish the fame of Spenser.

In love we like him least ; he is infected with the amorous garbularity of the age. A fulsome praise, tender words without meaning, strung together like a necklace of cowries, give a dash of unreality, a cryptic and little-belauded attempt to gain the ear of the gallery. Queen Elizabeth, who lived on flattery, may have been pleased when the poet said of Phœbus,

“ She blusht to see another sunne belowe,  
No durst again his fire face out shewe.”

But such an array of honeyed words are like comfits to an over-fed palate.

Not always, and not in his soundest moods, does he over-load his song of love. His tendency is to be morbid and cynical—indeed, woman in great distress gives way to shrieking cries when painted by his hands, a statement which many of that sex would, no doubt, repudiate. Rosalind, in his budding youth, forsook him for another, and many years passed before he found a wife in a “country lass of low degree,” of the same name as his mother, the same name as his sovereign—Elizabeth thrice blessed. There is an honest ring in his Epithalamion, a happy solo unrestrained in this song of love, this ode of preparation for his marriage. The whole village is aroused at dawn, everybody is set to perform some pleasing task. The maidens gather flowers and dance attendance on the bride ; the young men ring the bells and build the beacon-fires.

All are pressed into the poet’s service, to share in his innocent joy. The tooting birds, the verdant trees, and even the sun are his happy prisoners for the day :

“ Hark how the cheerful birds do chaunt their laies,  
And carroll of Love’s praise.  
The merry lark her matins sings aloft ;  
The thrush replies, the mavis descant playes,  
The ouzel shrills, the ruddock warbles soft,  
So goodly all agree, with sweet consent  
To this daye’s merriment.

O fayrest Phœbus ! Father of the Muse !  
Let this day be mine.  
Let all the rest be thine.”

And when all is ready the bride is led to the altar, and the groom gazes upon her approaching, and with walling happiness speaks voicelessly of her :

"How the red roses flush up in her cheekes,  
 And the pure sno, with goodly vermill stayne  
 Like cremsin dyde in grayne.  
 That even the angels, which continually  
 About the sacred altar do remaine,  
 Forget their service and about her fly."

There is nothing hackneyed, there is nothing commonplace, nothing distasteful in this description of the bride's beauty. Simple yet fascinating, no bride could wish for better portrait than this.

But Spenser almost excels himself in his unblemished sketch of the hero of Zutphen. Of this Astrophel he wrote:

"Ne spighte it selfe, that all good things doth spill,  
 Found ought in him, that she could say was ill."

Sir Philip's own love, "Stella the faire, the fairest star in skie," is not forgotten, not so much to recall the beauty of the girl as to commemorate the constancy of her knight, of him "that every field and forest far away he sought, where salvage beasts do most abound," of the man so unswerving and so loyal that

"Her he did love, her he alone did honour.  
 His thoughts, his rimes, his songs were all upon her."

Stella, however, was fickle though winsome, and refused to give her "Yea" until he was borne back fatally wounded from the field of battle. Then it was that she gave way to sincere remorse,

"And with sweet kisses sucked the wasting breath  
 Out of his lips like lillies pale and soft."

Spenser allows her to die at the same time, but mars the perfection of the tragedy by clinging to a clumsy expression as an actor nurses a wooden sword, when he declared that "forthwith her ghost out of her corps did flit." Happily, his scintillating originality quickly redeems this momentary awkwardness for,

"The gods pitying this paire of lovers true, transformed  
 Them there, lying on the field, into one flower that is both red and  
 blewe--  
 It first grows red, and then to blewe doth fade."

Little wonder was it that he valued so highly the friendship of Sir Philip, "the President of Noblesse and Chivalree," of one ever ready to advise him and criticise his works in his early youth. As little wonder was it that the knight should have formed so close an intimacy with one so rich and rare in talent, so versatile in thought, and so superabundant in unperjured originality. Sidney loved Spenser as a scholar, Milton praised this "sage and serious poet" as



a moralist, and Dryden upheld him as a man of genius than whom none knew better how to use his gift to the best advantage. Other men than these have also given their full meed of praise, yet London has forgotten him. If her citizens wish to redeem their disgrace, the tercentenary of his death provides an ample excuse for the metropolis to perpetuate the fame of Edmund Spenser in some substantial form.

A. E. SPENDER.

## PRACTICAL RELIGION.

### A REPLY.

IN the May number of the WESTMINSTER REVIEW appears an article by Mr. Lawrence Irwell on "Practical Religion: from an Agnostic's Point of View." The writer dwells upon the well-worn subject of the contrast between Religion and Science, Faith and Reason. There are, it would appear, two spheres of thought, and a deep gulf fixed between them. It is curious that Christianity should be identified with "blind faith," when it can take its stand on the records of history. Whether the evidence of history is sufficient to justify many of the conclusions drawn is a different question; but, even if these conclusions were proved false, this would no more show that they were based on blind faith than the faulty generalisations science sometimes founds on observed facts make its method unscientific. There is, no doubt, a faith on which Christianity and all optimistic religions must ultimately rest—a faith in the rationality of the universe—the goodness of God. But this is a faith which they share with science, for the belief in the uniformity of nature, upon which empirical science is based, is nothing but such a faith. In both cases—in the case of religion and in the case of science—it is a faith that is justified by its fruits, a faith that is also reason.

But though Christianity, at least on its intellectual side, may be content to take its stand on the records of history, can it be maintained that the evidence of these records is satisfactory or sufficient?

"There are, of course," says Mr. Irwell, "innumerable statements in the Old Testament, as well as in the New, which cannot be denounced as untrue, but which are nevertheless extremely improbable and incapable of credence upon the existing evidence. In this class must be placed the story of the birth of Christ and of His death and resurrection."

I hardly understand what Mr. Irwell means by saying that the story of the death of Christ is unworthy of credence. There cannot be a shadow of doubt as to the fact of the Crucifixion. It was universally believed by the early Church, it is recorded by the Evangelists, and mentioned by the historian Tacitus.

The Resurrection of Jesus Christ has sometimes been spoken of as the best-attested fact in history. Any one who impartially reads the account in the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth chapters of

St. Matthew will find it rather hard to maintain the belief that the narrative is a fabrication. But if this is not enough, we may appeal to the further fact that it seems incontestable that the body of Jesus somehow left the sealed and guarded tomb in which it was laid. The proof of this is that the Jews themselves acknowledged it. For St. Matthew gives the story they invented to explain away the fact, "and this saying," he concludes, "was spread abroad among the Jews and continueth until this day" (xxviii. 15). There must, then, have been, at the time St. Matthew wrote, a story current among the Jews to the effect that the disciples had stole the body. It is absurd to suppose that the writer can have said there was such a story when there was not one: he would have convicted himself at once of falsehood.

We cannot accept the Jewish account of the matter. Two considerations alone are sufficient to discredit it. It is extremely improbable that the disciples should have made any attempt to steal away the body in presence of the Roman guard set to watch the tomb. We know in what terror of the Jews they stood. Further, we must bear in mind the extreme improbability of the whole Roman guard falling asleep, as the Jewish story affirmed.

But, not only did the body leave the tomb, Jesus was afterwards seen alive. We might account for one appearance as an hallucination, but not for several. Further, the fact of the Resurrection was the corner-stone of the Apostles' preaching, as even a superficial reading of the Acts will show. That such certainty should be the result of hallucination is a psychological impossibility. We must remember that there was at first a sceptical spirit amongst the disciples. St. Thomas was not the only doubter. They were convinced by undeniable facts.

A curious misconception is the identification of Christianity with egoism; the supposition that it holds out, as a motive to goodness and a deterrent from evil, the selfish pleasures and the pains of another world. Some such implication there seems to be in Mr. Irwell's words when he speaks of "the old idea that if you do not please the Deity by doing right, you will surely go to hell." But if this charge is brought against the Christian belief in immortality, why is it not also brought against that of Plato, or any other philosopher or poet? Our moral consciousness attests the infinite imperativeness and value of human goodness; but this value would seem to be denied unless life lasts beyond the grave. We must believe in the permanence of what is good in the world,

"Else earth is darkness to the core,  
And dust and ashes all that is."

If good life is a laudable and unselfish object of endeavour, why should the pursuit of an eternity of good life be branded as selfish?

Not only is it not so, but a belief in immortality seems to be an essential if we would maintain our faith in the value of human goodness.

"The fact, indeed," says Professor T. H. Green, "that Christian preachers have not been ashamed to dwell upon such compensation [*i.e.*, the pleasures of another world], as a motive for self-renunciation, ought not to be taken to imply that the heroism of charity exhibited in the Christian Church has really been vitiated by pleasure-seeking motives. Religious rhetoric is apt to be far in arrear of the motive which it seeks to express and to strengthen by expression. 'Unspeakable joys' has been but a phrase to convey the yearning of the soul for that perfection which is indescribable, except so far as attained. Joys that are unspeakable are unimaginable, and the desire which really has such joys for its object is quite different from a desire excited by an imagination of pleasure."

Scepticism as to Christianity does not, of course, necessarily lead to a denial of God and immortality, but it has, perhaps, a tendency to do so, and, in doing so, to take away those motives which alone seem to have adequate power to call forth any permanence of moral effort. Religion in the hands of this agnosticism must, it would seem, degenerate either into moral æstheticism, regarding goodness with the artist's eye, solely as a thing of beauty and a joy (though not for ever), or into a system founded upon a conception of abstract Law or Duty, become meaningless apart from God. For this reason any "religion" on the basis of such an agnosticism does not seem likely to be a very "practical" one.

C. G. HENDERSON.

“A LEADER WANTED.”

To the Editor of the WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

SIR,—The *Daily News*, in its issue of December 7, took upon itself to ridicule my suggestion that the “owner of a great name” might make a career for himself by undertaking the duty of rousing the democratic masses to an active realisation of their responsibilities and their powers.

Upon this I would remark :

(1) That the *Daily News*, although claiming to be the leading Liberal journal, has ceased to represent Liberal principles since February 1896.

(2) That there is the widest possible distinction to be drawn between official Liberals, who place office before principle, and convinced Liberals, who place principle before office.

(3) That if the “present owner of a great name,” a man believed to be possessed of convictions, in the enjoyment of ample leisure, and, financially, above the necessity of seeking for office, were resolved to make himself the Cobden or the Parnell of a much-needed democratic agitation, the highest testimony to the value of his work would be found in the disapproval of such “half-hearted” journals as the *Daily News*.

I am, &c.,

THE WRITER OF THE ARTICLE.

London, December, 1898.

## CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

### SCIENCE.

WE wish to speak in the highest terms of the admirable work on *The Higher Algebra*,<sup>1</sup> published by Mr. W. B. Clive in the University Tutorial Series. It is based on the work of a native of India, Professor Radhakrishnan; and Mr. William Briggs and Mr. G. H. Bryan have spared no pains in making this manual of algebra thoroughly useful. The sections dealing with arithmetical and geometrical progression will be found very clear and complete.

*An Introductory Logic*,<sup>2</sup> by Professor Creighton, contains a very lucid and thorough explanation of the syllogism, and, moreover, presents the reader with a theory of thought which ordinary writers on logic generally avoid. The author is quite right in not ignoring the close relationship between psychology and logic. Many of the practical questions and exercises in the volume have been supplied by Professor Margaret Washburn of Wells College.

### PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY.

THE volume of *University Addresses*, by the late Principal Caird, has been speedily followed by a companion volume of *University Sermons*.<sup>3</sup> For both of these memorial volumes we are indebted to his brother. These sermons reach the same high level as the *Addresses*, and are, as might be expected, far above the average. The tone is essentially religious rather than theological, but the sermons are marked, none the less, by philosophical breadth as well as deep sympathy with all that concerns struggling humanity. The religion set forth is that of the Gospels rather than that of the Church, the authority of conscience superseding that of the creeds.

<sup>1</sup> *The Higher Algebra*. Based on the Algebra of Radhakrishnan. By William Briggs, M.A., F.C.S., F.R.A.S., and G. H. Bryan, Sc.D., F.R.S. London: W. B. Clive.

<sup>2</sup> *An Introductory Logic*. By James Edwin Creighton, Sage Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in Cornell University. New York: Macmillan & Co.

<sup>3</sup> *University Sermons*. Preached before the University of Glasgow, 1873-1898. By John Caird, D.D., LL.D. Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons. 1898.

The sermons include a wide range of subjects, from such purely evangelical ones as repentance and forgiveness, to philosophical considerations of the relations of nature to man, and the connection between art and religion. In all of them we find the same lofty point of view, the same breadth of sympathy, the same appreciation of everything that is pure and beautiful. It is well that such elevating thoughts should be preserved, and our thanks are due to Dr. Edward Caird for this volume. An excellent portrait of Principal Caird serves as a frontispiece.

*The Evolution of Christianity*<sup>1</sup> is rather 'too big' a title for Mr. Ramsden Balmforth's volume of sermons, which are excellent enough in themselves. These chapters were discourses delivered in the Free Protestant (Unitarian) Church, Cape Town, of which Mr. Balmforth is the minister. They were, as the author tells us, delivered with the object of popularising the principles of liberal religion, and for this purpose they may very well serve. They treat, from this point of view, of the Bible, the Early Church, the Protestant Reformation, &c. The style of the addresses is simple, and there are in them marked symptoms of the influence of Matthew Arnold.

We have received from Messrs. Macmillan & Co. the two first volumes of the "English Theological Library," which promises to be a very useful series of reprints of books, more or less famous, by English Churchmen. The Rev. Frederick Relton is the general Editor of the Library, and the Bishop of London contributes a general introduction. Dr. Creighton speaks highly, but, perhaps, not too highly, of the learning and style of English theological writers, and it is well that some of the best specimens should be recovered from the obscurity into which they have fallen. These volumes should be interesting to all lovers of English literature as well as to mere theological students.

The first volume of the Library is Law's *Serious Call*, a book which is said to have exercised great influence upon the founders of Methodism and the Evangelical Revival, though there is little in it that would suggest the relationship. Canon Overton, the editor, gives an interesting account of the life of the writer, whom Gibbon described as "non-juror, a saint, and a wit." The last combination is more characteristic of the last century than the present one. The union of deep seriousness of purpose with lightness of touch is certainly remarkable in the *Serious Call*.

Bishop Wilson's *Maxims of Piety and of Christianity* is edited by Mr. Relton, who gives a brief account of the good bishop's troubles

<sup>1</sup> *The Evolution of Christianity*. By Ramsden Balmforth. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1898.

<sup>2</sup> *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life*. By William Law, A.M. A New Edition with Preface and Notes by F. H. Overton, D.D. *Maxims of Piety and of Christianity*. By Thomas Wilson, D.D. A New Edition with Preface and Notes by Frederick Relton, A.K.C. English Theological Library. London: Macmillan & Co.

in the Isle of Man, and quotes at length Matthew Arnold's eulogy of the *Macims* in the Preface to *Culture and Anarchy*. Arnold praises Wilson's honesty and plain good sense, which are indisputable; but he seems to us seldom to rise above the familiar and commonplace. Both volumes are carefully edited, and, in many instances, the notes contribute to a clear understanding of the text.

A good example of the care and accuracy with which history is now written is to be found in *The Elizabethan Clergy and the Settlement of Religion*,<sup>1</sup> by Mr. Henry Gee. This volume deals with the ecclesiastical transactions of six years only, but upon this period the writer has turned the microscope, as he says, with good effect. "The primary object of the work is to investigate the treatment of the clergy at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, and to estimate the number deprived for refusing, by reason of their papal sympathies, to conform to the settlement of religion then made." Mr. Gee begins with Elizabeth's first Parliament and the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity. This is followed by an account of the deprivation of the bishops, the royal visitations of the northern and southern provinces, and the universities, the Ecclesiastical Commission and the Penal Laws. Documents illustrating the various transactions are liberally reproduced, with carefully revised lists of the clergy who were deprived. This bare statement of the general contents of this valuable contribution to the history of religion in England is all we are able to give. If space permitted we should like to say more, and show that the book deserves to be, and no doubt will be, highly appreciated by students of this important period in the life of the Church.

*The Church of the West in the Middle Ages*,<sup>2</sup> by Mr. Workman, is an able sketch of Church history from Gregory the Great to St. Bernard. There is nothing new in it, but it is written in an attractive style, and is well adapted for general readers, to whom a study of larger works is out of the question.

## SOCIOLOGY, POLITICS, AND JURISPRUDENCE.

To-morrow,<sup>3</sup> Mr. E. Howard, is a thoughtful and practical contribution to that most pressing of modern problems, the depopulation of the country and the consequent congestion of labour in the

<sup>1</sup> *The Elizabethan Clergy and the Settlement of Religion, 1558-1564.* By Henry Gee, D.D., F.S.A. With illustrative Documents and Lists. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1898.

<sup>2</sup> *The Church of the West in the Middle Ages.* By Herbert B. Workman, M.A. London: Charles H. Kelly. 1898.

<sup>3</sup> *To-morrow. A Peaceful Path to Real Reform.* By E. Howard. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd. 1898.



large towns and cities. Mr. Howard's scheme is the establishment of what he calls "The Town Country," an institution combining all the advantages of city life with all those of the country. The scheme is carefully worked out, but necessarily it is of such magnitude that for the present it must be classed as Utopian.

We gladly welcome the second edition of *How it Can be Done, or Constructive Socialism*,<sup>1</sup> by Mr. John Richardson. Although we cannot agree with all the author's proposals, yet many are sound enough, and well within the range of practical politics. Others are quite impracticable to-day, and may never become practicable. Nevertheless the more they are discussed the better: nothing can be worse than the present apathy for reform due to the recent Conservative re-action. We can only repeat our former recommendation to students of social questions to study this little work.

For the translation of *Over-production and Crises*,<sup>2</sup> by Karl Rodbertus, we are indebted to Miss Julia Franklin. Published in 1850-51, it is still a treatise of the highest practical value, showing as it does the causes of commercial crises and proving that over-production is only another word for under-consumption, or, as the author puts it, want of distribution. So far as we know Mr. Hobson is the only writer in this country who has insisted upon this view, but whether he derived it from Herr Rodbertus we cannot say. The economist, however, will find the theory clearly worked out in what may now be considered as an economic classic.

*Value, Price, and Profit*,<sup>3</sup> by Karl Marx, is to some extent an epitome of that writer's first volume of *Capital*. It is recommended by Dr. Aveling in the short "Preface" as one of the first books for the student to acquire the fundamental principles of Socialism. It is edited by the late Mrs. Eleanor Marx Aveling.

To thinking people of all classes, regardless of the opinions which they may entertain, *The Socialist Almanac and Treasury of Facts*<sup>4</sup> will prove of the highest interest and value. It stands alone in the economic literature of our day as an encyclopædia of that special knowledge of new facts, new tendencies, and new movements, which journalists, public men, educators, and in general all representatives or leaders of political, social, and intellectual currents must possess in order to treat intelligently the burning questions forced upon the public mind by the development of industry under the modern system of production.

From a glance at its contents an idea may be formed of the width

<sup>1</sup> *How it Can be Done, or Constructive Socialism*. By John Richardson, M. Inst. C.E. Second Edition. London: The Twentieth Century Press. 1898.

<sup>2</sup> *Over-production and Crises*. By Karl Rodbertus. Translated by Julia Franklin With an Introduction by John B. Clark, Professor of Political Economy in Columbia University. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd. 1898.

<sup>3</sup> *Value, Price, and Profit*. By Karl Marx. Edited by his Daughter, Eleanor Marx Aveling. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd. 1898.

<sup>4</sup> *The Socialist Almanac and Treasury of Facts*. Vol. i. No. 1. Prepared by Lucien Sanial. New York: The Socialistic Co-operative Publication Association. 1898.

of its scope and of the variety of its information. The first part is historical. It gives a graphic picture of the progress of Socialism in Germany and other European countries where the Socialist movement has become a political force of the first magnitude, suggestive of early possibilities that may deeply affect the industrial conditions of the whole world. The second and more extensive part chiefly relates to America, and is largely statistical; but the dry figures in which the phenomena of our economic and social development must necessarily be expressed are supplemented by explanations and comments that render them more intelligible and attractive. Upon such subjects as the distribution of wealth in the United States, the trusts, the progress of bankruptcy, the classes and the class struggle, agriculture, manufactures, mining, railroads, finance, strikes and lock-outs, wages and profits, &c., it contains a vast amount of accurate information, which no one could obtain but at an enormous expense of time and labour in tedious researches through official and other documents not readily accessible; so that, even if it is viewed as a work of reference merely, aside of all other considerations, its usefulness cannot be over-estimated.

We have also received *The Annual Report of the Trustees of the Public Library of the City of Boston*,<sup>1</sup> which will be found extremely valuable for the details of the system prevailing in this American city. The system is that of a central library with local branches, reading-rooms, and delivery stations, combined with home lending. To this is added deposits of books to certain institutions. In all there are now fifty-seven outlying agencies.

One of the most interesting features of the Labour Department's *Report and Statistical Tables relating to Changes in Rates of Wages and Hours of Labour in the United Kingdom in 1897*<sup>2</sup> is the fact that the number of workpeople employed in private establishments who secured the adoption of the eight-hours day was unusually large, and more than equalled the total number for the previous four years. On the other hand it is unsatisfactory to find that the number of employes of public authorities whose hours were reduced to eight was small. This would appear to be clearly due to the present Conservative Government.

*The Third Factor of Production*<sup>3</sup> is the work of a gentleman who appears to be a large landowner in Tasmania. He has become a convert to the Land Nationalisation theory. His arguments tend, however, rather towards the conclusion that small proprietorships is better than large ownership of land. This is quite a different thing from Land Nationalisation. The latter theory errs by giving

<sup>1</sup> *Annual Report of the Trustees of the Public Library of the City of Boston*, 1897. Boston: Municipal Printing Office. 1898.

<sup>2</sup> *Report and Statistical Tables relating to Changes in Rates of Wages and Hours of Labour in the United Kingdom in 1897*. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode. 1898.

<sup>3</sup> *The Third Factor of Production*. By A. J. Ogilvy, with an Introductory Note by A. R. Wallace. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.

too much power to the State. To carry it out in practice would be a species of tyranny, especially if "the State" consisted of unscrupulous persons.

"To see ourselves as others see us" is a wholesome exercise for any nation, and to none more than to the average Englishman with his insular contempt for foreigners and his similar prejudice for every thing not home-grown. *England Through Chinese Spectacles*,<sup>1</sup> by Wo Chang, will come as rather a rude shock to the average native if only he chance to read it. As the author rightly says, innumerable books have appeared by English writers criticising the institutions, customs, religion, laws, and people of China, for the most part written by the "globe-trotting tribe, whose superficial impressions are necessarily worthless. The time has now come, our author thinks, to turn the tables, and to criticise English institutions and Englishmen from an oriental point of view, and this he proceeds to do in the volume before us in a very trenchant manner indeed. To the student of sociology there is nothing new in the author's weighty indictment of our Western civilisation, but perhaps the average man is apt to pay more attention to the criticisms of an outsider than he is to his own fellow-countrymen. Severe as most of the author's strictures are, they are in many cases not over-stated. He compares family life, education, and "society" in England with those in China, much to the disadvantage of the former. Like all foreigners he is disgusted with the absurd anachronism of the House of Lords, which only acts as a powerful check on good legislation. The chapters on English doctors and lawyers of course contain much truth, but we think they are unfair and unjust to professions on the whole honourable, and which do a vast amount of work for inadequate rewards, and much of it gratuitously. When he attacks the London Stock Exchange as the biggest gambling hell on earth, and compares the economic position of the lazy rich and the working men with the brutalising influence of English industrialism and its manufacture of paupers, the author is on safer ground. With the author's opinions upon the "Land Question" we are in full agreement. As he truly says, the operations of our land system "show them to be the most direct and active cause of destitution, squalor, pauperism and crime." China some thousand years ago abolished individual ownership in land, and, according to the author, the people of China have every reason to bless the change..

<sup>1</sup> *England Through Chinese Spectacles*. Leaves from the Notes of Wo Chang. London: The Cotton Press.

## VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

WE are pleased to learn that Lady Howard has lately entrusted the sale<sup>1</sup> in the United States of her successful volume of travels<sup>1</sup> to the Amsterdam Publishing Company of New York, and that already the interest evinced in this unaffected but observant record of impressions of America and the Americans, by the "New Continent," bids fair to equal the favour with which it was received a few months ago by the old folks at home. It would be a work of supererogation at this period to re-review matter which has been so ably dealt with, and in a spirit so satisfactory to the authoress and her readers, by the *Spectator*, *Standard*, *Morning Post*, and, indeed, by the greater part of the London and provincial press; it is, therefore, only to mark an epoch in the career of Lady Howard's work that we notice the commencement of the American issue, and to draw attention to what may be hoped for in the future from the same source. The task of writing a volume of this class to-day, when all the world travels, is by no means easy. Such a book must be readable and unaffected without being trivial, and full of diverse information without being marred by the dull or pedantic strain so often found in the "Journals" of earnest and well-intentioned persons. The fact that Lady Howard has fallen neither against the *Scylla* nor into the *Charybdis* of literary mediocrity may be in part attributed to her wide experience of London and its cosmopolitan society, in which a woman of talent is so advantageously placed, to gauge the mental *timbre* of the hour. Indeed, the book we have under notice is on a subject almost threadbare, and, were it not for the originality of the authoress, whose vision readily grasps the changing aspects of familiar places, or rather of their inhabitants, the later publication would have little chance among so many. Lady Howard is, however, an acute observer of men and things, and no details, whether historical, archaeological, practical, political, or humorous, escape her minute investigation, which is that of a woman of the world with enlarged views. Her travels, besides America, comprise all Continental Europe, including Russia, Greece, and Turkey. She has visited Egypt, Palestine, India, and Burma, and upon these two last-mentioned dependencies of the British Empire we shall hope in the not too far distant future to be in possession of her intelligent *impressions de voyage*.

## HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

MR. MARTIN A. S. HUME has given us a very elaborate specimen of historical biography in *The Great Lord Burghley*.<sup>2</sup> The influence

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of a Tour in the United States, Canada, and Mexico*. By Winifred Lady Howard of Glencop. London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co.

<sup>2</sup> *The Great Lord Burghley: a Study in Elizabethan Statecraft*. By Martin A. S. Hume. London: James Nisbet & Co., Ltd.

wielded by William Cecil Lord Burghley over the future fortunes of England entitles him to special attention. He certainly saved Queen Elizabeth on many occasions from perils which might have ruined her politically. The task of writing Lord Burghley's life has been attempted more than once, but without much success, although there have always been abundance of materials. Mr. Hume's book is therefore, a welcome addition to the literature dealing with this subject. The precious collection of papers in the possession of Lord Salisbury of Hatfield throws much light on the career of his great ancestor. It is a curious fact that Cecil, though he drew up a private journal, was in doubt as to the year of his birth. It was either 1520 or 1521. Little is known of his youth. He went to school to Grantham and Stamford, and in May, 1535, entered St. John's College, Cambridge. It is said that he was so diligent a student that he hired a bell-ringer to call him at four o'clock in the morning. At an early age he was presented at Court, and received from Henry VIII. an office of profit under the Crown. It appears that he was present at the battle of Pinkie in September, 1547, and narrowly escaped death from a cannon shot. The position of secretary to Somerset first gave him a prominent political rank, and first initiated him into the mysteries of statecraft. When the Protector was sent to the Tower all his friends were made his fellow-prisoners except Cecil. After this Cecil took apparently no part in public affairs for about a year. The great characteristic of this remarkable man all his life was prudence, sometimes amounting to selfishness. In the maxims which in middle age he laid down for his favourite son he inculcates moderate hospitality, and makes the remark that the gentleman who "sells an acre of land sells an ounce of credit, for gentility is nothing else but ancient riches." Here is another of his self-regarding maxims: "Beware of being surety for thy best friends; he that payeth another man's debts seeketh his decay." Evidently Cecil liked to be on the safe side. As Mr. Hume observes, he was not "of the stuff from which martyrs are made;" and so we find that when Somerset lost his head on Tower Hill Cecil took care to safeguard his own position. As Protestant Secretary of State he needed all his tact and discretion, and it is all but demonstrated that he used these powers of his in helping to bring about the fall of the Duke, his former master. During Elizabeth's reign he steered a middle course. He was not a brave or heroic man; and, while we may admire his astuteness, we cannot fail to see that, from another point of view, "the great Lord Burghley" was a contemptible character. Let us do him the justice to acknowledge that he was a lover of peace, his favourite aphorism being that "a realm gaineth more by one year's peace than by ten years' war." But we trace here the utilitarian idea of gain, which in Cecil's mind was more important than absolute right.

His distrust of France almost amounted to cowardice. There certainly seem to be many points of resemblance between him and his descendant, the present Prime Minister of England.

Miss Charlotte M. Yonge, who has done so much for religious literature, has written an interesting book, entitled *John Keble's Parishes*.<sup>1</sup> It is a quiet record, and will scarcely attract those who love sensationalism, but, as Miss Yonge remarks in her preface, "the record of a thousand peaceful years is truly a cause for thankfulness."

*The Life of Henry Cecil Raikes*<sup>2</sup> contains much information about the late Postmaster-General. Mr. Raikes was a born fighter, a clever Parliamentarian, and a straightforward official, and yet he was a narrow-minded and rather commonplace man. His collision with Mr. Gladstone in 1865, when the future Postmaster-General was still a very young man, had the effect of provoking from the older politician the tart remark: "*That* is the most impudent young man in England." While Chairman of Committees he secured the good opinion of the House of Commons, and was popular on both sides of the House. His death at the comparatively early age of fifty-three cut short a career of great usefulness and hard work. The book is finely printed, and Mr. H. St. John Raikes has done his work well.

Everything written about Wagner is interesting. It is possible that in the course of time the great composer will take rank as at least the intellectual peer of Goethe himself. We recommend the German publication, *Briefe Richard Wagner an Emil Hekel*,<sup>3</sup> as throwing fresh light on the career of a man of consummate genius.

We can scarcely speak too highly of Professor Dill's work on *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire*.<sup>4</sup> It is a most minute and erudite inquiry into the social and moral characteristics of a most interesting period. The learned author has studied all the authorities on the subject, including St. Jerome, Symmachus, Salvianus, and Ammianus Marcellinus. He shows us that Roman society, even in its decadence, had redeeming features, and that many of St. Jerome's denunciations, like those of Juvenal at another period, were overstrained and unjust.

Sir James Ramsay has written a monumental work with the title of *The Foundations of England, or Twelve Centuries of British History*.<sup>5</sup> The historical narrative commences at B.C. 58 and ends at A.D. 1154. The account of the Druids displays much research. Considerable light is thrown on such important matters as the

<sup>1</sup> *John Keble's Parishes*. By Charlotte M. Yonge. London: Macmillan & Co.

<sup>2</sup> *The Life of Henry Cecil Raikes*. By Henry St. John Raikes. London: Macmillan and Co.

<sup>3</sup> *Briefe Richard Wagner an Emil Hekel*. Von Karl Hekel. Berlin: S. Fischer.

<sup>4</sup> *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire*. By Samuel Dill, M.A., Professor of Greek in Queen's College, Belfast. London: Macmillan & Co.

<sup>5</sup> *The Foundations of England, or Twelve Centuries of British History*. By Sir James H. Ramsay of Banff, Bart. Two vols. London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co.

character of Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, the occupation of England by the Danes, and the war between Stephen and Matilda. A long list of authorities is given at the end of the first volume.

A more fascinating subject for a biography could not easily be found than *Edward Gibbon Wakefield*,<sup>1</sup> whose great colonisation scheme, practically applied with such success in South Australia and New Zealand, has won for him a name in Colonial history. Dr. R. Garnett has dealt with the life of Wakefield in an appreciative but not unreservedly laudatory spirit. He plainly shows that in his early manhood the future "empire-builder" was wild and reckless. Wakefield suffered for his folly, for he was sentenced to three years for abduction. "Out of evil cometh good," however, and in this case the maxim was illustrated by the zeal with which this single-hearted, daring-souled man devoted himself to such questions as the death penalty and colonisation. The book is most interesting from cover to cover.

#### BELLES LETTRES.

*The Wanton Mutilation of Animals*<sup>2</sup> is a reprint from the *Nineteenth Century*, and contains a very detailed account of the unnecessary pain inflicted on horses, dogs, and other creatures by man.

Everything relating to Swift and his writings<sup>3</sup> must interest the student of literature. Swift is one of those strange authors who pique our curiosity even while they pain us by their bitterness and almost destructive energy. Carlyle possesses a similar influence, but in a much less degree. Indeed, Swift is, in some respects, the most interesting figure in English literature, and the man is just as original, as remarkable, and as perplexing as the writer. The biographical introduction by Mr. Lecky is admirable. It is quite true that Swift's temperament fitted him rather for politics than religion, and there is some reason to doubt whether he really believed in Christianity at all. The *Argument against Abolishing Christianity* throws some light on this problem. The volume is well printed and splendidly edited.

*Hermey*<sup>4</sup> is a very agreeable tale for girls by Mrs. Molesworth.

Mr. Alfred Austin has given us a most exquisite book in *Lamia's Winter Quarters*.<sup>5</sup> We prefer it to even *The Garden that I Love*. It

<sup>1</sup> *Edward Gibbon Wakefield*. By R. Garnett, C.B., LL.D. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

<sup>2</sup> *The Wanton Mutilation of Animals*. By George Fleming, C.B., LL.D., F.R.S. London: George Bell & Co.

<sup>3</sup> *Jonathan Swift: Writings on Religion and the Church*. Two Vols. London: George Bell & Co.

<sup>4</sup> *Hermey*. The Story of a Little Girl. By Mrs. Molesworth. London and Edinburgh: W. & R. Chambers.

<sup>5</sup> *Lamia's Winter Quarters*. By Alfred Austin, Poet Laureate. London: Macmillan & Co.

is full of beautiful prose and equally beautiful poetry. The dialogue in verse between the Mountains and the Sea has in it a touch of true sublimity. Mr. Austin describes Italian scenery and Italian peasant-life most effectively. He shows how the people of "the sunny South," with "their rudimentary simplicity of existence," are happier than the inhabitants of northern climes. Still, the poet's love for England is stronger than his admiration for Italy. Some of the lyrics in the volume may bear comparison with some of the best lyrical productions of Wordsworth, Tennyson, or Browning.

The fifth volume of the *English Catalogue of Books*<sup>1</sup> has just been published. It comprises a list of works published in Great Britain, Ireland, and America from January 1890 to December 1897, with about 60,000 entries classified under author and subject, giving the publisher's name and the price of the books. It will prove invaluable to book buyers and the trade. The publishers have given a special index for the transactions of the British Museum, Egypt Exploration Fund, and many other learned societies.

*The Money Market*,<sup>2</sup> which comes out as Arrowsmith's Christmas Annual, is a pleasant, improbable, and withal clever story. It reminds us a little of *Dodo*, but it is more sentimental and exhibits less grip of the realities of aristocratic life. The character of Percy Gerard is that of a type of Quixote rarely met nowadays—the man who refuses to take money lent him because it was made by usury. The close of the story is rather conventional.

*A Triple Entanglement*<sup>3</sup> is an American type of fiction which some persons felish. There is a great deal of impossible weakness in it. Enid is a most unreal character. Mrs. Burton Harrison requires us to believe too much. People are not so good or so bad as she appears to imagine. The style in which the story is told is breezy and unaffected. It is with the subject-matter we must find fault. The novel is not written with the sincerity that wins success more than the display of mere cleverness.

Mr. Henry Arthur Jones is a clever playwright; but a man may be a clever playwright, and yet be a poor dramatic poet. So it is with Mr. Jones. He has, in *The Tempter*,<sup>4</sup> attempted to write a tragic poem, with the result that whether we regard this production as a play or as a poem, it is a failure. Mr. Jones points out in the preface that *The Tempter* filled a West-End theatre for seventy-three nights; but this is not a success. People will go to a West-End theatre through curiosity, or because it is the fashion—or, perhaps, Mr. Jones's reputation has induced persons who never think for themselves to sit out a play which must bore even the most ardent

<sup>1</sup> *English Catalogue of Books*. London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co. 1898.

<sup>2</sup> Arrowsmith's Annual, *The Money Market*. By E. D. Benson. Bristol: J. A. Arrowsmith.

<sup>3</sup> *A Triple Entanglement*. By Mrs. Burton Harrison. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

<sup>4</sup> *The Tempter*. A Tragedy in Verse in Four Acts. By Henry Arthur Jones. London: Macmillan & Co.



lover of the drama. The plot of the "tragedy" is as old as the hills. Prince Leon of Auvergne is wrecked just before his approaching marriage with the Lady Avis of Rougemont. The devil appears on the scene, and saves his life in order to ruin his soul. Subsequently the Lady Isobel of Carmayne is thrown in Prince Leon's way, and the devil makes use of her fascinations to betray both Prince Leon and her into sin. Then the enemy of man, by a clumsy device, makes the unhappy Lady Isobel believe that her lover had boasted publicly of her favours, and, in a moment of mad anger, she stabs Prince Leon. He is brought by monks to Canterbury Cathedral, and at its gate Lady Isobel stabs herself beside her dying lover. The story is strained and worse than melodramatic. The language put into the mouth of the devil is grotesque, and, indeed, rather stupid. Mr. Jones is apparently very indignant because Mr. Archer dared to criticise this play severely. Why? Does Mr. Jones really expect that Mr. Archer, or any other critic worth his salt, would praise such rubbish? Mr. Beerbohm Tree may choose to act the play; but Mr. Tree is an actor, not a critic. If Mr. Tree possessed even a shred of the critical faculty he would never have appeared in *Trilby*, that atrocious travesty of modern French life which, with its absurd caricatures, Little Billee and Svengali, is nothing better than a puppet-show. The minor poets, too, excite Mr. Jones's wrath; but probably the worst minor poet in the world could write nothing more dreadful, nothing more ludicrous than the long speeches put into the devil's mouth in this "tragedy in verse." Mr. Jones should confine himself to writing plays like *The Middleman* or *The Dancing Girl*. The tragic drama is not in his line. He is not a Ford or a Massinger, and he cannot even do what Sheridan Knowles did effectively in *Virginus*. He has a knowledge of stagecraft which enables him to write a modern play of which much may be made by a good actor. But a dramatist, in the higher sense of the word, he is not; and nothing can be more suggestive of what Thackeray calls "thunder and small beer" than the allusion in the preface to *The Temple* to "a Scandinavian back-parlour"—a sneer at Ibsen, a man the latchet of whose shoe Mr. Jones is not fit to tie.

*Mistress Nancy Molesworth*,<sup>1</sup> by Mr. Joseph Hocking, is described as a "romantic story." We really could see nothing romantic in the book, not even in the picture, presumably of the heroine, which adorns—or, rather, defaces—the cover. The story deals with certain events supposed to have happened in Cornwall about one hundred and fifty years ago. The narrative purports to be related by one Roger Trevanion, and the style reminds us of Mr. Crockett and many other popular living writers whose productions certainly will not live. *Mistress Nancy Molesworth* is, as might be expected, specially fashioned to bewitch Trevanion, and the author, who constitutes

<sup>1</sup> *Mistress Nancy Molesworth*. By Joseph Hocking. London: James Bowden.

himself a special providence, like all conventional writers of fiction, brings matters to what is called a happy termination, for readers who like such books as this can see no happiness in life without a marriage ceremony. Thackeray vainly pointed out that marriage is the beginning of the real struggle of life. It is impossible to broaden the minds of those who live in the prison-house of stereotyped fiction.

Maurus Jókai is a writer who has won a place beside Turgenev and Tolstoi. He lacks the great qualities of the two great Russian novelists, but he is quite their equal in narrative power. The translation of *Egy Magyar Nabob*,<sup>1</sup> by R. Nisbet Bain, will be read with deep interest. The novel presents us with a vivid picture of the Hungarian aristocracy some seventy or eighty years ago. The characters of John Karpathy, Abellino, Fanny, Teresa, and Alexander are limned with a master's hand. The translator has cut "a good third of the original work"—which seems to us something like taking a liberty with an author who is considered a classic. Moreover, it is rather inconvenient to give in the translation so many Hungarian words, and leave the reader to find out their meaning from a glossary at the end of the volume. Why not say, "He hung his hand-axe up," instead of "He hung his *fokos* up"? And why not say, "He threw his mantle over his shoulders," instead of using the original word *bunda*? Subject to these qualifications, we must admit that the translation reads very freely, and appears to be well done.

*The History of Gambling in England*<sup>2</sup> is one of those books which is perhaps best classed with what used to be called "polite literature." It is one of those pleasant, gossipy, and at the same time informing works which Mr. Ashton is so well qualified to write. Recent discoveries at Pompeii proved that gambling prevailed very largely in that city. In England, play had to be restricted by legislation in Henry VIII.'s reign, though this seems to have led to other vices. In Charles II.'s reign, deep play was the rule among the coxcombs of the Court. In Queen Anne's time, power to supervise all gaming within the kingdom was given to the Groom Porter. We find that George II. and his Queen spent their Epiphany in playing cards at the Groom Porter's. In George III.'s reign the office of Groom Porter was abolished. Card-playing was, however, allowed at Christmas. At Bath, Beau Nash was one of the most notorious gamblers. It must, at the same time, be admitted that, though a gambler by profession, he saved many a novice from the hands of sharpers. In the closing chapters, the rise and history of the Stock Exchange, and also the important subject of life assurance, are touched upon.

<sup>1</sup> *An Hungarian Nabob*. A Romance by Maurice Jókai. Translated by K. Nisbet Bain. London: Jarrold & Son.

<sup>2</sup> *The History of Gambling in England*. By John Ashton. London: Duckworth and Co.

It is not easy to make the French Revolution terribly dramatic though it was, fit into a story. Mr. Lighthall, in his book, *A False Cavalier*,<sup>1</sup> mixes up fictitious incidents with authentic facts relating to the career of Marie Antoinette. The result is a work which, at best, is incongruous. There is, however, some cleverness in the construction of the story.

Esmé Stuart has written better novels than *Sent to Coventry*.<sup>2</sup> It is a most unequal book. The story is well told; but the plot is disjointed and the dénouement is unsatisfactory.

*The Hospital Secret*,<sup>3</sup> by James Compton, is written in a very serious vein. The character of Joseph Hargood appears to us to be drawn from the author's inner consciousness rather than from observation or experience. The contrast between the two female characters, Jessica and Petronella, is forcible, but rather too obvious. On the whole, it is a well-written, but by no means lively work of fiction.

*From Seven Dials*<sup>4</sup> is the title of a number of coster stories, full of human interest.

*Curios*<sup>5</sup> will be read by the lovers of the bizarre. *The Adventure of Lady Wishaw's Hand* is a story of the "creepy" order. Mr. Richard Marsh is certainly a writer of talent, but he has too great a tendency to strain probability, and this provokes the matter-of-fact reader.

*Seneca*<sup>6</sup> is a novel of rather a namby-pamby type. Alice Clowes might write something better if she selected a more widely interesting subject, for she has the gift of style.

*The Tutorial Latin Grammar*,<sup>7</sup> by Messrs. B. J. Hayes and W. F. Mason, will be found very useful by students. The book contains the rudiments of Latin accidence and syntax so arranged as to prove most helpful to the learner's understanding and memory. The examples in the syntax are largely drawn from the classics most widely read, so that even beginners may easily recognise familiar sentences amongst them.

*When Love is Kind*,<sup>8</sup> by Mr. H. A. Hinkson, is a book which will be read and forgotten. If Mr. Hinkson were wise, he would take greater pains to describe Irish life faithfully. There is now an opening for a good Irish writer of fiction. Lever, Banim, and Le Fanu appear to have no successor. The Hon. Emily Lawless writes historical tales, and Miss Jane Barlow short sketches, which

<sup>1</sup> *A False Cavalier; or, The Life-Guard of Marie Antoinette.* By W. D. Lighthall. London: Edward Arnold.

<sup>2</sup> *Sent to Coventry.* By Esmé Stuart. London: John Long.

<sup>3</sup> *The Hospital Secret.* By James Compton. London: John Long.

<sup>4</sup> *From Seven Dials.* By Edith Ostlere. London: John Long.

<sup>5</sup> *Curios: The Strange Adventures of Two Bachelors.* By Richard Marsh. London: John Long.

<sup>6</sup> *Seneca.* A Novel. By Alice A. Clowes. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.

<sup>7</sup> *The Tutorial Latin Grammar.* By B. J. Hayes, M.A., and W. F. Mason, M.A. London: W. B. Clive.

<sup>8</sup> *When Love is Kind.* By H. A. Hinkson. London: John Long.

have genuine literary merit. But we have now no Irish novelist worthy of the name. Neither Mr. Hinkson nor his accomplished wife, Katherine Tynan Hinkson, have yet succeeded in producing a good Irish novel. Why should not the experiment be tried with success?

Dr. Karl Witte's *Essays on Dante*<sup>1</sup> should be interesting to all who admire the genius of the great Italian poet. The book consists of selections from Dr. Witte's works on the subject, whereby we are enabled to understand the critical attitude of the writer. It appears to us that there is in Dr. Witte's criticism of Dante the fault of too much theoretical speculation—a fault to which all German writers are prone. At the same time, these essays throw light on some obscure phases of Dante's life. The work of translation and editing has been well done by C. Mabel Lawrence and Philip H. Wicksted.

*My Inner Life*,<sup>2</sup> by Mr. John Beattie Crozier, is a remarkable book. It is a sort of philosophic autobiography. The author is a man evidently devoted to metaphysical research. His life has been by no means specially interesting, and he is apparently in the unsatisfactory condition of not exactly "knowing his own mind." The book will be read as a sort of literary curiosity. One of the most readable chapters in the autobiography is that in which Mr. Crozier describes his interview with Carlyle. The volume is much too long, and has not the merit of coherence.

*Slum Silhouettes*<sup>3</sup> is a curious collection of East-End sketches. The author, Mr. J. Dodsworth Brayshaw, understands the life he depicts, but his style lacks distinction, and his humour is forced. The two best sketches in the book are "Lost for Love," and "Only a Loafer."

*Idyllen aus Einer, Untergehenden Welt*,<sup>4</sup> is a series of admirable sketches by a German writer, Herr Peter Rosegger, who possesses both mental grasp and imagination. The book will amply repay perusal.

*When the Mopoke Calls*<sup>5</sup> gives us some vivid pictures of Australian life. Mr. Walker writes about curious people, and here and there we have a touch of tragedy, as in "A Legend of the Haunted Gully."

<sup>1</sup> *Essays on Dante*. By Dr. Karl Witte. Selected by C. Mabel Lawrence and Philip H. Wicksted, M.A. London: Duckworth & Co.

<sup>2</sup> *My Inner Life*. Being a Chapter of Personal Evolution and Autobiography. By John Beattie Crozier. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

<sup>3</sup> *Slum Silhouettes*. By J. Dodsworth Brayshaw. London: Chatto & Windus.  
<sup>4</sup> *Idyllen aus Einer, Untergehenden Welt*. Von Peter Rosegger. Leipzig: Verloz Von L. Staackmann.

<sup>5</sup> *When the Mopoke Calls*. By William S. Walker. London: John Long.

## POETRY.

*Charmides; or, Oxford Twenty Years Ago*,<sup>1</sup> belongs to the class of poetry known as elegiac. It is not gloomy in its tone, but it is full of tender sadness. Mr. Gascoigne Mackie seems to us to have "the great poetic heart," but he is not always felicitous in expressing his emotions. We cannot find a suitable extract to illustrate our meaning. However, the lines on "Worcester Gardens" may answer the purpose:

"Oh, Caliban,  
And could we wring such music from thee now,  
Such utterance of the elemental creature  
Touched by the wand of wonder? No, not now:  
For Caliban is disenchanted, and  
Has found another isle, another god."

How artificial this is, and how unhappy is the blank verse line ending with "and"! There are, for all that, fine things in this little volume. The line,

"All things are one, and love embraces all,"

is quite Wordsworthian, and the passage commencing,

"Long gaps of lingering splendour, but no sun,"

is true poetry.

*The Boer Ride*,<sup>2</sup> by Frank Short, is an attempt to describe the Transvaal raid in verse from the Boer point of view. We cannot say much for it as poetry.

## ART.

AN art-book of a peculiar kind, which should have a good sale at the holiday season, is published by Messrs. Cassell & Co., under the title of *Sacred Art*.<sup>3</sup> It contains 192 folio-page plates, after ninety-seven various painters of the century, British and Continental, from Turner and Hippolyte Flandrin to Watts and Rochegrosse. The pictures, reproduced by photographic process, illustrate in order the Bible story, from Burne-Jones's *Creation* to John Martin's *Plains of Heaven*. The "Contents," which serve as an introduction, give the text of Scripture furnishing the subject, with a brief commentary on its handling by the painter. The choice of artists has been well made, and will vary in popular conception the samples of old masters found in the steel engravings of family Bibles. The inhabitants of the United Kingdom are still nourished on the King James' version of the Hebrew Scriptures, quite as much as modern Frenchmen are

<sup>1</sup> *Charmides; or, Oxford Twenty Years Ago*. By Gascoigne Mackie. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell.

<sup>2</sup> *The Boer Ride*. By Frank Short. London: John Long.

<sup>3</sup> *Sacred Art*. The Bible Story Pictured by Eminent Modern Painters. Edited by A. G. Temple, F.S.A. London: Cassell & Co. 1898.

children of their Revolution. But even in France the Church and art traditions have made the Bible a treasure of subjects for the painter. There could be no larger public for such a work as the present than among our own populations, even where art is, least sought after for its own sake; and such a book spreads a knowledge of modern art-work in hitherto unused circles.

In the Ex-Libris series, edited, with many others, by the late Mr. Gleeson White, there has been published a new edition of the standard work of Mr. Frank Rede Fowke on *The Bayeux Tapestry*.<sup>1</sup> Of the original work, which for twenty-five years has been the chief authority on this most curious and important monument of a turning-point in English history, the present volume gives the substance in cheap and handy as well as adequate form. The history of the tapestry and full explanations of each of its scenes are given, with seventy-nine excellent plates, after a method of photographic reproduction recently invented by Count Ostorôg, which quite obviates the chequered appearance common in process work. The paper, printing, and binding are all that the other volumes of this artistic series have led us to expect. The interesting history of the tapestry, from the time when the first record of it appears in the cathedral inventory of 1476. through the dangers it has run from Calvinists, Revolutionists, and Prussians, and the story of its attribution to the wife of William the Conqueror, whose conquest of England it relates, are told interestingly. "Passing the foregoing points in review, I conclude the tapestry to be a contemporary work in which Queen Matilda had no part, and that it was probably ordered for his cathedral by Bishop Odo, and made by Norman people at Bayeux."

A discursive series of essays, by Mr. Edward Carpenter, rambles from "Art and Democracy," through *Angels' Wings* (a misleading name for the entire volume).<sup>2</sup> "Nature and Realism in Art," "The Human Body in its Relation to Art," "Tradition, Convention, and the Gods," "The Individual Impression," and Beethoven, all the way to "The Art of Life," which comports three "notes" on "Manners as a Fine Art," "The Simplification of Life," and "The Return to Nature." These very modern views of things are taken oftener from the standpoint of æsthetic emotion than from that of æsthetic vision; and, like all products of the emotions, they are painfully wanting in logic, and over-rich in feelings which the author seems scarcely to have analysed sufficiently. A single example will suffice: "To reconcile the most romantic poignant ideal of the heart with the severest practicality of thought and decision in its expression is one of the everlasting problems of art—and we may say of life." The style is ultra-modern—not always correct—while the morals, rather sighed

<sup>1</sup> *The Bayeux Tapestry. A History and Description. By Frank Rede Fowke.* London: George Bell & Sons. 1898.

<sup>2</sup> *Angels' Wings. Essays on Art and its Relation to Life. By Edward Carpenter.* With Nine Full-page Plates. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1898.

after than inculcated, are still more closely allied to anarchy. Mr. Carpenter is not as clear in his mind as was Professor Huxley, that instinct belongs to the cosmical evolution, which is not at all the same thing as the ethical evolution. Even the experienced Professor was not quite sure where æsthetics come in. Meanwhile, this little book, with its few well-chosen plates, has many novelties, ranging from the simply agreeable to the titillation of surprises such as the young school furnishes us.

We have already noticed, on the appearance of the first two volumes, the magnificent and comprehensive work published by Mr. Batsford on *Modern Opera-Houses and Theatres*.<sup>1</sup> The third and final volume is now issued, and worthily terminates a great undertaking. The author, Mr. Edwin O. Sachs, has chosen his examples with the judiciousness shown in the previous volumes. He now deals with "Theatre Planning" in successive chapters on "general arrangement, auditorium arrangement, communication, service, construction, equipment, safety of life, with supplements on stage machinery, theatre fires, and protective legislation." The volume contains twenty plates and 860 illustrations in the same adequate style as those of the former volumes. These include every part of a theatre building, and are taken from the most varied experiments of recent years. The completed work is, beyond all doubt, the most valuable atlas of its kind, and indispensable to architects, while of great interest to the general public. It is a kind of art-book which public libraries need, even those which regularly exclude mere art-books from their shelves.

Mr. Lewis F. Day has included in his series of "Text-books of Ornamental Design" (also published by Mr. Batsford) a handy volume on *Alphabets, Old and New*.<sup>2</sup> It contains over 150 complete alphabets, thirty series of numerals, and numerous facsimiles of ancient dates, &c., "for the use of craftsmen," with an introductory essay on "Art in the Alphabet." The book is not concerned with Lettering in Ornament, which is another matter to be treated in a separate volume. It is intended "to show the development of letter-forms and the shape they took at different periods, while suggesting the endless variations which may yet be played upon shapes more or less fixed for us by custom." The influence of the implement employed by the workman and of the material in which he worked upon the character of his lettering is very properly insisted on. It is unnecessary to speak of the competence of the author, proved in a long series of works where the different branches of ornamentation are treated for the benefit of the practical artist and amateur. A good example of his method is the treatment of the "ampersands,"

<sup>1</sup> *Modern Opera-Houses and Theatres* (large album from Vol. iii. of work). By Edwin O. Sachs, architect. London: B. T. Batsford. 1894. Edited by

<sup>2</sup> *Alphabets, Old and New*. By Lewis F. Day. London: B. T. Batsford.



THE  
WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

---

VOL. CLI. No. 2.—FEBRUARY 1899.

---

LIBERAL PROSPECTS.

THE last few weeks have been eventful in the history of what was once the Liberal party. The Southport election brought to light the growing disposition on the part of its right wing to hoist the flag of Imperialism and to beat the ancient followers of the god Jingo with their own weapons. The retirement of Sir William Harcourt and Mr. John Morley has emphasised the disapproval with which this disposition is regarded by the soundest of official Liberals. The proceedings at the meeting of the National Liberal Federation revealed the existence of a spirit of apprehension, still, however, falling short of the bringing forth of fruits meet for repentance. Finally, the inability on the part of party managers to find any Liberal willing to contest the seat left vacant by the death of the late Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild has made it plain that, partly for want of a policy and partly for want of money, the democratic masses, representing in all probability an actual majority of voters in the United Kingdom, are likely before very long to be almost absolutely unrepresented in the House of Commons.

The believers in and upholders of democratic principles are thus brought face to face with a very serious state of things. It is bad enough that the legislation of the country should be finally dominated by an hereditary Chamber representing the interests of perhaps one per cent. of the population of the United Kingdom. That is bad enough in all conscience. The country is now threatened with the control, in the Chamber supposed to express the idea of popular representation, of an oligarchy which bases its influence, not upon the power of drawing millennial

London: 1899.

'Angels'  
With Nine Fr

VOL. I.—No. 2.



millennial cheques. On the contrary, as was shown in the case of the late Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild, this power may be exercised in all kinds of ways which are beneficial to the community. There was no close-fistedness or want of liberality on the part of the late owner of Waddesdon Manor. If he spent large sums in the improvement and beautifying of his own property, he had a right to spend those sums, and no doubt he thus indirectly benefited the neighbourhood. He did much more than this: he gave liberal assistance to every public movement or organisation in the constituency which he represented, without regard to creed, nationality, or political opinions. All this was most commendable and most charming, and the fact that he could do all this without personally feeling it, without the sacrifice of any interests or wishes of his own, in no way detracted from its merit. At the same time, these social virtues, backed by a practically unlimited purse, have had the effect, first, of obscuring the real nature of the relations between a member of Parliament and his constituents, and next, of rendering it almost impossible for any save a man equally wealthy to represent the division in Parliament. It has been stated, with some apparent authority, that the cost to any Liberal candidate of contesting the Aylesbury Division of Buckinghamshire would not be less than £1400, while his annual subscriptions every year to charities, hospitals, and other public objects would not be less than £500. Naturally such a prospect has chilled the enthusiasm of Liberals who might have thought of entering on the contest. "Who," they said, "is sufficient for these things? No doubt it is very nice to be a member of the House of Commons, but it is evident that the enjoyment of this luxury is essentially reserved for those who, having long purses, can afford to pay for it.

In such a position as this we touch the very bottom of the whole principle of parliamentary representation. The conclusion seems inevitable that, while the rights and privileges of members of Parliament are receiving more and more consideration, their responsibilities are being daily more and more neglected. The House of Commons has been called sometimes "the best club in London." Unfortunately there is far too much justification for this view of the most ancient and honourable of representative assemblies. The House of Commons is in many respects, as it is now practically understood, the best club in London, and the most expensive. An entrance fee of £1400 and an annual subscription, paid to the electing body, of £500 are, to any but a wealthy man, no joke. If, however, a candidate can afford the entrance fee and subscription, his privileges are worth having. He enjoys the distinction of being one out of a small body of 600 or 700 persons who are entrusted with the dignified work of legislating for the United Kingdom and, in a certain measure, for the British Empire. He is surrounded by exclusive

comforts and conveniences; he can take his lady friends to tea on the Terrace; and, so long as the party Whips know where to find him, he need not be present in the House more than he chooses. Socially; too, he comes into the possession of special advantages which perhaps he could not have obtained in any other way. As for his constituents—well, it seems to have come about by practice that their interests or wishes may always be placed second to his own personal convenience. If he wishes to go abroad for twelve months, leaving his constituency unrepresented during that period, there is nothing to prevent his doing so. And thus, lax views of duty on the part of some members encouraging the acceptance of lax views of duty on the part of all, the sense of responsibility fades out, conviction becomes subjected to the desire of remaining in Parliament, and all serious effort to grapple with social or political problems is discouraged.

It is this decay of the sense of representative responsibility that creates the very state of things most favourable to the moneyed oligarchy whose influence has become so formidable, and least favourable to the working out of those democratic principles on which Liberalism is popularly supposed to be founded. The unwillingness of any Liberal to contest the Aylesbury Division of Buckinghamshire, owing to the heavy cost of an election and the serious monetary obligations which election is, quite wrongly, believed to involve, is merely a part of an increasing unwillingness and inability on the part of Liberals to contest any constituency; Liberals—that is to say, those who are sound and convinced supporters of democratic principles. Up to within a certain comparatively recent period the case was otherwise. The possession of sound Liberal convictions was not incompatible with the possession of wealth, and men perfectly capable, financially, of fighting a serious electioneering battle were found ready to range themselves on the side of democratic principles. All this has been changed. It has come to be seen how wealth—mere wealth, quite apart from personal merit—furnishes a passport to the most distinguished society. Aristocratic gods come down in the likeness of esurient men, and willingly receive into their heaven all who are, or may perhaps one day be, capable of supplying the vacuum in their purses. As a result, money has flowed away from the democratic side just like water in a tilted soup-plate. Democratic principles, in the eyes of these ravished democrats, have suddenly become vulgar. Imperialism only is respectable. Discussions with bated breath over the mysteries of foreign policy are preferred to discussions over questions of domestic interest and importance. Reform is a forgotten myth; retrenchment a morning vision; and as for peace, though it may be talked about in order to compliment an Emperor, it is something quite above discussion with the tax-paying wage-earner.

This is no very bright look-out for 'democratic' principles. The situation is, indeed, a most serious one, for what it threatens is no less than the practical undoing of the first Reform Act, and the practical disfranchisement, in the interest of the aristocrat who has come down and of the millionaire who has gone up, of the democratic masses. If seats in the House of Commons are to be regarded as the perquisite of moneyed men, who will enjoy the privileges of "the best club in London" and ignore their representative responsibilities, the democratic masses, in spite of all the Reform Acts, will hardly be better off than they were in the days of pocket boroughs. And with their practical disfranchisement may be expected a further and rapidly-growing supply of that policy of doles bestowed and Liberal principles suppressed which has distinguished the history of the present Parliament.

So far as periodical literature may be regarded as expressive of the thought of the hour, the articles that have appeared in the January reviews are well worth taking note of. One of these is the unsigned article in the *Fortnightly Review*, entitled "The Disraeli of Liberalism"; the other is Mr. Sidney Low's paper in the *Nineteenth Century* on "A Case for Coalition." A great deal of what Mr. Low says may be disregarded. For example, it is absurd in any one to refer to Home Rule as a "pious opinion" after the House of Commons has actually passed a Bill for its establishment. The principle of voting by ballot might justifiably have been called a "pious opinion" in the days when the late Mr. Henry Berkeley brought forward, amid the scoffs of a thin House, his annual resolution on the subject. Home Rule, however, has received the practical sanction of the House of Commons, and is, moreover, still alive. If any one doubts its being alive, he has only to look at the efforts made by a Tory Government to satisfy the feeling that underlies the demand for it. What is worth noting in Mr. Low's paper is the claim he puts in for that very coalition to which we pointed two months ago as a probability of the immediate future. Mr. Low remarks that

"with Lord Salisbury, Lord Rosebery, Mr. Balfour, Mr. Goschen, Mr. Chamberlain, Lord Kimberley, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, Sir Edward Grey, and perhaps Mr. Asquith, acting together, a truly 'National' party could be formed—a party which could carry out as much reform and domestic legislation as any moderate man desires, and could confront the foreign complications approaching with a strength like that of Mr. Pitt's Administration after 1794, when the Portland Whigs joined the Government."

Here, in this passage, we have that very idea of a Coalition Administration for the benefit of those forming it, and their friends, to which allusion was made in these pages two months ago. Whether or not Mr. Low speaks with any authority, it is not necessary to inquire. It is significant, more than significant, to find this idea of a Coalition

Ministry put forward in an article the main object of which might seem to be the depreciation of democratic principles and the effacement of the memory of Mr. Gladstone.

It is really a very charming scheme which is thus put forward—charming both in its assumptions and its objects. The glorification of political leaders goes side by side with the ignoring of the democratic unit, the individual voter. The political demigods on their golden seats are not to be troubled with the views and interests of the people whose votes sustain them in their Parliamentary position. The demigods are to “form”—not to “represent”—a National party—a party which could carry out as much reform and democratic legislation “as any moderate man desires,” and would be able to confront with Pitt-cum-Portland serenity “approaching foreign complications.” Unfortunately, the meaning of “moderate” has been pretty well expounded of late in connection with elections which may be called “sub-parliamentary.” A “moderate” man, as we have all learnt to know, is a reactionist pure and simple, and a reactionist, too, who will not be particularly careful as to the means he employs to effect the ends he has in view. And what are these “approaching foreign complications”? Whence are they to proceed? Surely they can only be the natural consequences of that policy of unlimited expansion of which Lord Rosebery is the most eloquent exponent. Here, then, is what Mr. Low’s Coalition Ministry means for the country: Jingoism with its resulting disturbances in foreign politics, enormous naval and military expenditure, reaction in all that concerns domestic matters. Mr. Low’s only fear is that such a coalition would be too strong, consoling himself, however, against this fear with the reflection that the Radical Revival is “sure to come,” and that Radicalism “ought not to be an extinct force in this country.” May the remark be permitted that, if anything will help forward the “Radical Revival,” it will be the glimpses thus afforded of the designs for self-aggrandisement on the part of the Unionist demigods and their worshippers?

The anonymous author of the article in the *Fortnightly Review* has surely committed a singular and most infelicitous blunder in labelling Lord Rosebery as “the Disraeli of Liberalism.” Apart from all questions as to personal character and qualities, the comparison is utterly inappropriate. Just as Horace wished to be remembered as the poet who first introduced Greek metres into Latin verse, so Lord Rosebery wishes to be remembered as the man who established a “policy of continuation” at the Foreign Office. Lord Beaconsfield, on the other hand, was essentially the man who broke the “policy of continuation,” who introduced into the Foreign Office administrative principles which had till his time been alien to the minds of British statesmen. His policy, as defined in Lord Sherbrooke’s couplet, was to

“Defy mankind from Indus to Peru, &  
And then annex from Afghan to Zulu.”

It was Mr. Gladstone's Government that, on coming into office in 1880, restored the “policy of continuation” at immense trouble, by undoing as far as possible the results of Lord Beaconsfield's extravagances. It may be shrewdly suspected that what Lord Rosebery means by a “policy of continuation” is this—that whatever may be done by a Jingo Administration in the plenitude of its imagination shall be accepted without question by any and every Administration that comes after. In other words, any “pegs” that may have been driven in by Lord Rosebery are to be regarded as sacred. In keeping with this idea, it is laid down by this latest exponent of the Roseberian cult that the “extreme absurdity and mischief” of the party system lies in the supposition that “the line of cleavage upon internal policy ought to separate opinions upon foreign policy.” Could any one imagine a more dangerous and reactionary principle than that expressed in the above sentence? It does not, of course, by any means of necessity follow that a line of cleavage upon domestic matters should coincide with a line of cleavage in respect of foreign policy. It seems clear, however, that when the foreign policy of “the Manchester school” is condemned by reason of its observance of the principles of honesty and its refraining from violence, and when the different foreign policy attributed to Lord Rosebery is praised for its strength—when this happens, the cleavage between democrats and Jingoës upon questions of foreign policy is likely to be even more marked than the cleavage between the masses and the classes in respect of domestic questions.

To put the matter plainly, there is nothing more impudent, nothing more pernicious, than this claim put forward by a certain little clique, with Lord Rosebery at their head, for the right to remove the foreign policy of the country for ever out of the reach of popular control. Foreign policy, in respect of a nation possessed of interests in every quarter of the globe, is half the life, perhaps more than half the life, of that nation. The very fate of that nation may well depend—indeed, it might be said that it *must* depend—on the choice between a foreign policy of defence and consolidation and a foreign policy of aggression and expansion. If the Roseberian creed is to be accepted, the first of these policies is to be “ruled out,” and the second is to be accorded that grace of continuity which Lord Rosebery regards as the crown of his political convictions and administrative efforts. The danger to be apprehended from the pressing of this claim is all the greater because, by one of the fictions of the British Constitution, the control of foreign policy is in the hands of the Sovereign—that is to say, in the hands, personally and exclusively, of the politician who can manage to instal himself at the Foreign Office. It is absurd to suppose that the masses, upon

whom must fall the whole burden of the taxation that may be involved in a Foreign Minister's adventures, can reasonably accept such a doctrine as this. So far from accepting it, it is their interest and their duty to strive against it by every possible means. It is their interest and their duty to insist that in England, as in all other democratic countries, the foreign policy of the Government shall be brought under the control of Parliament. If foreign policy is in accordance with the general views of the country, reference to Parliament will strengthen it. If it is not in accordance with the general views of the country, it has no business to exist.

In the midst of much that is gloomy in Liberal prospects, there is at least one point in respect of which an advantage may be claimed. The split which has visibly taken place has enabled the upholders of democratic principles to see more clearly what those principles are. The question of a leader of the Liberal party in the House of Commons is a mere matter of detail, and it may be surmised, in spite of the crocodile tears of Tory journals, that the real Liberal party will be rendered rather stronger than weaker by the retirement of two of its most trusted parliamentary leaders. The more clearly a line can be drawn between the Roseberyites and the cherishers of the Gladstonian tradition, the less possible will it be for the former to pose as leaders and lights of the democratic masses. As for action outside the House of Commons, it is true that the upholders of true Liberalism have not that command of money which is found so serviceable by their political opponents. Honesty and earnestness, however, will take them a long way, and if they set manfully to work with this conviction in their minds, they may yet find a substantial reward at the next general election. Meantime, let the lesson of the Aylesbury election—viz. that democratic candidates will be terribly hampered until election expenses are paid, as they ought to be, out of rates—be kept steadily in mind.

## THE PEACE MOVEMENT.

FIFTY years ago, more or less, the European world imagined itself to be within measurable distance of a millennium. The word "peace" was on every one's lips, and it was really hoped, sincerely hoped, by many well-informed and reasonable persons, that the time had come when the study of the art of war might be discontinued. As if in illustration of this hope, and by way of helping to realise it, peace congresses were held in various European cities. In August 1849 a conference of the friends of peace, assembled from all parts of the world, was held in Paris. Four months later a similar conference took place in London. In August 1850 Frankfort was the scene of the peace deliberations, which were renewed at Birmingham in August of the same year. Again, in 1851 in London, and in Manchester and Edinburgh in 1853, the same subject was taken in hand. After that the discussion of peace principles and peace proposals was dropped for a considerable period. It was dropped for this very good reason—that the European nations discovered that they had been living in a fool's paradise, and that the hope of making wars to cease in all the world was hardly more vain than the hope of putting a stop to the earth's daily rotation.

What was it that gave rise to the peace movement of fifty years ago? Undoubtedly it had its origin in the sudden spread of democratic principles. The democratic principle is, for every reason, opposed to the maintenance of huge standing armies, and huge standing armies can be dispensed with if peace becomes the earnest pursuit of leading States. The waste of life and the waste of national energy involved in a military policy are, under normal conditions, abhorrent to those who are the sincere friends of popular government. What apparently gave greater importance to the worship of a peace policy at the time above referred to was the fact that France, which had been the leading prophet of a military aggressiveness, had become tamed to Republican ideas. The Napoleonic legend seemed to have died out, and with it had to a great degree died out the mutual animosities it had succeeded in establishing. Suddenly, through the success of one of those gigantic crimes against justice and humanity which historians get into the habit of praising, the Napoleonic legend was revived. Republican France flashed out into an Empire. With that the world's dream

of peace was gone. The new Empire was dependent for its popularity on military glitter, and military glitter could not be maintained without some striving after military glory. The crusade of Western Europe against Russia on behalf of the Turk—a crusade planned for the glorification of the Third Napoleon, and in which Great Britain was weakly cajoled to take part—marked the vicious revival of a military policy which, from that day to this, has gone on developing till the whole European world has become little else than a standing camp.

The military spirit having thus revived, science and invention lent their aid to its further development. The Crimean War was fought, so far as Great Britain was concerned, with the same weapons that had done service in Spain and Portugal forty years before. That war, however, exercised a most important influence upon what may be called the machinery of warfare. The introduction of steam into the world's navies, both in battle-ships and transports, threw a new light upon naval and military tactics. New weapons of offence were sought out; new methods of defence were adopted. The rifle replaced the musket; the wooden walls of the world's navies began to be encased in iron. An eager competition set in between the principles of attack and defence. Hardly less eager was the competition for naval supremacy between the leading Powers of Western Europe. The alliance between England and France for the purposes of the Russian campaign gradually changed to a hardly veiled animosity—an animosity that might have become open if French military ambition, the fruit of a restored Empire, had not found an outlet in another direction. The French *La Gloire* was answered by the British *Warrior*; the defences of Cherbourg by the forts of Spithead. The competition, once entered on, marched rapidly forward, notwithstanding the protests on this side of the Channel of those who had vainly believed in the inauguration of an era of peace. Meantime, if the Empire which was not peace was left somewhat behind in a naval competition with Great Britain, it managed to assume the place of the first military Power on the European Continent.

Not, however, for long. It seems to be one of the laws of nature that the pressing on of personal ambitions in one place sets personal ambitions at work in another. The assumption by France of the rôle of military dictator to Europe—an assumption that seemed to be to some extent justified by her action after the Italian campaign—was being jealously watched from the other side of the Rhine, where new imperial ideas were in process of incubation. In the following of those new imperial ideas there became suddenly evolved in Prussia a new military system, giving birth to an army provided with a new weapon. The result of Sadowa left France and Prussia face to face as competitors for that position of military dictatorship which the



former had more or less held since the close of the Crimean War. To those who watched the progress of events it became clear that it was only a question of time when the conflict would begin. When the conflict did begin, cunningly brought about at the most convenient moment by those who had been for years making secret preparations for it, it was terrible. The Empire of France went down in the struggle, and upon its ruins were laid the foundations of a new Empire, which in its turn sought to assume the office of military dictator to Europe. It is owing mainly, if not entirely, to the ambitions of this new Empire that the armies of Europe have grown and grown, till they threaten to swamp the chances of every kind of peaceful industry. Because of the ambitions of this new Empire, because of its military grasp upon territories that do not rightly appertain to it, France is compelled, at enormous cost, to remain on the defensive; Italy has become well-nigh bankrupt; Russia maintains an army out of all due proportion to its population. In the meanwhile the invention of death-dealing machinery goes gaily on, the sciences that ought to make for peace being prostituted to the demands of war.

Let it be noted that this repudiation by Europe of the peace programmes of fifty years ago began with the restoration of one Empire and has been powerfully reinforced by the establishment of another. That is but natural. Never in the whole world's history has the word "Empire" spelt peace; never in the whole world's history has it spelt anything but war. The idea of Empire is utterly inconsistent with peaceful development. It is the Nemesis of Empire to become nervous as to its own existence, to take alarm at any advance made by other Powers, to endeavour to counteract this nervousness and this alarm by continual expansion and continually increasing armaments. The temptation to which Empire invariably yields is to place greatness before justice, and it is in the yielding to this temptation that is to be found the power that finally breaks Empires in fragments. Since England became imperial, the whole spirit of English policy has changed. Indefinite expansion has become the ruling maxim even with those who aspire to be regarded as the leaders of a democratic party. It is because they dread the demoralisation that comes from Empire that so many men of thought in the United States are protesting against a policy of expansion. "The craven fear of being great," which Tennyson so foolishly decided in his later and imperialistic days, is really the just man's dread of that obscuration of the principles of justice which, while it represents the besetting temptation of all Empires, has always been the forerunner of their fall.

And now, in the midst of all the apparent evils produced by the idea of Empire, the world is asked to respond to the invitation issued by an Emperor for an endeavour to put an end to the evils resulting

from the wholesale acceptance of the military ideal. There is, at first blush, something so novel and touching in such an invitation that it is no wonder that it has strongly attracted the world's attention. That the Russian Emperor is personally sincere in putting the proposition forward may be conceded without hesitation. Just as every politician who accepts office in England starts off with a beautiful dream of the legislative and administrative reforms he is going to inaugurate, so every Russian Emperor begins his reign with dreams of some great service to be rendered to humanity. It would be strange if it were otherwise. The distinction of his position, the extent of his personal authority, naturally suggest such dreams. Who would not wish to earn the reputation of a human benefactor? There is, however, a wide difference—often the widest difference in the world—between what a man in a high position may personally wish and what he can officially perform. The acceptor of office in England finds his schemes for reform continually blocked by the views and prejudices—no doubt often enough reasonable prejudices—of permanent officials. Who has not heard of the Herculean labour required to introduce even a trivial reform into the organisation of the Post Office or of the Inland Revenue Department? These are matters over which enlightened members of a Ministry break their hearts. A Russian Emperor is in precisely the same position. It is not what he wishes that counts; it is what he is able to do; and here, supreme as his authority theoretically is, he is hedged in with limitations. Hence, whatever admiration may be felt for the Russian Emperor's wishes, the possibility of carrying even a small percentage of those wishes into practice remains altogether an unknown quantity.

That the Emperor's wish is, as far as he is personally concerned, sincere can be all the more readily believed when attention is paid to the reasons that have led him to form such a wish. What are those reasons? They may perhaps be gathered from the language used at a meeting held in St. James's Hall, on the Sunday before last Christmas, by the gentleman who has undertaken the duty of intermediary between the Russian Emperor and the British public. According to Mr. W. T. Stead, the substance of the Czar's words was as follows:

"I look out upon the world, I see our civilisation, and I do not find it very good. I see the nations all engaged in seizing or trying to seize territory that is not yet occupied by any European Power. I look at the results, and they do not seem to me to be good. For the native races, what does Imperial expansion mean? Too often opium, alcohol, all manner of foul diseases, a great gulf between the governed and those who rule, and a crushing taxation for the natives to pay for the blessings of this civilisation. For the nations who seize, what does it mean? A continual increase of suspicion and jealousy and rivalry, which leads them to heap up even more and more fleets and armies, in order that they may be

able to take part in the scramble, for the world, with the result that the armies and navies ever swallow up more and more millions that should be used for the welfare of the people. At the top are a few who are rich and comfortable; down below there is the great mass of the poor; and in the ever-increasing multitude below there broods discontent, ripening into Socialism, and afterwards developing into all kinds of anarchy. We have put all our able-bodied manhood into the army, so that we cannot mobilise the whole of our troops in any European country without dislocating the fabric of society, and war is becoming so expensive that no State can stand the strain of a protracted war without having to look bankruptcy in the face. We are so perfecting our weapons of destruction that any army that takes the field, even if victorious, would lose a large proportion of its officers, and its ranks would be decimated; and what with this, the disorganisation attending mobilisation, and an emptied exchequer, there is nothing that makes even a victorious war hold out to any nation anything beyond a terrible heritage of revolution and anarchy."

All that is most remarkably true. We all knew it already; it was not necessary in any respect that a Russian Emperor should inform us about the matter. What the Czar did not add, what possibly he did not perceive, is that for this very grave state of things the idea of Empire, the competition between Empires, is wholly and solely responsible. It is, however, a remarkable statement, for this reason—that it indicates most clearly and accurately the cause that lies at the root of all the evils indicated. That cause is the endeavour after indefinite expansion, that desire to "peg out claims for futurity" which Lord Rosebery and a good many more so-called Liberals believe to be a great national duty. All the evils the Czar so eloquently pictured—the decimation and taxation of native races; the establishment of perennial jealousies and suspicions between great civilised Powers; the constant increase of armaments and national expenditure, to the impoverishing of the people—all these evils spring directly from that land-hunger, that covetousness for expansion, which is the natural curse of all Empires, and which ultimately brings about their ruin. When we become alive to this fact, the very obvious question arises—"What is the use, where is the logic, of attacking a result, when you leave the cause untouched? What is the use of assailing the symptom when you do nothing to eradicate the disease?" It is, indeed, the appropriateness of this query that suggests the suspicion that the whole movement is hollow, and that, whatever credit may be given to the Czar for personal sincerity, he is, in his official capacity, merely raising a question for the sake of getting it shelved.

This impression seems to be rather encouraged than dispelled when attention is turned to the attitude of those who have been most prominent in the movement in England. Like all folk who rush headlong into a cause, part of the business of these prominent persons is to abuse all who hesitate to join in it. In the earlier stages of the movement one good clergyman expressed the opinion

that a peace Sunday might only lead to a war Sunday, because even a prospective diminution in the strength of the British fleet might one day lay this country open to the attacks of its enemies. Was ever a poor man so jumped upon? This clergyman made, it might be suggested, a mistake. He thought that the inaugurators of the movement were sincere, and that they aimed, among other things, at reducing, either at once or in the near future, the warlike expenditure of Great Britain, an expenditure which, owing to the increasing competition with other nations also desirous of expansion, has of late gone up by the most remarkable leaps and bounds. The good man was clearly in error. It seems to be no part of the intention of those who have this agitation in hand that Great Britain should either cease to yearn after expansion or reduce the expenditure on her navy by a single sixpence. They are all as bent upon expansion, upon the "pegging out of claims for futurity," as men could well be. As for the navy, it is a prime article of their faith that the British navy must be as strong as the united navy of any three possible European Powers, and when they talk about growing friendship between England and the United States, they really express their satisfaction that the United States seems likely to keep England in countenance by adopting a policy of territorial expansion and heavy naval and military expenditure.

However, the movement has been set going. Will it effect anything? It is much more than doubtful. And that for two reasons. In the first place, it takes up the subject at the wrong end. In the next place, not a single person who has joined in the movement seems to contemplate either that England shall desist from a policy of expansion, or that England is to set any example in the way of reduction of armaments. If the British Government, influenced by public opinion in the country, were to set an example of restriction of armaments and desisted from a policy of indefinite expansion, other Governments might be induced to follow that example. Such action on the part of England, however, seems to be the very last thing the promoters of the peace movement dream of. Why, the very people who preach peace in their pulpits are not unfrequently the same people who preach indefinite territorial expansion in the name of religion, though they do not all of them follow the example of the newly-consecrated Bishop of Calcutta in placing the British Empire before the Kingdom of Christ.

It seems on the whole, then, more than doubtful whether the movement will lead to any satisfactory result. It seems, at the same time not impossible that, so far as regards the feeling entertained in foreign countries towards Great Britain, its result may be otherwise than satisfactory. For reasons which it is needless to state, Great Britain does not at present stand high in continental regard. The policy of unlimited expansion, of the "pegging out of

claims for futurity," which has been adopted almost without regard to party distinctions, has had the effect of arousing suspicion and resentment. Hardly less distasteful in the eyes of continental nations is the disposition to mix up this policy with declarations of disinterested motives and religious duty. Moreover, though a great deal has been said about peace, little or nothing has been said about that international justice, with its complement of international arbitration, from which peace naturally springs. It is in this omission that is to be perceived the essential difference between the peace movement of to-day and the peace movement of fifty years ago. Fifty years ago the peace movement was the outcome of a love for the democratic ideal. The peace movement of to-day is the outcome of jealousies between competing Empires. It may possibly benefit these competing Empires by putting a check upon a ruinous military expenditure. But who is so blind as not to see that the day of the agreement of the great competing Empires will also be the day for the wiping out of small nationalities?

## A CRIME AND ITS CAUSES.

IN the second week of December last a most singular scene was witnessed in Liverpool. A crowd, assembled outside the Assize Courts, cheered a man who, after receiving a death sentence, was being conveyed back to gaol. What made the occurrence still more remarkable was the fact that in the circumstances which led the unfortunate prisoner into that position was involved a breach of that very section of the moral law which English opinion is most strenuous in upholding.

Could anything be more remarkable than this turning round of public opinion upon two of its most cherished axioms—upon its traditional respect for the majesty of the law and upon its stern regard for the accepted limits of sexual relations? If such a thing had happened in France, dwellers on this side of the Channel would have shrugged their shoulders, talked wisely about the emotional element in the French character, and ended by thanking Heaven that no such scene was possible in cold, just, and rational England. It was, however, in one of the most commercial and matter-of-fact of cities in cold, just, and rational England that this most remarkable scene occurred. Evidently such a scene has to be accounted for.

There were, and are, two aspects of the situation out of which this incident arose. There is the legal aspect, and there is the moral aspect. In spite of all its prejudices and prepossessions, the English character—or, perhaps more properly speaking, the Anglo-Saxon character—is possessed of a sense of justice which, no matter how much it may be temporarily drawn aside or overclouded, is inevitably true to itself whenever the real merits of a case are clearly and forcibly placed before it.

“Nor time can quench, nor flame, nor flood,  
The Saxon justice in our blood.”

Trivial and ordinary departures from the line of strict justice it will tolerate. Such things, no doubt, are inevitable under any state of things from which omniscience is excluded. If there is a percentage of too great severity on one side, no doubt there is a corresponding percentage of inadequate severity on the other. So long as an average justice is maintained one must be content. No doubt

injustices are committed by the unpaid representatives of the judicial principle; but no doubt, on the other hand, these unpaid representatives, being themselves Englishmen, often enough discharge their duties fairly well. Occasionally, however—and, fortunately, very rarely—the Anglo-Saxon sense of justice is so deeply offended that it is forced to an inquiry, and from an inquiry to a protest. It is not too much to say that such an inquiry, followed, as it has been, by a protest, was reasonably forced upon it by the circumstances that came to light in the second week of December by the proceedings of the Assize Court at Liverpool.

The legal aspect of the question does not need any lengthy definition. It may be said, however, that the public mind had been rendered peculiarly sensitive to this legal aspect by the history of somewhat similar cases that had occurred a very few months previously. For reasons, some of which may be good and some of which may be bad, the police authorities in the metropolis and in the large provincial towns have recently set to work to hunt out for punishment, and presumably for suppression, a certain class of practices which are, and no doubt rightly, regarded as criminal by the law of England. That such practices have been common in all classes of society there is great reason to believe, quite apart from the pathetic and startling evidence to that effect furnished by a recent trial for blackmailing. Such practices, there can be no question, are unnatural in themselves and are dangerous to life and health; whether they tend to encourage sexual immorality is a point on which the opinion of persons who know the world may well be divided. There is one quality these practices possess—and this fact is not to be overlooked—in common with the act of suicide—viz., that where the end aimed at has been successfully attained there is little or no danger of detection and punishment, while the severity of punishment falls upon those who are concerned in cases that have resulted in failure. The legal inference to be drawn from this consideration is, of course, that any practices of the kind should be kept in check by the administration of severe punishment whenever they are detected. The moral inference to be drawn seems to be that the punishment should be all the more severe when it appears that the indulgence of such practices is not accidental, but a trade.

Taking the cases that have been prominently under the notice of the public, what do we find? There was, first of all, the Collins case. In this case it was made as clear as day by the record of an actual conviction, not to speak of the abundance of rumour and report, that the offence was not accidental, but that, on the contrary, the prisoner had been in the habit of charging high fees for the performance of illegal operations, a great majority of which, no doubt, were successful. In this case, moreover, there was no special moral pressure to induce the subject of the operation to have recourse

to it. She was a married woman living with her husband. To her the birth of another child could have brought no social stigma or other disadvantage. Her recourse, then, to an unnatural and illegal operation was inexcusable; the act of the operator was deliberately and inexcusably criminal. In this case, however, owing to the direction of the judge—direction which, it has been alleged, was misdirection—no capital issue was placed before the jury. The doctrine of constructive murder was not heard of. The verdict was one of guilty of constructive manslaughter, and on the strength of that verdict a sentence of seven years' penal servitude was pronounced. Then came the Whitmarsh case, the victim in which was not a married woman inexcusably seeking to escape the burden of family cares, but an unmarried woman, most excusably—who dare deny it?—seeking to escape from that social death which the world inflicts as a punishment upon women who are detected in any kind of sexual irregularity. In this case there was no evidence that the operator was in the habit of performing operations of the kind. There was, indeed, some evidence to show that he had refused, when requested, to perform any such operation. Yet in this case, with so much excuse on the side of the unfortunate woman and with comparatively such slight evidence against the medical agent, the law of constructive murder was mercilessly put in force, and the world was shocked to see a death sentence pronounced under conditions far less deserving of such a doom than those which had existed in the Collins case.

These two cases, and the contrasts between them, had set the public mind at work, with the result that the case which subsequently came before the Liverpool Assize Court was very narrowly watched. In this case, as in the Whitmarsh case, the unfortunate victim was under the pressure of the very strongest possible reason for wishing to undergo the peril of an illegal operation. She was unmarried, and was only too well aware of the stigma under which she would lie if the nature of her relations with a man to whom she was not married became known. Those who know how often circumstances of this nature have resulted in suicide can readily understand how powerful were the arguments in favour of a course which involved the risk of death, it is true, but not its certainty. In one respect, however, the Liverpool case was very different from both the cases already alluded to. The person put upon his trial was not a medical man who had deliberately undertaken, or was alleged to have undertaken, an illegal operation in return for a fee, but the very man who was admittedly responsible for the conditions from which the woman sought to escape. That he did wrong in having any irregular relations with a woman to whom he was not married, this, of course, goes without saying. But, admitting this, there can be no doubt that there was a sincere affection and regard



between the two. There is more than this. It was proved beyond a shadow of a doubt that the man took a manly and praiseworthy view of his responsibilities; that he was prepared to act up to those responsibilities in the fullest sense; that he might, if he had adopted the callous attitude of the mere sensualist, have reduced those responsibilities to a ridiculous minimum, and kept himself free from any of the risks that overtook him, leaving the woman to take care of herself; and that he did his utmost to dissuade her from having recourse to any illegal act. That he was in any sense a participator in that act there was no direct evidence to show, while the solemn declaration made by the woman when she was dying absolved him from all responsibility. No doubt it may be argued that that declaration might have been influenced by the woman's regard for her lover; but against that there is the peculiar solemnity attached by the law, and properly attached, to a declaration made in the immediate anticipation of death. In spite of all these facts, however, the remorseless theory of constructive murder was dragged in; the woman's dying declaration was, by direction of the judge, practically disregarded; and the prisoner had to submit to the pain and stigma of a capital sentence which every one in the court knew would never be carried out.

It is not difficult to understand what it was that shocked public feeling, what it was that led to the extraordinary demonstration of sympathy that took place when the sentenced man was being conveyed back to prison. That the law itself—the law that inflicted a capital sentence under conditions which would not suffer such a sentence to be carried out—was wrong was plain enough. This fact alone would tend to create sympathy with the recipient of such a sentence. Further than this, there was the absence of direct evidence against the prisoner, and the apparent determination of the judge to secure a conviction in spite of such absence of direct evidence. Further even than this, there was the disregard shown for the dying declaration of the woman whose life had been sacrificed—a disregard seen to be all the more striking when contrasted with the straining against the prisoner of the dying declaration of the victim in the Whitmarsh case. But even more powerful than these suggestions to sympathy was the fact, abundantly clear to the mind of every man present, that if the prisoner, callously ignoring his responsibilities, had played the part of a mere sensualist, he could never have been placed in such jeopardy. It thus became apparent that the law, as administered in the Liverpool Assize Court, was being converted into an agent for the encouragement of selfish sensuality, and for the discouragement of the manliness which declines to shrink from just responsibilities. To put it briefly, the lesson taught in the Liverpool Assize Court was this: "We cannot punish men for their irregular relations with women. We warn them, however, in their

own interest, to keep those irregular relations down to the level of mere brutal sensuality, to allow them to be affected by no sense of sincere affection, to be callous as to any responsibilities that they may create, and to thrust off into the gutter any woman who is inconsiderate enough to become pregnant. If they follow this course, their days shall be long in the land, and their reputations shall shine untarnished. If they are so humane and so manly that they decline to follow this course, then we shall hang them if we possibly can, and in any case condemn them to the lingering degradation of a long term of penal servitude."

Is there any need to marvel at the sympathy expressed for the prisoner at Liverpool as he was conveyed from the Assize Court back to the gaol from which, if his sentence was carried into effect, he would never come out alive? The Anglo-Saxon sense of justice, moral as well as legal, was in revolt, and men would have been false to themselves if they had failed to express that sympathy.

That the law affecting these matters needs to be altered, and that it will be altered, are conclusions that seem to be taken for granted. The whole spirit of modern justice is opposed to the infliction of capital punishment except in cases where there has been a deliberate intention to kill. The spirit of modern justice is equally opposed to the pronouncing of a capital sentence which, owing to the pressure of public opinion, will never be carried into effect. If the law is not altered so as to exclude from such cases the theory of constructive murder, it will be by reason of the outcry of those social purists who, in defiance of Christian principle and in ignorance of human nature, seem anxious to establish in this country the state of things depicted in *Measure for Measure*. There can be no question that middle-class juries have shown a disposition to hang prisoners for their sexual irregularities when it was very doubtful whether they could hang them for murder. A notable instance of this was the famous Penge case, when a defendant whom a jury had found guilty of murder was immediately released with a free pardon. The legislative outcome of these recent convictions for constructive murder will be awaited with considerable interest. In the meantime, and quite apart from any legislative question, consideration may very well be given to the serious problem that underlies the legislative question—a problem that will still remain for solution whether legislative reform is undertaken or not.

The nature of this problem may be expressed by the question—"What is it that leads women to seek means for getting rid of children they are expecting to bear?"

That such a desire is utterly unnatural every student of physiology is aware. The maternal instinct is, with the average woman, the ruling instinct of her whole nature. It is in women the equivalent, as well as the complement, of the sexual instinct in men. In

all women who live a natural and 'healthy life the desire for offspring, the impulse to protect and cherish such offspring, are the deepest feelings of which they are capable, and which give the highest beauty and dignity to their character. In the light of this fact, it is clear that whenever a woman seeks to get rid of her offspring, born or to be born, the over-ruling motive must appeal with a force which is overwhelming. The admission of this consideration serves in the first instance to place in a terrible light the wickedness of those women who, being married and in no kind of need, and without the justification of certain physical conditions well known to physiologists, deliberately efface their prospects of maternity simply in order that they may encounter no interference with a life of social dissipation. That fashionable society includes a considerable number of women of this kind—women who will pay extravagant fees to professional agents of abortion—there is unfortunately too much reason to believe. How unnatural is the life, how utterly selfish is the nature, that can lead women of this class to the commission of so unnatural an act, it is needless to argue. These are the people who are deserving of capital punishment, if any one is thus deserving, while the agents who charge high fees for ministering to their wickedness are equally culpable. These, however, form but a percentage of the instances in which a desire exists, or an attempt is made, to get free from the prospect of approaching maternity. By far the greatest number of such instances occur in respect of women who, not being married, are only too surely aware that the birth of a child will mean their complete and eternal social degradation—a degradation which in all probability will leave them no alternatives but starvation or the acceptance of the lot of the professional harlot. When it is clearly understood why, to a woman who has been guilty of any sexual irregularity, these two terrible alternatives alone offer themselves, then it will be better understood who is responsible for the frequent resort to the criminal and dangerous practice which has during the last few months been so forcibly brought to public notice.

It is easy to argue that if there were no sexual irregularity—if all men could be rendered unselfish and all women rendered less weak—there would be no necessity for discussing such a problem as this. It is, however, impossible to get rid of sexual irregularities. They always have had, and always will have, their existence. What we have to do is to find out how they can be prevented from leading to more serious evils—such evils, for example, as the wholesale desire for, and practice of, infanticide. That class distinction has much to do with the creation of such irregularities there can be no doubt. Where there is an equality of social level irregularities are not nearly so liable to occur, or, if occurring, do not lead to such disastrous results. Men belonging to the upper

classes do not as a rule prey upon the women of their own class. They are restrained either by the sense of honour or by fear of the consequences. Among the rural population such irregularities more often than not lead to marriage—a fact which shows that, though the ideal of marriage is not the highest, there is yet an ideal of a sort. It is the liability of the woman of a lower class to be flattered by the attentions of the man of a class above her that is most frequently responsible for sexual irregularities. This is the popular conviction on the subject, and the conviction is substantially justified by facts.\* And on whom does the blame rest in these cases? Public opinion has not unfrequently been ready to lay all the blame upon the “dissolute man” of Hood’s “Bridge of Sighs.” There may be justice in that view; and yet, strange to say, while public opinion is ready to lay all the blame upon the man, both law and public opinion lay all the punishment upon the woman. The selfish, sensual, dissolute man is not only subjected to no kind of moral stigma, but can escape from all legal responsibility, if the victim of his sensuality should become a mother, by the payment of a sum so trifling as to be ridiculous. To the woman, if her giving way to sexual irregularity becomes known, the punishment, if not death itself, is one that may very well seem worse than death. No one can pretend to call this justice; while, to make the injustice greater, the punishment inflicted upon the woman, and some part of which she may possibly deserve, is extended, if she should become a mother, to her innocent children.

Arrived at this point, it seems impossible not to stand aghast, not only at the injustice inflicted upon women, but at the terrible carelessness of the law as to the fate of children. All the punishment for having evolved an illegitimate child, and all the responsibility for that child’s future, are thrown upon the woman. The law absolves the father from responsibility; the State refuses to take any responsibility upon itself. It is upon the mother, banned by public opinion, disabled by being thus banned from engaging in any decent occupation, utterly repudiated in the vast majority of cases by her own kith and kin—it is upon this unhappy mother that the sole responsibility is thrust for the well-being and bringing up of her child. Can any reasonable person marvel that a woman, weak and offending though she may have been, should seek to escape from a position of such inhuman injustice by compassing the destruction of her offspring before it is born? Let any happy and self-respecting woman, herself the rejoicing mother of children, try to put herself in the place of a mother-to-be who has not gone through the ceremony of marriage. The fear of detection; the certainty of reprobation; the almost certain repudiation by her relatives; her possible desertion by the man who has been her lover; the prospect of a new life to be somehow provided for by means, perhaps, from which her whole

nature revolts—can it be possible to place a more terrible burden upon any human creature? And yet, so extraordinarily powerful are the instincts of nature, that beneath all this accumulation of torment and injustice the sense of maternal affection and solicitude persists—persists with such force that even if the worst comes to the worst, and the welfare of the child can only be secured by acceptance of the hire of the harlot, the mother is morally redeemed in spite of her surroundings.

The cruelty inflicted upon the mother, the injustice which suffers the father to escape practically scot-free, these are paralleled by the criminal carelessness of the State as to the future of the children who spring from irregular unions. One would think, having regard to this carelessness, that the State, which undertakes to punish infanticide, merely wished to encourage it. Children thus born, with everything against them, might reasonably be regarded as, and not improbably are, the material from which the criminal classes are recruited. The State, however, takes no pains to provide against such a probable contingency. Such children belong to nobody except to their mothers, and their mothers, by the common consent of law and public opinion, are practically debarred from giving them a chance in life. Is it not to the interest of the State, is it not to the interest of society, that such children should be put out of the way? The State, in its profound inconsistency, says "No" yet it will not move a finger to compel the father of the illegitimate child to recognise the responsibility which is his quite as much, as the mother's, if not more. Logically speaking, the child that is born subject to the disadvantage of illegitimacy should have more care bestowed upon it than is bestowed upon children who are legitimate. The popular argument against that is, of course, that to improve the status of illegitimate children would be to give encouragement to sexual irregularity. It would, however, be difficult to increase the encouragement which, so far as men are concerned, exists already; while there can be little doubt that a considerable diminution of encouragement would result if the State, undertaking, if only in its own defence, the charge of illegitimate children, were to insist on being recouped by the parents who are best able to pay.

But, after all is said, there is one compelling force to the crime of infanticide which is, perhaps, more powerful than any other. Grant that it is by the "dissolute man" that so many women are betrayed away from the path of virtue. Grant this; but then go on to admit that it is by the pitiless woman that they are prevented from rescuing themselves. The sentence of ostracism against the woman who, whether through her own weakness or as the victim of fraud, once steps off the narrow path is unalterable. It does not matter, in the general opinion of women, whether her sin is accidental or a *trade*. She is to be shunned and reprobated; there is no for-

givenness for her. Every woman knows this, and it is more because of this than anything else that women, possessed often of admirable qualities, but who have been too generous in the bestowal of their affection, are, sooner than face the perpetual scorn of their own sex, tempted to the adoption of criminal means of escape. Let the women who draw their skirts round them to avoid contact with vice remember this—that if the sin which was accidental becomes a trade, it is, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, because the women who have never been tempted refuse the hand of help to those who have yielded to temptation. There is no woman who enters on a career of professional vice willingly; there are few women who, having entered on such a career, would not give more than all they possess to be able to escape from it. They might have escaped if only their own sex had helped them in the first instance; as their own sex held aloof, they have had to choose between starvation and the profession of vice. It is no use for those who have driven their less fortunate sisters into the gutter to come afterwards and try to pick them out again with a long pair of theological tongs. What is wanted is that individual charity and help from the strong woman to the weak which alone can make effective the impulse towards self-redemption. When this exists as the rule, and ceases to be the exception, we shall have done with infanticide.

## A PSEUDO-MILLENNIUM.

Is the millennium at hand? If so, we can only cry, "God bless the noble Tzar," and refer him to the New Testament, wherein he will find stated the reward of the meek and of the peacemakers. We are willing to admit the peaceful disposition of the young monarch, and to credit him with a genuine aversion to war and things pertaining to war; but we are not as yet prepared, and in view of such recent experiences, to extend the same indulgence to his Ministers. On the contrary, we are inclined to regard their action in thus apparently acquiescing in, much less permitting, the Peace Manifesto, as but one of kindly tolerance to a harmless whim of their royal master. It can, they are well aware, do no harm, and will neither checkmate nor in the slightest interrupt their own game. The time is not yet ripe for a move on their part, so it matters not to them. When expedient the Tzar will no doubt be found amenable to their representations and counsels.

Ignorant or not of the Sermon on the Mount, the fact remains that for the past 300 years the Russians have been making a fair bid to earn the title of "the meek;" for their whole aim has been one of territorial encroachment. Is it likely then that a sentimental fanfare about universal peace and disarmament will at this stage be permitted to dissipate their hopes, and when the goal is within measurable distance? Is the aim and ambition for which for centuries they have devoted themselves to be now abandoned at the request of an amiable youth? We trow not, and would earnestly counsel our representatives at the international conference, where sword is to be beat into ploughshare, to don the wisdom of the serpent, and while carrying the Book with its message of Peace in one hand, to retain a firm grip of the sword in the other as our forefathers of old. "There shall be wars and rumours of wars" we are told, but does any level-headed thinking man believe that the motive of the Muscovite is purely disinterested? Is there any historical record which would indicate him as a likely harbinger of peace?

Dealing with the question without prejudice and sentiment, and considering it from a practical point of view, let us shut our ears to the clamour of enthusiasts, who imagine they see in the Tzar's Manifesto the lion lying down with the lamb and universal peace

and goodwill reigning upon earth. The men who but recently would have hounded on their country to fight united Europe to save from the Turk the as unspeakable, if not more unspeakable, Armenian, have barely faded from our ears, and we do not wish to hear them awhile. Such persons seem to forget that human nature is the same to-day as in the beginning, and that man individually and collectively is actuated by still the same motives. Civilisation does not change motive or cause it to disappear; it only alters the means or outward form by which it is accomplished.

A dip into history, and the reiteration of past warnings by those competent to utter them, may, perhaps, at this time be interesting and not altogether inopportune. And if, while throwing a search-light on the possible motives of Russian diplomacy, the following remarks serve to dispel the illusory images of the believers in the Universal Disarmament delusion something will have been achieved.

As already indicated, the most prominent feature in the history of Russia has been that of territorial acquisition. Howsoever the tide of its civilisation ebbed or flowed there was no alternation in the resistless advance of the sea of encroachment. For beginning early in the seventeenth century it has continued steadily onward ever since, engulfing, absorbing everything. At the time we speak of Siberia had been overrun by the Cossacks. Following on this came the desire of entering into commercial relations with China, and an expedition composed of but two Russians formed the first step in a design which has ever since been tenaciously adhered to. Towards the middle of the same century we find the Russians coming into conflict with the Chinese at the eastern extremity of Asia, to which by this time they had extended their conquests. A desultory warfare, which lasted for a prolonged period, began, but eventually ended in the fixing of a mutual boundary. During the negotiations which concluded this truce we are struck by the acuteness and far-seeing policy of the Muscovites. They tried every means to secure the control of the river Amoor, knowing that thereby great advantages, commercially and strategically, would accrue. This, however, they were unable to gain, but their original purpose of opening up trading relations with China was in the main achieved. With what success they have maintained and extended it is not to be gainsaid, for by the beginning of the eighteenth century commercial relations, which at one time appeared as if about to be broken off, were firmly established, though restricted to frontier stations. Having got thus far they could afford to wait; it was only a question of time.

The Russian diplomatist had then the qualities which we now recognise as characteristic of the race—untiring patience, a dogged perseverance overcoming all obstacles, and where the interests of his country are concerned a large amount of unscrupulousness. True,



they failed in their first endeavour to get the Chinese to concede a fort on the Amoor; but they have one now—Port Arthur. Now almost paramount at Peking and with a considerable say in Korean affairs, the Russians have every intention, if it is not already an accomplished feat, of dominating Manchuria. A glance at the map will show what an advantage in the future this will give a great Military Power if it elects to become aggressive. What is the motive of it all? With what octopoid intent does this cold and calculating nation seek to enfold and amalgamate peoples and territories, beating at the same time a Universal Peace and Disarmament Tattoo on our too responsive heart-strings? France knows, Germany likewise. Britain either knows, but does not like to face the unspoken thought of there being an underlying motive of sinister intent; or, her judgment, perverted by the fervid sayings and writings of thoughtless enthusiasts, really believes that the sole aim of Russia is peace and goodwill to all men. Can there be, we ask, a thinking man who truly believes Russia's object is entirely unselfish—is merely to civilise and Christianise the heathen Chinese? We admire the Russians as musical composers, but we stand amazed at the idea of a Peace Symphony to be performed at St. Petersburg, being rehearsed as it at present is to the accompaniment of an orchestra composed of Port Arthur fortifications and large votes for naval armament. Example before precept, we say, to quote a familiar saying. Let the Tsar's Ministers advise him to dismantle Port Arthur and devote the naval vote to some charitable purpose, such as the relief of the peasantry, and, further, to discountenance diplomatic opposition to British loans, &c., and then we may be convinced.

It would at least be an earnest of the Tsar's sincerity, and would, to a certain extent, indicate what amount of adherence his Government really give to his disarmament proposal. Man, however, is a selfish animal, and the motives which actuate the unit are in all respects the same as those which move to action the mass of units. Indeed, we are not far wrong in saying that under such conditions motives may be ultra selfish, being perpetrated under the guise of "for the public weal," &c. They are, as it were, lost sight of in gigantic schemes and undertakings; or, masked, by the interest which some counter move, however praiseworthy in itself, attracts, escape the condemnation and disapproval which similar motives would earn in private enterprise. Such is our opinion of what we have termed the peace symphony. Theoretically as a conception it may be indulged in, but no more than land nationalisation is it capable of being treated practically. A government, then, as representing a number of units, may thus explain its actions and attribute its motives, under circumstances—specious pleas for civilisation, in the cause of humanity, for the general welfare and extension of the power of the nation—calculated to conceal selfishness and sinister

design. These pleas are but other names concealing a very almighty *Ego*. But, say the believers in the disarmament scheme, this is pessimism, and we have heard such miserable suspicions times without number. If an earnest desire to prevent our country being out-manœuvred in the great game of diplomacy, then such or any other name is equally indifferent to us. Meanwhile, let us try to justify our suspicions.

To begin with, are we certain that in the compulsory (why compulsory, and with what motive?) concessions which China has been yielding on all hands, we have got an equivalent to Port Arthur? Our offset to the Russian grant may not be as barren as Perim, but it is not of great strategic value. We were at first opposed to any territorial acquisition. Russia was not, and our subsequent action showed that we were alarmed. Again, Russia was bitterly hostile to any new railways being controlled by any Power other than herself, and strenuously opposed the employment of British capital. As it is, nearly all her railways are owned by others than Russians, and her recent action showed that, for reasons of her own, she wished that in any further enterprise in opening up the country they should be subject to her administration. If peace and disarmament were her intention, why this hostility to foreign controlled railways? With her enormous debt and ardent desire for peace, one would have thought that no possible objection could have been raised to the employment of British or any other capital. Her action towards Japan after the latter's war with China, in the light of recent events, now becomes intelligible. And yet, in the face of all this, we are asked to credit her genuine desire for disarmament, and to join in singing "Peace, perfect Peace" at the St. Petersburg festival. We are, perhaps, wrong in saying her desire is not genuine. It is most genuine—we admit it; not, however from any great love of the idea, but from quite a different motive. Russia has, in great measure, achieved her purpose in China, and laid the foundation of future actions. Rest is now absolutely necessary to allay suspicion and mature further developments. *Hinc ille lacrymar* about the cost of enormous armaments and the drain upon nations which excessive militarism necessitates.

Let us now inquire how Russia stands to benefit by a diminution in disarmament. On a peace footing her army, roughly speaking, numbers a million, and her navy, which in 1891 numbered thirty-seven vessels of all classes, including coast defence vessels, but exclusive of unarmoured and protected cruisers, has been, and is still being, strengthened by powerful additions. Of the annual expenditure these two services alone absorb about one-third; and when one considers that throughout this century her national expenditure has almost invariably exceeded her annual revenue, the desire of Russia becomes apparent and real. Rest is imperative in order that she

may consolidate and develop her present and past territorial encroachments. Her motive thus appears interested, and, considering the wily nature of her diplomatists, shorn of that benevolent generosity which some would have us believe. At all events, it is capable of such interpretation, and as such should be borne in mind. The desire, then, for a reduction in the expenditure of her army and navy being reasonable—nay, urgent—let us examine why Russia herself should not carry it out without, let us say, Great Britain moving in sympathy. The question, in our opinion, concerns Russia alone. If she thinks any scheme necessary for her prosperity, her existence, let her act as seemeth to herself good. But we view with distrust her eager desire that other nations should go and do likewise. We do not grumble at having to keep up a powerful navy; our very existence depends upon that, and our army is so small that Russia has little to dread in the shape of invasion from it, her yearly contingent of recruits being almost equal to it. We have no intention of invading Russia, nor could we with any material success if we would. But we are still strong enough, or rather Russia is at present too weak and in too precarious a financial position, to prevent us, in the event of anything like a rupture, securing a dominant position in China, and effectually marring her carefully-laid schemes of the future. Russia quite understands this. But what will the relative positions be a dozen years hence? will we be strong enough then to prevent her grey-coated legions from driving us out of Pekin? For as the time approaches it will be an easy matter for Russia to increase her army—easier, and, at all events, more economical, than to continue the drain on her Exchequer which her present military systems demands. Russia, therefore, stands to gain everything and Britain nothing, except the future risk of losing her trade with China, and the almost certainty of having to fight for her Indian Empire. "The British Government must not allow itself to be deceived by the smooth words of the Tzar. He is even now attempting to persuade the world that he has no evil intentions towards us. But these assurances are glaringly at variance with his open acts." Such were the significant words written of Nicholas I. nearly sixty years ago. Time alone will show if the quotation applies now.

It is beyond the scope of an article of this length to deal with the many intrigues bearing directly and indirectly in the great game which Russia has been steadfastly pursuing, but one we cannot avoid alluding to. If memory does not play us false a great statesman once said in words to this effect, "Keep friendly with Turkey, and you will hold Russia in check." Turkey is now practically alienated, and the wily Muscovite is now at liberty to pursue, without fear of molestation from that quarter, his game in other quarters of the globe.

With the details of the Tzar's scheme we are of course ignorant, and we have only attempted to convey the significance with which the title impresses us and what it conjures up. It may not be to-day nor yet to-morrow, but no one seriously doubts that at some future time one, if not two, of the great Powers must go to the wall if peace is to be effectually guaranteed. France, unless the impulsiveness of her people precipitates matters, is slowly but surely effecting her downfall by her unstable and corrupt Government. Germany we may be certain is on the alert to score, as opportunity affords. Is Great Britain or Russia to be the sacrifice? Let us tread warily. Our army let us assure the conference is only sufficient for our requirements, and our navy is essential for our very existence and it we will never reduce. Let the Tzar disarm and engage heart and soul in commerce, we wish him well; let him sell the battle-ships which the recent naval vote is to build—no doubt he will find purchasers; and let him recall his troops from the Indian frontier. Let him do this without prejudice, for then, and not till then, can we regard the scheme as other than a diplomatic move, the motive for which we have perhaps unjustly indicated, but which time alone will undoubtedly reveal. Let us hope then that our representatives' decision in the matter will be a wise one, and calculated to relieve our minds of any dire possibility of becoming a conquered race in the future.

HAGUCH.

## THE EFFECTS OF ENGLAND'S WAR.

### A RETROSPECT FROM THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century prosperity dawned upon the resolute efforts of England to become the mistress of the seas; at its close was witnessed the most appalling contest of modern times to maintain that supremacy. It was a struggle of the giants afloat—a stupendous application of all that human ingenuity could produce for the purposes of defence or destruction—a practical test of all the theories on modern naval construction and armament which, for a generation or more, had been the burthen of thousands of speeches, controversies, and debates at scientific circles and parliamentary sittings, and the theme of hundreds of published volumes. And the many high technical, but discordant, opinions so tenaciously held for a generation became settled in a few months by actual warfare conducted at a frightful sacrifice of life and treasure. It was a revelation, indeed, from many points of view. All Europe had, for a long while past, been armed to the teeth. Our last vote for the navy estimates reached a figure without precedent—over £25,000,000. Our army had been increased and reformed. The hotly-discussed navy estimates in Germany had passed through the Reichstag; Russia had just appropriated, under Imperial Ukase, ten of the £120,000,000 cash emergency reserve to increase her sea forces, and both these Powers had suddenly embarked on a mission of seizure at the expense of helpless China. Germany had become nominally leaseholder of Kiao-Chao, but practically possessor in perpetuity of the whole of the Chinese province of Shantung. Russia had occupied Port Arthur by treaty and retained it by force, and then annexed, under various pretexts, the whole of the Chinese Empire north of the Great Wall and the kingdom of Corea. Vladivostock fell into second rank of importance, and remained only a fortified port with a garrison for its defence and that of the Trans-Siberian Railway main line terminus, whilst the Manchurian Chinese Russian-controlled branch line was carried down to Port Arthur. France, in return for material aid to Russia, enjoyed Russia's moral support in an abortive attempt at territorial acquisition in South China. The initial step was taken by lodging a claim for £4000 for the murder of a Mons. Gauthier at Haiphong by Chinese pirates in

the hope that the claim would not be paid. But the scheme fell flat: even the Chinese saw the trick as plainly as through a pane of glass, after their Kiao-Chao experience, and had the foresight to promptly satisfy the demand, and nip the intended sequel in the bud. But French society at home had been rent by excitement over the Dreyfus case, which, in itself, was merely a question of whether or not there had been a miscarriage of justice. All Paris—and Paris politically was France—became “a house divided against itself” on account of the many social and political side issues of the case which, on the one hand, affected the peaceful existence of the wealthiest section of society, and, on the other hand, called into question the good faith of an exaggeratedly devoted ally. Matters were officially brought to an issue by the trial and imprisonment of Emile Zola; but Paris was drifting towards a movement which threatened the existence of the Ministry, perhaps of the form of government. The history of 1870 was repeating itself. Militarism was thought to be asserting itself to the detriment of equity. It was necessary to raise the spirits of the people, and draw their attention off the all-absorbing menacing topic. So, suddenly we heard of encroachments by the French on the hinterland of our West African settlements. The counter-cry was raised across the Channel that perfidious Albion was trying to oust the French from the fruits of their conquests and the benefits of their treaties with negro chieftains. All this commotion about the pestiferous swamps and white man's grave was set on foot for political purposes whilst an Anglo-French Commission was actually deliberating on the subject in Paris. Mons. Hanotaux in vain affirmed that his Government had no bellicose intentions in Africa. But acts were more forcible than verbal assurances. At Waima, near Sierra Leone, three British officers and seven native troops under their orders were killed by native soldiers led by French officers. We were openly defied by the French leading troops into our territory as far as Boussa. On our part we had at once made reparation for our blunder in Uganda by paying £10,000 to the French priests there. The sound or “glory” had been echoed by the Press through the length and breadth of France.

The action of Russia in the Far East was extolled, primarily as a voluntary acquiescence in her plans in order to secure reciprocity of goodwill for France's projects in Southern China, whilst at the same time it was welcomed as a counterpoise to Great Britain's superiority of prestige and trade influence in those coveted regions. Again, our indefinite occupation of Egypt still excited the uncontrollable jealousy of Anglophobes. There were, indeed, many grievances, real or imaginary, against us, and so many possibilities of our checking the ambitious projects of two great nationalities, that the theory of a disintegration of the British Empire met with hearty response.

Whilst attention was centred on this one grand idea the *revanche* theme fell into the background. Russia was the ally of France, but Germany's interests had so recently become bound up with Russia's that, there was no fear of an aggression which Russia would be morally bound to discountenance. The Continental Press reviewed our acts in no sympathetic mood. Had not England's predominance in all quarters of the globe, her greed, her strategic foresight in the acquisition of apparently insignificant points, her wealth, and her monopoly of trade left her without a friend, save, perhaps, Italy? Had not Madagascar been annexed, and England and her treaties with the Hovas Government laughed at, and Russia's plans in the Far East been pursued without let or hindrance? Was not the treaty concerning the Black Sea torn up, the humiliation of Turkey terminated with the imposition of a ruinous war indemnity, and the advance to Herat accomplished without extraneous intervention? Let us now draw the teeth of the lion himself, was the cry which resounded from both extremities of Europe.

In our little island there was no desire for war. At least the fever had not tainted the populace. We sought no specific conclusions by force of arms. Over and over it was stated, in and out of Parliament (and this declaration naturally went from one end of the earth to the other), that all we desired was to ensure an open door everywhere for our commerce and the commerce of the world. Only to that end, and the defence of our acquired territorial rights and national dignity, had we frankly announced our intention to equip and maintain our navy to a strength equal to any two foreign navies and raise our land forces to a standard adequate to co-operate with our navy. Open commerce was and is the mainspring of our national existence as a Power, and at any cost we were determined to carry the banner of Free Trade to the remotest regions of the earth. We were already confronted with the fact that our trade with foreign countries had fallen off in the previous year to the extent of £1,233,000 as compared with the same period prior to that. How much of that shrinkage was due to trade strikes, or the disparity between gold and silver currency, or ordinary competition it is impossible to compute. Setting aside certain spasmodic ebullitions of divine right theories, we found our just ambitions fairly coincident with those of Germany, with whom we were *mesely* peaceful competitors. Our trade expansion policy *was*, however, utterly at variance with a glory-seeking nation's schemes, which could only find true development in the humiliation of another. Nor was it possible for us to regard with equanimity and complaisance the abnormal growth of a semi-barbaric empire whose limits no foreign Power could define, but which tended—shall we say approximately?—to the absorption of all Asia. The day of reckoning at length arrived and war was declared. We were brought to face two

first-rate European Powers single-handed. When the storm was brewing the United States were approached in quest of an *entente*. Their moral sympathy was with us, but the heterogeneous composition of the body politic proved to be too insufficiently Anglophile to declare themselves other than neutral. A Press campaign was started in favour of an offensive and defensive alliance with Japan; our Ministers were wildly upbraided in public print for alleged apathy and inertia—they were taunted with having pursued a policy of “splendid isolation”; but graver and far-seeing politicians, whilst they did not for a moment doubt the genuine readiness of Japan to cast in her lot with ours, saw clearly the one-sided feature of such a compact. Japan could render us no effective assistance beyond the Far East, whilst our war might extend over the wide world, and we would rather rely on our own resources than take up a moral obligation for an indefinite period to defend Japan against future open attack by her powerful neighbours in the day of retribution which would surely come. The fleets and armies of two of the most potent nations were arrayed against ours. It is not our purpose to give a complete narrative of the war; we will limit ourselves to a cursory review of the most striking incidents (leaving details to future historians) as a preamble to the consideration of the immediate effects of this calamitous event on the United Kingdom.

Just before the declaration of war the ocean cables connecting Ceylon with Australia, Ceylon with Penang, Singapore with Saigon, Saigon with Hong Kong, Hong Kong with Shanghai, and Shanghai with Nagasaki were cut by the enemy, whilst the land line through Siberia remained intact and available, but not for us. As the war progressed our cable connections with the Far West and Africa were interrupted: Without telegraphic communication we were compelled to place an extra number of ships off the China coast, and keep others in readiness for wherever they might be wanted at all our ports from Aden eastwards. We organised a service of despatch boats between the China coast—which had become the real seat of war—and Aden, which served as our half-way port between home and China. We hastily improved our defences and armament on Perim Island, which, with ships patrolling the Red Sea and floating batteries anchored in the West Passage, commanded the entrance through the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb. We equipped Suez as a base of operations. Whilst duly respecting the Convention of October 29, 1888, which exempted the Canal from blockade and secured a passage to all ships armed or otherwise in peace and in war, we anchored floating batteries in the Gulf of Suez, a mile off the entrance of the Canal. We had sole dominion of the Red Sea, and our despatches reached home *via* Suez and rail across Egypt to Alexandria, thence by convoyed vessel to Gibraltar, whence they were either carried overland through Spain to Santander and then



again convoyed, or they were carried direct from Gibraltar by sea, according to circumstances. The opponent fleets were too much engaged in the Far East to make any onslaught on our West Indian or South Equatorial possessions. Australia, however, in constant expectation of attack, and deprived of cable communication, was placed in a position to defend itself, and the colonies responded enthusiastically to the invitation to prepare their local land forces in case of need. The Colonial Assemblies immediately voted special grants for the levy and maintenance of troops for home defence, and collectively they sent offers to the Mother Country to co-operate to the full extent of their means. A movement in favour of confederacy was set on foot; a Grand Confederate Council was convened at Melbourne, whose ultimate deliberations were deferred until the close of the war. Active operations were principally confined to the Far East and our possessions along that route east of the Red Sea. Our garrisons in the North-Western provinces of India had, from the moment war was seen to be inevitable, been reinforced by some 15,000 British troops.

But trouble befell us in a quarter where it was least expected. Acting under the influence or pressure of a "friendly Power," and supported to the utmost by the Afrikander Bond, the Transvaal Government took advantage of the situation to repudiate the suzerainty of Great Britain. A formal vote to that effect was passed by the Volksraad amidst the greatest clamour of enthusiasm. Some few members who had the courage to oppose the measure as impolitic were cried down as traitors. A crisis was brought about by the imprisonment of several British subjects on the charge of seditious assembling. The able-bodied English-speaking foreigners united to attempt their rescue from gaol, but were met by the Boer levies, and a bloody encounter ensued. Despatches reporting the occurrence were on the way to Cape Town, whence the news was cabled to Sierra Leone. From this place the cable communication with Europe was interrupted, so a steamer was sent to England with the information. In the meantime a contingent of troops was hastened towards the Transvaal, but many could not be spared from Cape Colony, where it was prudent to retain considerable forces. Our troops encamped just outside the frontier of the Republic, and the British Commissioner and staff who accompanied them were escorted to Pretoria to interview the President. The President limited himself to categorically confirming the resolution of the Volksraad, and covering his own position by a simple affirmation that it was the will of the people. The "people" were really 15,000 voters out of a population of 63,000 Boers, and the 87,000 Uitlanders not taken into account at all. Troops were amassed here and there precisely along the route the Commissioner took to Pretoria. They were Boers and adventurers of all sorts, in which the Teutonic

element largely figured, and amounted to considerably over a thousand. Our troops remained encamped for six weeks in Bechuanaland while negotiations proceeded between the Cape Colony Government and the Republic pending orders from home. Here the Government was placed in a dilemma; but, as Canada had made such patriotic overtures from the beginning of hostilities, 10,000 Canadian troops were shipped in a fortnight and convoyed direct to the Cape. The policy of Great Britain was to make such a military demonstration as would morally coerce the Boers into submission without bloodshed. Moreover, in view of the war raging against us elsewhere, the peace and union of our South African colonies were at stake, and we could not allow differences with the Boer Republic to remain only half settled. The Canadian troops were marched into the Transvaal, and on the Limpopo River were met by a body of armed Boers, who, however, surrendered in view of the overwhelming force brought against them. Pretoria, Johannesburg, and Klerksdorp were invested, pending the signing of an Addenda to the Convention of 1884 (with the alternative of annexation), which practically ceded to the Uitlanders the political and other rights which they had so long demanded.

In the course of five months the war with the allied Powers came to an end without one party having gained any decided advantage over the other. Under the Treaty of Berne, signed by Great Britain and our late opponents, the following was agreed so far as related to their respective possessions and new acquisitions:

1. Each party retained the possessions respectively held *ante bellum*.

2. All the Chinese Empire north of the Chi-li province and west of the Leao Ho River became Russian, and Corea was recognised as a Russian Protectorate.

3. All the mainland of China, from the Chi-li province (inclusive) in the north down to the Kwang Si and Kwang Tung provinces (inclusive) in the south, and adjacent islets, were declared to constitute the independent Empire of China Proper (excepting rights established *ante bellum* and those to be hereinafter specified), the integrity of which would be guaranteed by the three Powers.

4. The Island of Hainan became French, with Hoi-how a free port. The province of Yunnan came under French administration, with the right of Great Britain to construct a railway through that province and work it independently. Also all foreign goods were to freely enter the province without dues or taxation of any kind.

5. Great Britain retained absolute possession of the newly-acquired Chusan and Yoo Choo Islands.

During the war our wheat supplies from Russia had been cut off, and many vessels carrying produce to our ports from America and elsewhere had been intercepted and seized. Wheat rose in the

English market to an average of 150s. per quarter, and the current price of a 2lb. loaf of bread reached 1s. 2d. This was due not alone to the scarcity of supplies from abroad, but also to the insurance war risk premium which about doubled the rates, while freights rose to three times the customary quotations. Meat also obtained about three times the usual price for the same reasons, supplies from the Antipodes and United States coming in very irregularly and at great risk. On the first advances in prices of grain and live stock (three-year-old bullocks fetched up to £12, and sheep 100s.), home producers secured considerable margins.

There was a like proportionate increase in the price of nearly every necessary of life. It was computed, after the war, that out of a total British (United Kingdom) tonnage of over 12,000,000 tons, representing over 9000 vessels, some 700 trading ships were seized or sunk by the enemy in and out of European waters. During the five months it is estimated that 2,100,000 of British tonnage was laid up in ports all over the world. These ships were principally steamers going under nine knots, tramps, and sailing vessels. Freights unearned on shipping lying idle, maintenance during five months, war risk premiums, loss in ships uninsured or only partially so, and suspension of traffic of the regular liners (whose fixed sailing days were carefully avoided) east of the Suez Canal, was roughly calculated to be about three and a half millions sterling, less half a million recovered in increased freights.

In the meantime hunger and misery were visibly rampant among the working classes. It is impossible to compute to what percentage each trade was affected by the general stagnation, but some idea may be formed from the figures supplied by the National Temporary Relief Organisation, which was speedily founded to alleviate the wants of the working population. It was ascertained that about 1,400,000 artisans and labourers, besides those dependent on them, were, at the end of a month, absolutely penniless and resourceless. The workers, however, may be considered to have brought misfortune on their own heads by their stubborn want of appreciation of the real state of affairs. The masters were reluctant to close their works or reduce the number of hands; whilst the workers, who began to feel the pinch of an all-round 25 per cent. rise in the market value of food, were preparing to demand higher wages to meet the increase. At Newcastle, Birmingham, Sheffield, and in several Lancashire districts there were open riots of small proportions, which were quelled with only a display of coercive power, and no arrests were made, for in every heart there was an undercurrent of the strongest sympathy for the hungry men, women, and children. Nor did the high cost of living affect only the masses. Even the upper middle classes, whose incomes decreased through the general stagnation of trade, were compelled to retrench their outlay, while perhaps half of the middle

and lower middle classes were sorely tried by the fact that their incomes available for household expenditure were reduced to less than half the purchasing value. The Government decided to enrol in special corps all able-bodied men up to forty years of age who voluntarily presented themselves for home service for a fixed period of one year on the part of the men, but subject to disbandment at any time by the Government. In fifty-five towns in Great Britain recruiting centres were opened, and the call to enlist was enthusiastically responded to by over 150,000 men.

Consols fell to 90 in the first fortnight, due to large selling orders received from nervous holders abroad, but quickly picked up seven points, for British investors jumped at the opportunity of getting in at that figure. There was a decided fall in cable company stock all round, with little probability of early recovery for those whose cables had been actually cut. Railway receipts diminished considerably, especially on those systems connecting with the Continental routes. The Bankruptcy Court was found to be altogether inadequate for the pressure of business. Far less money than usual changed hands for new business. There was a steady withdrawal of funds from current accounts at banks and middle-class people's savings hoarded up at the various financial institutions. Several banks failed, with the consequent effect on the mercantile men who depended on them; others went into liquidation rather than declare their insolvency, with the idea of reconstruction after the war.

There were great rejoicings throughout the United Kingdom when peace was officially proclaimed, for the experiences of the past five months had been a severe trial to the majority. As in most wars, a minority trading upon public misfortune had made their rich harvest.

The following table will show approximately to what extent our import and export trade was affected by reason of the recent conflict :

EXPORTS.	Year before war.	Year of war.	Decrease.
To the countries and possessions } of our late foes . . . }	32,887,210 ...	19,184,210 ...	13,703,000
„ other Foreign countries . . .	173,112,790 ...	165,005,370 ...	8,107,420
„ British Possessions . . .	89,651,201 ...	83,526,274 ...	6,124,927
	295,651,201	267,715,854	27,935,347
IMPORTS.			
From the countries and posses- } sions of our late foes . . . }	72,782,320 ...	42,456,360 ...	30,325,960
„ other Foreign countries . . .	275,818,675 ...	262,027,742 ...	13,790,933
„ British Possessions . . .	94,217,308 ...	84,484,578 ...	9,732,730
	442,818,303	£388,968,680	£53,849,623

which brings the approximate shrinkage in our trade with abroad inwards and outwards to £81,784,970 in the year of the war of five months, dating from the outbreak of hostilities to the signing of the

Treaty of Berne. Germany temporarily gained a good share of the trade which in times of peace would have been ours.

Possibly a fraction of this business was lost to us for ever among the many customers who had to avail themselves of new channels for placing their indents. The falling off, too, of our cotton manufactures, which annually accounted for about £60,000,000 sterling of our export values, was, to a certain extent, picked up by British India and Japan. Business, in short, in our country had been so convulsed by recent events, that many questions which had hitherto only been championed by a minority of enthusiasts now attracted the attention of a very large section of our merchant class. It will suffice to mention the most important resolutions which were unanimously agreed to at the most representative conference, namely: That it is expedient to abandon the conservatism of the typical British trader and follow the methods adopted by our successful rivals, which have enabled them to compete with us in foreign markets. Our competitors send travellers all over the world, who go periodically on their fixed routes to solicit orders; whilst the British manufacturer waits at home for orders to come to him. The competitor gives his quotation in the weights, measures, and currency of the country he wishes to supply—that is to say, in a manner comprehensible and attractive to the intending purchaser; whilst the British maker holds doggedly to his complicated pounds, shillings, and pence, and tons, cwts., &c. The foreign buyer is supplied with goods by our competitor to suit the taste of the foreign market: whilst the British seller strives to bend him to take British goods because they are British goods, whether the style suits him or not. The British seller holds out as much as he can for the sale to be f.o.b.; whilst our pushing rival accommodates himself to the convenience of the buyer by quoting c.i.f. It was resolved to endeavour to reform this system, which, however, in no sense interfered with our reputation for quality or our Continental *confrères'* fame for apparent cheapness.

The advocates of Bimetallism, too, held their mass meetings, for there was a revision of every important question which directly affected our prospective trade interests. All the old arguments were, time after time, discussed, with only one new feature—namely, that thousands of former Monometallists became reluctant Bimetallists from sheer logical conviction of the necessity of Bimetallism. An overwhelming majority of the mercantile class was at last brought to admit that Greater Britain could no longer continue to compete with the world if labour were paid for on the gold standard whilst goods were realised on the silver basis.

This gigantic movement going on all over the United Kingdom for trade revival was the direct outcome of the late war. The Decimal Coinage Association, which had hitherto made little impres-

sion on the public mind, redoubled its activity and held its meetings. It joined issue with those who were specially directing their energies to new means of facilitating trade with abroad. Notwithstanding the fact that the whole kingdom was stirred up as it had never been before by the watchwords "Trade Regeneration," and the cry which rang through every town and village during the war that England was fighting under the "Free Trade Banner," the association had great difficulty in breaking down the conservative ideas of pounds, shillings, pence, and farthings. The vast majority even derided the first efforts of the reforming association. But the country was just ripe for any reasonable reform which tended towards the same goal as the late war-cry. To every village and every city, borough, and suburb the association sent its demonstrator with his big blackboard and chalk to show the people what decimal calculation meant to business men and women; and here and there the attention of a million astonished eyes was rivetted on those boards until the convinced throngs everywhere burst forth with vociferous applause. The first step, the will of the people, was gained. Thenceforth the decimal system of coinage formed part of Great Britain's "Trade Regeneration" programme.

Not very long before the war broke out there had been a most serious strike amongst the engineers and allied crafts, which at one time threatened to spread to other trades. The loss which it entailed on the nation was absolutely irreparable, for had it not occurred we should have had so many more ships at our disposal when hostilities commenced, and presumably the conflict would have been to us more advantageously decisive. When the prejudice was appreciated the question was raised in Parliament by a Mr. Robertson as to whether the Government should not have availed themselves of the contract penalty clause to bring pressure on the contractors. Hence, after the war, when large new contracts were given out, the relations between masters and men became a burning topic in connection with the above-mentioned vast "Trade Regeneration" scheme. Party politics had been set aside, and the nation almost unanimously had agreed that our navy must no longer be just able to hold her own against any two navies in the world, but be materially superior to them, so that theoretically we should be in a position to defend all our possessions and partially annihilate our adversaries' fleets. Were we not to attain this end, it was argued, there would be positively no limit to the increasing numerical strength of rival navies but the question of finance. To repair our recent losses and increase our proportionate naval power, Parliament voted the sum of £30,000,000 sterling on navy estimates. There was prospective work for a couple of years, and the Labour question stood out prominently as one of grave importance. When peace was proclaimed, the masters set to work to regulate the Labour difficulty. Three

interesting points, at least, were resolved on—namely, fifty-five hours' work per week; wages rated on a scale to enable masters to compete with any Continental factories; the masters were to have absolute and unquestioned control over the administration and organisation of their own establishments and work, and the employment of apprentices or whomsoever they chose. In the meantime the old relations between masters and unions ceased to exist, for the latter had spent their sinews of war during the country's war.

The Treaty of Berne had been signed a month before the fact became generally known in Australasia. The Colonial Parliaments then passed resolutions tending to a closer union with the Mother Country. New Zealand joined in the movement. The Cape Colony and Canada were sounded on the subject, and from these initial steps, as a direct effect of the late war, our British Parliament is shortly to be known as the British Confederate Parliament, wherein will sit deputies sent from constituencies in all our Crown Colonies, with voting power, however, limited to Colonial and Imperial measures.

Our loss in warships, torpedoes, and naval armament, the new levies of British troops sent to India and other places, their transport, equipment, six months' pay and maintenance and military administration, increased armament, garrisons and defences at all our possessions from Suez to Hong Kong inclusive, and general expenses connected with the four months' actual hostilities—or, say, five months from the declaration of war to the signing of the treaty of peace—cost us about forty millions sterling. To cover part of this expenditure, and the balance of the extraordinary sum voted on the navy estimates before referred to, our National Debt was increased from 587½ millions to over 645 millions sterling by the issue of a New Three Per Cent. Consolidated Stock. Quite six months elapsed before a *rapprochement* could be effected so far as to enable all parties to fully re-enter the peaceful paths of mutual dealings to the extent of only a year before.

As between nations, the position of affairs was most unsatisfactory. Each had suffered pretty equally all the exigencies and horrors of the conflict: no party had been decidedly victorious. In the North of China our adversary's pretensions had only been restrained to the extent of leaving the whole of the Chi-li province and half of the Lao Tung territory intact—who knows if not in reserve for future acquisition? By force of arms we gained practically nothing. By the Treaty of Berne (for what that may be worth) and a collateral treaty with China we secured our object in a limited sense—i.e., (1) The freedom of the old treaty ports was ratified; (2) The new ports acquired by each party were declared free, whereby we expanded the area of neutral trading centres; (3) China was to be unmolested in her internal affairs, such as the appointment of

foreigners of any nationality for the service of the railways, customs, mines management, &c.; and (4) The Inspector-General of the Chinese Customs and collection of Likin and other taxes under foreign control was to be for ever a British subject so long as British trade with China exceeds that of any other nation. Under these circumstances, provided the Treaty of Berne were faithfully respected, the benefits of the war appertained more to a future generation than to the actual one, for it required many years of trade to make up for the aggregate losses sustained by our merchants of that day. Moreover, there were contingencies which no treaty could provide against. The partial suspension of our trade gave great impetus to that of Germany and Austria. The treaty did not, to any degree, avert the occult jealousy of our late rivals, or their intention to run a hard race with us for the acquisition of points of vantage, spheres of influence, and supremacy all over the globe. Indeed, the latent intrigues of these two Powers directed against our colonies and territories under our suzerainty, together with the absence of amicability, not to say strained relations, in our diplomatic intercourse, compelled us, within a year after the war, to increase our military detachments in the North-West Indian provinces, Burmah, and other places. Thinking men began to reflect how different all this might have been had we been in a position to inflict a decisive blow on the combined fleets. Instead of that they had retired from the fray with more or less the same ratio of united strength as ours. The calls upon our land forces increased to such an extent that the imperative necessity of conscription became a question looming in the near future. No one in the House of Commons has, so far, dared or cared to introduce it as a proposed measure. It was mooted, in the course of a speech in the Upper House shortly after the war, and judging from the outburst of indignation which this score of words gave rise to all over the country, it remains to be seen how far the peace of the realm would be disturbed were the idea pushed forward seriously.

For the Admiralty and our naval officers the war has proved to be an excellent lesson in many ways, particularly as to the best class of warship to build. It has put an end to all doubts as to whether our first-class battleships are, or are not, impracticably complicated and unwieldy in action. This huge contest of the leviathans has practically solved the most momentous theories which have envied the growth of modern navies. Now that it is all over, it is interesting to refer back to a speech delivered by Rear-Admiral Lord Charles Beresford, who, at the annual dinner of the Association of Chambers of Commerce on March 16, 1898, said: "Upon our defensive forces depends whether or not our trade and commerce shall be adequately secured."

On the same occasion Lord Rosebery remarked: "If we talk about



war, let us be certain that for the sacrifices we should incur by it we have value received." What words could have been more pregnantly prophetic? The larger share of the struggle had certainly fallen to the lot of the fleet. Our existence as a first-class Power had been seen to depend upon it more than upon the army. Then why, it was asked, was not more encouragement given to the service?

At the close of the twentieth century our population will probably be doubled, and, if it be the duty of our Legislature to provide for the increase, the "Forward Policy" should be that of opening up new fields of labour. In such laudable enterprises our sailors have been the chief pioneers in the past, and our soldiers the consolidating factor.

JOHN FOREMAN.

## THE PART OF WOMEN IN LOCAL ADMINISTRATION.

### IV.

IN an article on this subject in the WESTMINSTER REVIEW of September last full particulars were given up to the date of writing of an extraordinary case in which the Irish Local Government Board had resolutely set its face against the employment of women as paid officers of local administrative bodies. It may be convenient to recapitulate briefly the particulars of that case. In May 1898, Thomas Magill, rate collector for the Aughnacloy District of the Clogher Union, died. He had been an invalid for five years, the work of his office having been efficiently carried on by his daughter, Anne Eliza Magill. The Guardians desired that Miss Magill should complete the collection then pending, but to this the Irish Local Government Board demurred, and instructed the Guardians to proceed to the election of a permanent officer. The Guardians thereupon, on June 11, appointed Miss Magill, who had by her work for five years given abundant proof of her capacity and efficiency, and who was, moreover, in all other respects the most suitable person among the candidates. This election they, on July 16, in spite of the official opposition of the Irish Local Government Board, formally repeated and ratified. The Irish Local Government Board, on July 23, by sealed order declared Miss Magill "unfit" for the office of rate collector, without assigning any grounds for such declaration, and ordered that she should not exercise any of the powers or perform any of the duties of the office. The Local Government Board further advertised for candidates for the office of rate collector, alleged by them to be vacant by their dismissal of Miss Magill, and ultimately appointed one Robert Cuthbertson rate collector in her place. The Guardians refused to recognise the nominee of the Irish Local Government Board as their rate collector, or to sign the warrant necessary to enable him to collect the rates. A memorial in favour of Miss Magill, signed by a majority of the ratepayers of the Aughnacloy District, was forwarded to the Local Government Board. The Guardians memorialised the Chief Secretary and the Lord-Lieutenant, and petitioned the House of Commons for an inquiry into the cir-

cumstances of the case. They further communicated the facts to the other Irish Boards of Guardians, a great number of whom declared themselves in favour of their action, and memorialised the Local Government Board to reconsider the case. Mr. William Johnston on three several occasions put questions on the matter to the Chief Secretary in the House of Commons, but received purely official, and, as will be presently shown, inaccurate replies.

The refusal of the Clogher Board to recognise Mr. Cuthbertson or to sign his warrant was met by the Irish Local Government Board with a threat of dissolving the Board of Guardians, and of appointing two paid Guardians at a cost to the rates of £500 a year. The reply of the Guardians to this threat was the resolution, passed at their meeting on October 1, "That no warrant be signed for the collection of rates in the Aughnacloy District unless in favour of Ann Eliza Magill." At the same meeting a committee was appointed to draw up a statement in reply to the letter addressed by the Local Government Board, on October 20, 1898, to the Dungannon Guardians, in answer to their memorial praying for a reconsideration by the Local Government Board of Miss Magill's case. This letter of the Local Government Board was little more than a repetition of the Chief Secretary's statement in the House of Commons in July, and alleged that "the Justices' warrant to distrain could be addressed to the collector only, who could not act by deputy" (the official view being that it would be "improper" for a woman to distrain personally, though no allegation of any legal sex disqualification of women, or of any personal unfitness, could be made).

It now appears that the provisions of the Grand Jury and Poor Law Acts, on which the Local Government Board relied in making this statement, were repealed by the Petty Sessions Act, 14 & 15 Vict. cap. 93, sec. 25. It is, therefore, manifest that the Local Government Board have relied for the justification of their arbitrary action in this matter *on provisions of law which were repealed forty-seven years ago*. This will be clearly understood after the perusal of counsel's opinion taken by the Women's Local Government Society here subjoined :

"The questions submitted for my opinion are two, viz. :

"(1) Whether in Ireland any power is given to Justices in Petty Sessions to issue a distress warrant for the collection of poor rate to any person other than the rate collector.

"(2) Whether a Justice's decree for poor rate must be executed by the rate collector personally.

"I answer the first question in the affirmative, and the second in the negative, for reasons and considerations manifested by the following brief statement of the law on this subject as it has been and as it is.

"By the Irish Poor Relief Act, 1 & 2 Vict. ch. 56, and the Acts attending it, poor rate is collected, levied, and recorded in the same way as county cess.

"Up to the year 1851 county cess was under 6 & 7 Wm. 4, c. 116,

sec. 152. The first part of this section creates a statutable power of distress in the collector himself, a power which was seldom exercised for obvious reasons. The remaining portion of the section authorises the collector to recover by a decree of the Court of Summary Jurisdiction. The Act prescribed a particular mode of procedure culminating in a distress warrant to be issued by the Justices. This was a warrant issued on an adjudication of a Court of Law, and enforceable as such with all the assistance required, and with the protection of the police if necessary. When assisted by others the person named in the warrant need not execute it with his own hand, but should be so near as to be in law acting in the execution of the warrant (*Blutch v. Archer*, Cowp. 66). The warrant differed from the ordinary warrant issued by Justices in Petty Sessions, in that it was required by the Act to be issued to the rate collector personally. In all other respects it was similar.

"In the year 1851 was passed the Petty Sessions (Ireland) Act (14 & 15 Vict. ch. 93). It was an Act to consolidate and amend the Act relating to the proceedings at Petty Sessions, &c. The preamble is general in its terms, and declares the intention of the Legislature to enact a general code of procedure which should be applicable to, and make uniform, all proceedings before Justices in Petty Sessions, and with that object by section 43 repealed a number of other Acts specifically mentioned therein and 'all other Acts or parts of Acts inconsistent with the provisions of this Act' (the Petty Sessions (Ireland) Act, 1851).

"If the subject-matter of the collection of poor rate is within the jurisdiction of Justices at Petty Sessions, and if the procedure under section 152 of the 6 & 7 Wm. 4 be inconsistent with the provisions of the Petty Sessions Act in that regard, it follows that the latter Act repeals section 152 of the former.

"Sub-section 4 of section 10 of the Petty Sessions Act deals expressly with the enforcement of the payment of poor rate, county rate, and other public tax. Section 25 of said Act provides for the address of warrants; sub-section 1 says, 'All warrants in proceedings as to offences punishable either by indictment or summary conviction, which shall be issued in any Petty Sessions district, shall be addressed to the District Inspector or Head Constable of Constabulary,' &c.; and sub-section 2 provides that 'All warrants in other cases shall be addressed either to the District Inspector, Head Constable of Constabulary, . . . or to such other person or persons (*not being the complainant or a party interested*) as the Justices issuing the same shall see fit.'

"In this respect, viz. the addressing of the warrants for execution, the provisions of section 152 of the 6 & 7 Wm. 4, which directed it to be issued to the rate collector only, is clearly inconsistent with the above, and it is in my opinion repealed by section 43 of the Petty Sessions Act.

"If it were a matter of first impression I should have no hesitation in coming to this conclusion upon the words of the Petty Sessions Act and from consideration of its policy, but it is not. I find that the question came before the full Court of Exchequer in the year 1888 in the case of the Queen, *Jones v. Barry*, which is reported in the 23 *Irish Law Times Reports*, p. 28, which was a case stated by Justices for the opinion of the Divisional Court. The unanimous judgment of the Court, delivered by the Chief Baron, was that the 152nd section of 6 & 7 Wm. 4, ch. 116, which directs that the warrant shall issue to the collector of county cess is inconsistent with the Petty Sessions Act, and has therefore been repealed by it.

"In the same volume, at p. 34, in representations of the Baronies of Forth and Rathvilly, which was heard on circuit, Mr. Justice O'Brien is reported as having come to a similar conclusion, and in doing so to have

said that in his opinion the police were bound to execute the warrant, that 'they cannot take upon themselves to repeal an Act of Parliament; that under the Petty Sessions Act the police are the proper persons to execute the magistrates' warrants.' Since the date of these decisions the practice in the county is, I am informed, to address the warrant to a special bailiff and his assistants, and to call on the constabulary for protection if deemed necessary.

"In Dublin, under similar Acts, I know that the settled practice is to address such warrants to a warrant officer appointed by the Corporation, to the police within the district of Dublin Metropolis, and his and their assistants. This appears to me to be the proper course to pursue, having regard to the language of section 25, sub-section 2, that the warrant shall be addressed to persons '*not being the complainant or a party interested,*' inasmuch as the rate collector, even if not complainant, is interested to the extent of his poundage at least; but however this may be, the law in this country must be taken as settled by the case in the Exchequer Division above referred to, and which, being a case under the Crimes Act, was considered with special care, and was argued by the counsel for the Attorney-General, whose contention that section 152 of 6 & 7 Wm. 4, ch. 116, was repealed was sustained by the decision of the Court.

" (Signed) M. C. MACINERNEY,

" 22 Mountjoy Square.

" October 20, 1898."

It will be seen from the above statement of the law that the Chief Secretary was absolutely in error when, on July 15, in answer to Mr. William Johnston, he affirmed that "in Ireland the distress warrant may only be addressed by the Justices to the collector, who cannot act by deputy." As a matter of fact, distraint in the form alleged is practically unknown in the Clogher Union, and has been so for forty years past; the magistrates in Petty Sessions can and do insert the name of the bailiff who will execute the decree, and this appears to be the practice throughout the greater part of Ireland. The Chief Secretary added, "Or the collector may distrain under his own warrant of appointment." Even when and where a collector does so distrain, he is at perfect liberty to obtain the necessary assistance, and his "personal attendance" is only necessary in the strictly technical and legal sense. Nevertheless, though wrong in their law, the Local Government Board proceeded, on October 25, to the extreme measure of dissolving the Board and appointing two paid Guardians at the cost of the ratepayers.

It will be found, on referring to the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898, that more than six pages (82-88) of that measure are occupied with the conservation of the rights of existing officers of local authorities, many of whom must have been serving a shorter period than Miss Magill actually served before the intervention of the Irish Local Government Board. Section 6 of the same Act provides that

"there shall be transferred to the council of each county the business of the Guardians with respect to making, levying, collecting, and recovering

the poor rate in so much of the county as is not comprised in an urban county district."

Section 115, the first of those directed to safeguarding the rights of existing officials, provides that

"where the business of any authority is transferred by or in pursuance of this Act to any county or district council, the existing officers of that authority employed in that business, and not in any other business of that authority, shall become the officers of the councils of that county or district in like manner, subject to the provisions of this section, as if they had been appointed by that council."

"Every county council shall, within six weeks after their first meeting, submit to the Local Government Board a scheme setting forth their arrangements for the collection of the poor rate, and the officers they propose to employ for the purpose, and the names and description of the existing officers transferred to the county council by this Act (whether high constables and collectors, or collectors of a barony, or poor rate collectors of the Guardians, or deputy collectors of such poor rate collectors, where such deputy collectors devote their whole time to the work of rate collection) whom they propose to employ as officers under such scheme, and the scheme shall not authorise the employment of officers not transferred to or previously employed by the council if sufficient existing officers have expressed their willingness to serve."

It would appear from the above that if the Irish Local Government Board should succeed in keeping Miss Magill out of the post to which the Clogher Board of Guardians duly elected her until this transfer of officers shall take place, the officer transferred to the service of the County Council as collector of the poor rate for the Aughnacloy District will be the male nominee of the Irish Local Government Board, who hope, it would seem, in this way to strike a fatal blow at the future employment of women as paid officials of local administrative bodies in Ireland. The Chief Secretary, in his last letter to the Clogher Board, informs the Guardians that the Irish Local Government Board "*decline, as they have uniformly done in previous cases of the same kind, to sanction the appointment of a female collector of poor rates.*"

Apparently, at the date of this letter, the Chief Secretary was still ignorant of the fact that in his answer to Mr. W. Johnston in the House of Commons last July he put forward, on behalf of the Irish Local Government Board, as binding law at the present time, provisions of the law of half a century ago, *repealed in 1851*. The Clogher Guardians have from the first been correct in their view as to the law of the case, whilst the Irish Local Government Board have been all through hopelessly in the wrong. This being admittedly the fact, the rational course would have been for the Local Government Board at once to "reconsider the case," as they were asked to, do from so many quarters, and to sanction Miss Magill's election by the Clogher Guardians as the most fit and proper person for the work. The Local Government Board absolutely refused to do this,

and proceeded to the extreme measure of dissolving the Clogher Board and appointing two paid Guardians at the cost of the rate-payers, as a punishment for the fidelity of the Clogher Guardians to their duly-elected officer, of whose capacity and efficiency they had had five years' experience. The Irish Local Government Board have thus proved incontestably that their action has been based throughout on mere sex bias, and that their allegations as to the law of distrain were an idle pretext. They have exhibited themselves to the world as antiquated and reactionary opponents of justice to women and as pitifully small and mean in their tyranny.

On the other hand, the Clogher Guardians have fully deserved the hearty thanks of every woman in the three kingdoms, of every one who desires justice between the sexes, and of every believer in the advantages of good local administration. The Irish Press, of all shades of opinion, has supported their action, and the English Press is beginning to awake to the gravity of the issue. In England at the present moment great complaints are being made as to the meddlesome intervention of the English Local Government Board, whose large powers were inherited by it from its predecessor, the Poor Law Board, on which they were originally conferred at a time when popular representation and local administration, as we now understand them, did not exist, and under a condition of things which has long passed away. In Ireland the powers of the Irish Local Government Board are still greater, and are used with greater arbitrariness. It bodes ill for the prospect of good local government in Ireland that the new order of things initiated by the Local Government legislation of last Session should be accompanied by manifestations of the purely despotic self-will and of the pitiful sex bias of the members of an irresponsible Board. The matter will be brought under the consideration of Parliament as early as possible, and meanwhile good may arise out of evil, for the proceedings of the Irish Local Government Board have called the attention of many persons, who had not previously considered the subject, to the claims and position of women, and to the need of greater freedom of action for local administrative bodies. The final issue cannot be for a moment doubtful; but we have here a typical instance of the effort necessary on the part of women, and of the men who stand by them, even to conserve unquestioned ancient rights.

Men and women, the elected representatives of the people, will not submit to remain the mere puppets of an arrogant officialdom, nor will they tolerate such injustice as has now been perpetrated. Powers which have been so disgracefully abused must be limited, and it must be made impossible to treat local administrative bodies, when their opinions and actions contravene the whims and prejudices of the central officials, as naughty children, to be put in a corner.

Possibly it is the dread of the approaching Nemesis which has

instigated the latest move of the Irish Local Government Board. At the meeting of the Clogher Vice-Guardians, Major Eccles and Mr. Saunderson, on Saturday, December 24, 1898, a sealed order from the Local Government Board was read to the following effect:

"Whereas the Local Government Board for Ireland did, by an order under seal of the 25th day of October 1898, declare the Clogher Guardians to be dissolved, and did appoint paid officers for carrying into execution in the Union the provisions of the Poor Relief (Ireland) Acts, &c., and as it now appeared to the Local Government Board expedient to direct the discontinuance in office of such paid Guardians, they therefore order that the powers and authority vested in such paid officers should cease on the 17th of January next, if a Board of Guardians of Clogher Union shall on that day be duly elected, otherwise on such one of the seven days next after the 17th of January 1899, as shall be the day on which the election of the said Board of Guardians shall be completed, and that the Board of Guardians, if elected, shall terminate on the 25th March 1899."

The Irish Local Government Board seem incapable of doing anything largely and magnanimously. They hope to retrieve their false steps, and do away with the bitterness engendered by their own arrogance and folly by putting the Clógher ratepayers to the trouble and expense of an election which will remain valid for two months only. This is but adding insult to injury, and will in no way improve their position. When a great English Queen had once committed an act of similar arbitrary folly, her repentance was somewhat more generous and noble, and her restitution complete. She met her Parliament in person, frankly acknowledged her error, withdrew the oppressive monopoly, and soothed her aggrieved Commons with words so gracious that she became at once more popular than ever. But it needs something more than the collective wisdom of Beresford Place to match the brain of one Elizabeth.

In the second of these articles, which appeared in the WESTMINSTER REVIEW of September last, it was stated that, under the new Local Government legislation for Ireland, Irishwomen, married as well as unmarried, would be entitled to be registered and to vote in all local elections on precisely the same terms and qualifications as men. So far as unmarried women are concerned this holds absolutely true at the present time. About 100,000 duly qualified Irishwomen have been registered, and are entitled to vote as Local Government electors. But by a recent decision of the Lord Chief Justice of Ireland and the majority of the Irish Appeal Court in the case *McDaid v. Chambers*, heard on November 25 last, married women have been for the present year struck off the register. The Lord Chief Justice and two of the Appeal Judges concurred in this view of the position, Lord Justice Fitzgibbon strenuously dissenting. The case appears to be one of the same conscious or unconscious sex-bias which, as shown in articles of February and March last in this REVIEW, has already worked so ill for women. The case was one in



which a married woman was the tenant of a house for which she paid the rent out of her own separate property. The Revising Barrister had held that under the Local Government Act marriage did not disqualify a woman from being entered on the list, and accordingly retained the name. The objector contended that a married woman was not entitled to be entered on the list, and that the occupation of the house by the wife must in law be referred to the occupation of the husband, who was living with her. With regard to this, it ought first to be stated that in England repeated decisions have established it as sound law that the ownership or occupancy of a house by a wife does not confer a vote upon the husband, whether for local or imperial purposes.

The Registration (Ireland) Act, passed in March last, provided that

"There shall be added to each such list" (of Parliamentary electors) "a Local Government Supplement, which shall be prepared and revised together with the said list; and every person shall be entitled to be entered in the Local Government Supplement to any list who would, *but for being a peer or a woman*, or being registered as a Parliamentary elector elsewhere, be entitled to be entered in the list."

Section 109 of the Local Government (Ireland) Act itself provides that

"The expression 'Local Government electors' means, as respects any county or borough, district, electoral division, ward, or other area, the persons for the time being registered in the Local Government Register of Electors in respect of qualifications within such county, district, division, borough, ward, or other area."

Since in Scotland duly qualified married women are entitled to vote in all local elections, and in England in all local elections except, as the law still stands, those for Municipal and County Council purposes, and as, moreover, it was the avowed intention of the framers of the Irish Local Government legislation to put Irishwomen on equal terms, with regard both to voting and to being voted for, with their English and Scottish sisters, it would seem on the face of it extraordinary that marriage should be ruled by the Lord Chief Justice a disqualification from voting; the more so as no one contends that marriage would be any disqualification for election to the bodies to which women are made eligible under the Act. The whole mischief appears to have arisen by the determination of the framers of this legislation to proceed in some of these matters by Orders in Council rather than by Act of Parliament. On March 25 last the draft of an Order in Council under the Local Government (Ireland) Bill was laid before the House of Commons. Clause 3 of this draft Order provided

"For the purposes of the Act a woman shall not be disqualified by marriage for being on any Local Government Register of Electors, or for being an elector of any Local Authority, provided that a husband and wife shall not both be qualified in respect of the same property."

The contention of the Lord Chief Justice practically amounted to this, that under the law of Ireland marriage was a total disqualification, the existence of the wife being merged for all purposes in that of her husband. He alleged, further, that this disqualification had not been removed by the combined operation of the Registration (Ireland) Act and the Local Government (Ireland) Act, but that it had been left to the action of the Lord Lieutenant, at his pleasure, to enfranchise married women by signing the Order in Council which removed that disqualification. Yet the Lord Chief Justice himself admitted that the Lord Lieutenant, by signing this Order in Council before the date of the elections, could and would remove the legal incapacity of married women to vote. Nevertheless, he resolved not to leave this opportunity to the Lord Lieutenant, but declared that on account of this *laches* married women were not entitled to be registered, and therefore not entitled to vote. Lord Justice Fitzgibbon dissented strongly from this view, contending that married women were, under the Registration Act of 1898, entitled to be registered, and also, under the Local Government Act of 1898, entitled to vote. He held the sound constitutional view that the power of the Lord Lieutenant was strictly *executive* and not *legislative*.

Nevertheless, in spite of Lord Justice Fitzgibbon's conclusive argument, the majority of the Court—that is, the Lord Chief Justice of Ireland and two other Judges—concurred in the judgment adverse to the claims of married women. Their names have consequently been struck off the register, with the result of making it impossible for them to vote in the January and March elections of local administrative bodies, and, although their names may be placed on *this year's* register, as the elections are triennial, practically of continuing their disfranchisement for three years except in the rare cases of by-elections. Surely we have in the cases cited in this paper further proof of the difficulty which the majority of male officials, whether judicial or administrative, find in freeing themselves from that narrow sex-bias which leads them continually carefully to conserve, and, where practicable, to extend the legal disabilities of women. That one instance to the contrary should have been found in the case of a Judge of the Irish Court of Appeal is a welcome omen of better things. Lord Justice Fitzgibbon's effort towards justice for women deserves to rank with the present English Lord Chancellor's admirable decision in the far-famed *Clitheroe* case.

It is impossible here to give the full text of Lord Justice Fitz-

gibbon's closely reasoned and unimpeachable argument; but a few extracts may serve to show its tendency :

"I am of opinion, as clearly as respect for the existence of the opposite opinion will permit, both that they (women) are entitled to be registered, and that they are entitled to vote. Even if I could think that they are not yet entitled to vote, it would appear to me to be perfectly plain that they are entitled to be registered, and that, at any time between this and the date of the first election, an Order of the Lord Lieutenant in Council can put their right to vote beyond question, and that their names ought to be retained on the register, so as to enable the Lord Lieutenant to exercise his power with reference to them. . . .

"If I admit (though I deny it) that the Lord Lieutenant was empowered to confer the franchise, is it credible that Parliament intended, in *March*, that the Local Government supplement should be framed in anticipation of an Act that might not be passed until *November*, and yet intended that the lists should, in *October*, be revised by eliminating names upon which Parliament, in *August*, authorised the Lord Lieutenant at his own time to confer the right of voting, and when the Lord Lieutenant may exercise that power to-morrow, or may have exercised it yesterday, by signing the Order which, we were told, was laid in draft before Parliament in *May*? Upon the right of registration, which alone is now in question, and upon the assumption that the Lord Lieutenant is empowered to confer the franchise, this seems to me a conclusive argument in favour of the right of all peers, women, and plural voters, who have qualifying property, to have their names retained on the Local Government supplement.

"But I also think, and I base my judgment also on the ground that the franchise, *i.e.*, the right of *voting*, as distinguished from the *right of registration*, has been conferred on married women by the combined effect of the March (the Registration) Act and the August (the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898) Act, without the assistance of the Lord Lieutenant in Council.

"The August Act created 'Local Government.' Section 109 (1) enacts: 'The expression "Local Government electors" means, as respects any county or borough, electoral division, or other area, the persons for the time being registered in the Local Government register of electors in respect of qualifications within such county,' &c. 'The Local Government register' means the Parliamentary register with the Local Government supplement, completed under the March Act. By the words of this Section 109 (1) alone, *without more*, every one placed on the Local Government register becomes an 'elector' for the purposes of local government, in the same way that every one entered on the Parliamentary register becomes, under the Parliamentary Franchise Acts, an elector for Parliamentary purposes. But Section 109 *does not stand alone*. Section 2 (1) expressly gives the power to vote by the simple words, 'The councillors of a county shall be elected by the Local Government electors for the county. . . .'

"We were asked to measure the extent of these powers by looking at the draft Order in Council, said to have been laid before Parliament in May, and by comparing the Bill, as it stood before those powers were introduced, with the Act as it was passed. We cannot look at these documents for any such purpose. It is our duty to construe the Act by what it *says*, explained by what it *does*, and by what it *deals with*. We are at liberty to refer to the Acts which the Lord Lieutenant is empowered to 'apply,' and when we do so, I think that the limits of his power become plain enough. In terms, it is a power to apply selected parts of certain English and Scotch Acts to the new law in Ireland. It is not a power to extend

those Acts to Ireland as so much new and independent legislation. It is an executive and not a legislative power.

“*A priori*, I decline, except under pressure of coercive language, to put a construction upon powers given to the executive which results in the constitutional monstrosity of leaving it to the discretion of the Lord Lieutenant in Council whether or not peers, women, or plural voters, or any of them, shall or shall not have whatever franchise Parliament intended to give when it made them ‘Local Government electors.’ . . .”

“I must observe that if the Lord Lieutenant in Council can remove, or can decline to remove, the disqualification of coverture, the constitutional argument must be disregarded in principle, just as much as if it were left to the executive to say whether women should be permitted to vote at all; and furthermore, that if married women are now removed from the Local Government register of electors, they will only be kept, unaccountably ‘waiting at the gate’ while the first election is going on, because, through some unexplained omission or neglect, the Lord Lieutenant in Council has not yet signed an Order which was laid before Parliament in draft six months ago, as an Order which would give effect to the Acts. But, in my opinion, the mode in which the March and August Acts have put women in general, along with peers and plural voters, on the ‘Local Government register,’ has removed the disability of coverture as well as that of sex, and I therefore cannot lay this legislative freak of ‘leaving it to the Lord Lieutenant’ at the door of Parliament. . . .”

“I have shown that women, peers, and plural voters become ‘electors’ through being placed on the Local Government supplement, which becomes the ‘Local Government register.’ The March Act says, ‘*Every person* shall be entitled to be entered in the Local Government supplement,’ and consequently, under the August Act, to be a ‘Local Government elector,’ ~~and~~ would, *but for being a peer or a woman*, be entitled to be entered in the list. ‘But for being a woman’ is the same as ‘if she were not a woman,’ and the same as ‘if she were a man.’ A woman possessing qualifying property, married or unmarried, would have a vote, ‘but for being a woman.’ If she were a man, married or unmarried, she would have a vote, and marriage would be no disqualification. The very hypothesis which we are told to make renders marriage immaterial: though she, like the peer or the plural voter, remains liable to any disqualification which is caused by anything else than her ‘being a woman.’ Infancy, receipt of poor relief, or the like, will disfranchise any person; a woman, a peer, a plural voter, alike must go off, if thus disqualified. But every woman, married or single, is to be treated, for the purposes of this Act, ‘as if she were a man,’ and it appears to me to be a flat contradiction of the statutory hypothesis, after you have assumed her to be a man, and after you have been told to give her the franchise which, ‘but for being a woman’ she would have, still to treat her as a woman for the purpose of imposing a disqualification upon her, which would not be a disqualification at all ‘but for her being a woman.’ The peer, married or single, must *go on*; why must the woman, married or single, *go off*, when both are enfranchised by the very same form of words, viz., ‘but for being a peer or a woman’? I take the liberty of distinctly expressing my opinion that the draughtsman of our Irish Acts has, by his simpler formula, more neatly removed the disqualifications of women, married or single, than did the authors of the English Acts, which spoke of the disqualifications of sex or marriage as if they were distinct. Holding that no woman could be disqualified by coverture ‘but for being a woman,’ I hold that married women are entitled to vote as Local Government electors, and *à fortiori*, I hold that their names

cannot be removed from the register, when it is conceded that, at any time between this and the first election, the Lord Lieutenant in Council can apply and can adapt to Ireland such provisions of the English and Scotch Acts as he may think 'necessary or expedient' for enabling them to exercise the franchise.

"The contrary conclusion, in my opinion, not only violates the Acts, but also disables the Lord Lieutenant from giving effect to those Acts, by prematurely and unlawfully removing from the Local Government register names which Parliament directed to be entered upon it."

Whilst correcting the proof of this article a copy came to hand of an Order (No. 1120) issued by the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council of Ireland under the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898. This Order, signed December 22, 1898, is the Order as amended, which was laid on the table of the House of Commons on March 25 last. The signing of this Order, according to the ruling of Lord Chief Justice O'Brien, sweeps away the disqualification of coverture for all purposes of local voting throughout Ireland. The case now stands thus: that duly qualified married women, throughout Scotland and Ireland, may vote in all local elections. In England they may vote in all local elections except those for Town and County Councils. Surely it is time that this last anomaly should be swept away.

In previous articles it has been shown that women in England may be elected to and be members of urban District Councils and London Vestries, but that, as a consequence of the decision in the case of Lady Sandhurst, they may not be elected to or sit upon Municipal Councils or County Councils. There are at the present time 780 urban District Councils in England and Wales, whilst in London there are twenty-nine large Vestries, twelve District Boards, and the Woolwich Board of Health, to all of which women are eligible, whilst they are actually now serving on eight of the twenty-nine Vestries. Moreover, married women, should they possess the due qualification, are entitled to vote at the elections for these urban District Councils and for London Vestries. They have, however, been generally held to be incompetent to vote in municipal elections since the famous decision in the case of *The Queen v. Hareld*, given in 1871 by Lord Chief Justice Cockburn.<sup>1</sup>

Whenever, therefore, an urban district obtains a Charter of Incorporation as a municipal borough, one immediate result is the disfranchisement of any married women voters, and the disqualification of all women as candidates for seats on the Local Authority. As continual applications are being made on the part of the larger urban districts for municipal powers, this process needs to be carefully watched. Legislation for the municipalisation of London is practically certain to be brought forward during the coming Session. The same results will take place in any municipal districts created

<sup>1</sup> For the particulars of this case, see the article "Judicial Sex-Bias," in the WESTMINSTER REVIEW, March 1898.

by such legislation unless the interests of women are carefully safeguarded. The absurdity of the present position is still more manifest when we remember that in Scotland qualified married women are competent voters in Municipal and County Council elections, and will henceforth also be competent Municipal and County Council voters in Ireland, although women are still excluded from seats on Municipal and County Councils. Is it not surely time that the whole of these absurd disqualifications should be done away with, and women be admissible on equal conditions with men to all public administrative offices? Such a consummation, however earnestly to be wished, is, in this country of everlasting compromise, scarcely likely to be attained at one bound. Our illogical masculine legislators continually give with one hand and take away with the other, and are never willing to carry any principle to its ultimate issues. This they call being practical. Yet surely with a Queen on the throne every minor public function should be exercisable by women who possess the necessary personal and intellectual qualifications. The qualities possessed by women of common-sense and domestic training are precisely those which are most needed at the present hour on all local administrative bodies. Moreover, the great lack of the day is the absence of true public spirit, and the present is assuredly not the time for limiting the supply of public-spirited workers to the masculine half of the race.

IGNOTA.

## THE SPANISH DECLINE.

WELL might a Spaniard of our days, comparing the present with the past, mourn over his country, the chosen abode of chivalry and romance, of valour and of loyalty. The mistress of the world, the queen of the ocean, the terror of nations, is gone; Spain is depressed to the lowest degree of debasement, held up to public opprobrium, made a theme on which schoolboys and moralists love to declaim respecting the uncertainty of human affairs, and at length driven to the bitter humiliation of beholding herself stripped of her fairest possessions by a recent treaty.

Now that the Spaniards have been vanquished many pedantic Europeans pity them, and call down all sorts of curses on the Americans, whom they accuse of violating right. Nevertheless, the fate of Spain is an historical necessity. The Americans are only the instruments in the law of cause and effect. History shows us which are the causes of Spanish ill luck, but it also shows us that the fall of Spain is probably ir-retrievable. As Spain is the country where the fundamental conditions of natural improvement have been most flagrantly violated, so also is it the country where the penalty paid for this violation has been heaviest, and where, therefore, it is most instructive to ascertain how the prevalence of certain opinions predominate.

### SUPERSTITION OF THE SPANIARDS.

First of all, no other part of Europe is so clearly designated by nature as the seat and refuge of superstition. If we except the northern extremity of Spain, we may say that the two principal characteristics of the climate are heat and dryness, both of which are favoured by the extreme difficulty which nature has interposed respecting irrigation; for the rivers which intersect the land run mostly in beds too deep to be made available for watering the soil. ~~Coming~~ To this and to the scarcity of rain there is no European country, as richly endowed in other respects, where drought, and therefore famine, have been so frequent and serious. At the same time the vicissitudes of the climate, particularly in the central parts, render Spain habitually unhealthy. When we, moreover, add that in the Peninsula earthquakes have been extremely disastrous, and have excited all those superstitious feelings which they naturally

provoke, we may form some idea of the insecurity of life and of the ease with which an artful priesthood might turn such insecurity into an engine for the advancement of their own power.

Another feature of this singular country is the prevalence of a pastoral life, which mainly originates from the difficulty of establishing regular habits of agricultural industry. In most parts of Spain the climate renders it impossible for the labourer to work during the whole of the day, and this forced interruption encourages among the people an irregularity and instability of purpose which makes them choose the wandering calling of the shepherd rather than the more settled pursuits of agriculture. All this increases the uncertainty of life and strengthens that love of adventure and that spirit of romance which give a tone to the popular literature. Under such circumstances everything grows precarious, restless, and unsettled, thought and inquiry are impossible, and the way is prepared for those superstitious habits and for that deep-rooted and tenacious belief which has always formed a principal feature in the history of the Spanish nation.

#### LOYALTY.

Coupled with superstition, the chief characteristic which during several centuries has distinguished the Spaniards above every other European people is their spirit of loyalty. One of the leading causes of this quality has been undoubtedly the immense influence possessed by the clergy, for the maxims inculcated by that powerful body have a natural tendency to make the people reverence their princes more than they would otherwise do. And that there is a real and practical connection between loyalty and superstition appears from the historical fact that the two feelings have nearly always flourished and declined together; both feelings are the product of those habits of veneration which make men submissive in their conduct and credulous in their belief. In Spain several circumstances occurred to cement the union between the Crown and the Church. In consequence of this union, the theological element became not so much a component of the national character, but rather the character itself. The ablest and most ambitious of the Spanish kings were compelled to follow in the general path, and, despots though they were, they succumbed to that pressure of opinions which they believed they were controlling.

Now, then, we have a combination which once excited the admiration, albeit the terror, of Europe. We have a great people glowing with military, patriotic, and religious ardour, whose fiery zeal was heightened rather than softened by a chivalrous devotion to their kings. Only a Spaniard (Ignatius Loyola) could have imagined to treat faith after a military fashion, and to organise the Church as if it were an army. To this rare union of conflicting qualities we



must ascribe the great deeds that at one time made of Spain the first power in the world. But the unsound part of a progress of this sort is that it depends too much on individuals, and therefore cannot be permanent. When competent leaders are succeeded by incompetent ones, the system immediately falls to the ground, simply because the people have been accustomed to supply the necessary zeal, but not the intelligence by which that zeal is guided. The Spaniards, being used to indiscriminate loyalty, follow wherever they are led, and yield to foolish counsels the same obedience that they had before paid to wise ones. This leads us to perceive the essential difference between the civilisation of Spain and the civilisation of England. The English are a critically dissatisfied and captious people, constantly complaining of their rulers, discussing their measures, allowing very little power either to the Church or to the Crown, and ready, if need be, to renounce a loyalty to which they would never dream of sacrificing their liberties, and which would never impair their keen sense of their own interests. The consequence is that their progress is uninterrupted, whether their kings be good or bad, because Englishmen know full well that they hold their fate in their own hands.

The fact is, that if the causes of the losses and disasters of Spain have undoubtedly been bad government and unskilful rulers, the real and overwhelming cause which determined the whole march and tone of affairs has been the existence of that loyal and reverential spirit which made the people submit to that which ~~any~~ other country would have spurned.

#### IGNORANCE.

After having touched upon superstition and loyalty, which are the chief qualities of the Spanish character, and are owing to nature, we shall proceed to consider the minor ones, the greater part of which are a consequence of the former, and are owing to education.

The first that strikes the civilised European is ignorance. The ignorance in which the force of adverse circumstances has sunk the Spaniards, and their inactivity, both bodily and mental, would be utterly incredible were it not proved by every variety of evidence.

Seventy per cent. of the population can neither read nor write; what good is it to the Spaniards to possess one of the most wonderful works of universal literature, since they are not able to read it? The sum destined to instruction amounts only to 1,800,000 pesetas, and in many country places the masters must either starve or beg.

On the way in which inferior and superior education is imparted at present, rising gradually to the universities of the provinces and the provincial University of Madrid, and following the ancient examples of France, I prefer to be silent. Things are told of the way in which corruption and indolence invade this field of the

national life which make one shudder.' There is the same struggle between the modern schools as takes place in France, with the difference that modern thought does not progress as it does there, by slow but sure steps. The people call the ancient ecclesiastic schools of piety, *las escuelas pías*, and the masters by abbreviation *escolapios*, although they are certainly not the *esculapii* of the mind; these are, and not without reason, greatly preferred, as are also the female institutions directed by nuns.

What degree the knowledge of Latin reaches—of that of Greek we do not speak, for it exists only on paper—may be shown by the following example. The University of Salamanca at one time decided to send an address to Pope Pius IX. It was considered advisable to draw it up in Latin. It was a long time before any one was found in the illustrious assembly who would undertake such a task. Nevertheless, the work, having been accomplished, was sent prudently to Madrid to be examined there. Some friends of Professor Hübner, of Berlin, finding that the Latin did not correspond to the fame of the ancient Spanish Latinists, the document was sent to that learned man at Berlin to be corrected, and only after it had been done completely over again was it sent to its destination.

The knowledge of modern languages also leaves a great deal to be desired. Only the men learn to jabber French very badly. Of the custom of the Spanish women to speak their own language only, several amusing experiences have been made. Hübner tells us that the grandmother of a family of a friend of his at Madrid used to be very much surprised that he did not know several Spanish words, and that he had to ask their meaning. She thought that he did not understand them because people did not speak clearly enough, and went on repeating them to him in a clear loud voice, thinking that he must then surely understand them. Speaking, and speaking Spanish, were to her one and the same thing; the possibility of there being other tongues had never presented itself to her mind.

The ignorance of the Spanish respecting the condition of their colonies is incredible. The modern Spaniards could number only half-a-dozen of their countrymen who, urged by a desire of knowledge, visited, following their own inclination, the possessions of the State. The Philippine Islands have been studied by one Spanish scientific man only. All that has been written about this archipelago in the Spanish language was composed by employes, military men, and missionaries whose profession led them to the spot. The nation shows neither a political nor a scientific interest in her colonies; all those works which refer to them are read and appreciated far more in other countries than in Spain itself. Thus attempts to found colonial companies have miscarried through the indolence of the nation and for want of good sense on the part of the Government. Notwithstanding this, the Spaniards have the pretension of

being the first and the most generous colonisers of the world, and he who dares deny it will be abused and called the enemy of the Spanish people.

If a people so ignorant, elevated thought is wanting. It is not meditation which attracts the Spaniard, but crude and positive fact. The great thinking races are endowed with a philosophic and moral spirit; they seek in physical spectacles for the inmost and profound idea. The Spaniard, on the contrary, plunges into his imagination so thoroughly that he changes it into a sensation or a vision. Of all the great poems where human reason lies hidden under human imagination, religion is the most sublime; and in India, in Greece, among the peoples of Germany, the divine legend allows those metaphysical divinations, or those moral instincts which give it all its nobility and all its value, to transpire beyond its fancies and its forms. For the Spaniards, on the contrary, religion is an emotion of the flesh and of the blood. Their God is there in the churches; on the one hand Christ crucified, bleeding, ghastly with cadaveric hue; on the other the Virgin covered with the laces and precious stones which belong to queens. They do not see them as ideal characters across the mists of a far remote antiquity or confined to the heaven above. They feel them as embodiments, palpable, living, and mixed up with their life; they are represented on the stage, they take part by their action and by their presence in secular dramas; they have the dress, the feelings, the prejudices, and the habits of contemporaries. Whoever dares to deny the dogmas of the Church is a traitor who deserves to be fought against with fire and sword.

#### THE CLERGY.

For the clergy the people have still the greatest reverence. A Frenchman, Charles Benoist, paid last year a visit to Canovas, and, in the book which he has recently written upon Spain, he says:

"On leaving the cabinet of the President of the Council we found four monks in the reception-room. They are," said Canovas, "the representatives of the four great monastic orders of the Philippine Islands: Augustinians, Dominicans, Franciscans, and Carmelites; I have had them come here in order to consult them on the political situation." Those four friars reminded me of an impression I had felt some time before at the royal palace. Here I saw a bishop enter, who had been sent for by the Queen; he wore the monastic garb, partly covered with precious lace. Spanish "grandees, generals, and mails of honour knelt down before him as he passed, while he condescendingly gave them his blessing with an indifferent expression and a stony glance."

Several attempts have been made in Spain to react against the omnipotence of the priesthood, but the effects have always been out short. Also the Ministers of the Alphonsine monarchy, be they Liberal or Conservative, must take good care not to meddle with the

privileges of the clergy, otherwise Carlism, which promises to leave the Church intact, will be hurled against them.

#### NEED OF ACUTE SENSATIONS.

That want of restraint which appears in the religious feeling of the Spaniards is in some respects the principal feature of their whole character. The root of great events may always be found in the character of the people, and history may be reduced to psychology. Among the innumerable kinds and degrees of pleasure which exist, there is a particular one in every individual soul or people, and that is naturally their *favourite state*; it goes and comes without resting by a law of nature just as water tends to sink. Now what distinguishes the Spanish character from all others is its craving after sharp and harsh sensations. What more eloquent example can we have of the spasm to which Spanish imagination gives itself up than the awful sight of the bull-fights? They have often been described, but perhaps never with greater beauty and truth than by Prosper Mérimée, and certainly never more clearly and concisely than by Moltke. I pass over the combat with the bull itself and the barefaced cruelty with which the animals are gradually, and often quite against their will, goaded to extreme rage; more revolting still is the butchery of the horses, which, under the strong lances and picadores, and with their eyes already closed, are exposed to the long strokes of the infuriated beasts' horns, and often, before dying of exhaustion, are dragged about with their bowels torn out!

It seems incredible how the feelings of the spectators, even of those persons who possess a simple and humane temper, is able to bear, from long habit, the most cruel sights. The father who wishes to give a holiday treat to his children promises to take them to "the bulls," and tender women and young girls—particularly in the middle and lower classes—enjoy the festive spectacle without even seeking to conceal their delight.

#### P'RIDE.

In this tendency to yield himself up entirely to passion the Spaniard is absolutely wanting in practical sense.

He will not submit to things, but things ought to submit to him. Pride is his principle. "A shoemaker," Madame d'Aulnoy relates, "presents himself to a woman who sells salmon and asks for a pound." The woman replies: 'Your Excellency certainly wants the salmon because you think it is cheap; but you are mistaken, it is worth a crown a pound.' The shoemaker indignantly replied: 'If it had been cheap I should have required one pound; as it is dear, I will have three.' He immediately gave her the three crowns, and glanced at us haughtily, for he saw well that we were listening to

the colloquy, and that we were foreigners. The beauty of the affair is, that probably that man has nothing in the world but those very three crowns, and that to-morrow his wife, his little children, and himself will fast more rigorously than on bread and water.

"Nevertheless, in the midst of their leather and their awl, these men live like lords. One cannot see a carpenter, saddler, or any other man having a workshop, but he is dressed showily, perhaps in silk and velvet. They work as little as they possibly can, and it is only the direst necessity which obliges them to do something. It would be absurd to expect greater activity from those who are in a higher position. Many grandees will not visit their 'States'—it is thus they call their lands, villages, and castles—and let everything be managed by a steward; they refuse to look over his accounts, and allow him to send them to rack and ruin just as he likes. Tradesmen enter into their books whatever they like and whatever prices they may fancy. Things go on in this way till all the property has been devoured, then the master gives up everything and lives on an annuity."

#### MATERIAL ILLS.

We have hitherto spoken only of the moral calamities by which Spain is overwhelmed. To these we might add the material ones, and especially the overpowering blow which she has just received from the United States. Herein, however, lies a difference. Calamities may be inflicted by others, but no people can be degraded except by its own acts. With nations, as with individuals, none are dishonoured if they are true to themselves. Such losses are sure to be retrieved if the people who incur them are inured to habits of self-government and self-reliance; in Spain these are unknown, and it appears impossible to establish them. It is an idle mockery to seek to change the nature of Spanish people by legislation. The only remedy against superstition is knowledge. It is to a knowledge of the laws and relations of things that European civilisation is owing, and it is precisely this in which Spain has always been deficient. Until this deficiency is remedied, until science, with her bold and inquiring spirit, has established her right to investigate all subjects, we may be assured that in Spain neither literature, nor universities, nor legislators, nor reformers of any kind will ever be able to rescue the people from that helpless and benighted condition into which the course of affairs has plunged them.

#### NATURAL RESOURCES.

The Spaniards have had everything except knowledge; they have possessed immense wealth and fertile and well-peopled territories in every part of the globe. Their own country is admirably

situated for purposes of trade between Europe and America, being so placed as to command the commerce of both hemispheres. They have had rich and flourishing towns, abundant manufactures, and skilful artisans. Their soil overflows with wine and oil, and produces the choicest fruits in an almost tropical exuberance. It contains the most valuable minerals. They have had their full share of great statesmen, great kings, great magistrates, and great legislators. The bravery of the people has never been disputed, while, as to the upper classes, the punctilious honour of a Spanish gentleman has passed into a byword and circulates through the world. Of the nation generally, the best observers pronounce them to be high-minded, generous, truthful, full of integrity, warm and zealous friends, affectionate in all the private relations of life, frank, charitable and humane, while their sincerity in religious matters is unquestionable. They are born with more wit than other people. It is easy for them to learn whatever they like; they understand politics perfectly, and are eminently sober and laborious when it is necessary to be so. Their strength and their cleverness made them at one time the rulers of Europe, and have since exerted upon her the influence of their politics, their literature, and their taste. Fortune has been lavish towards them, and their heart was as brave as their fortune. One gift alone was wanting—the capacity of understanding the commonplace and insurmountable conditions of human life, and the will to submit to the same.

Altho the great qualities of the Spaniards will avail them nothing so long as they remain ignorant; unfortunately education has always remained, and still remains, in the hands of the clergy, who steadily oppose that progress of knowledge which they are well aware would be fatal to their own power.

#### ATTEMPTS AT REFORM.

The Spanish reformers have, with rare exceptions, eagerly attacked the Church, whose authority, they clearly saw, ought to be diminished. When the Liberals were in power they suppressed the Inquisition, but Ferdinand VII. easily restored it, because its existence was suited to the habits and traditions of the Spanish nation. Fresh changes occurring, the odious tribunal was in 1820 again abolished. Nevertheless, though its form is gone, its spirit lives. In 1836 there was another political movement, and, the Liberals being at the head of affairs, Mendizabal secularised all the Church property, and deprived the priesthood of nearly the whole of their enormous and ill-gotten wealth. But within a very few years the reaction began. In 1845 was enacted the law of devolution, by which the first step was taken towards the re-endowment of the clergy. In 1851 their position was still further improved by the celebrated Concordat, in

which the right of acquiring land was solemnly confirmed to them. Such, however, was the madness of the Liberal party, that only four years afterwards, being briefly in power, they forcibly annulled these arrangements. The results might have been easily foreseen. In Aragon, and in other parts of Spain, the people flew to arms; a Carlist insurrection broke out, and a cry ran through the country that religion was in danger. It is impossible to benefit such a nation as this. A Ministry was formed whose measures were more in accordance with the national mind. In May 1857 the Cortes assembled, the worst provisions of the Concordat were amply confirmed, and all the limitations to the power of the bishops were at once removed.

These examples prove that, if a few ardent and enthusiastic reformers attempted to secure a liberal government to the Spanish people, they succeeded only for a moment, and no more. The fact is that such a policy, wise as it appeared, was of no avail, simply because it ran counter to the whole train of preceding circumstances. It was introduced into a state of society not yet ripe for it. No reform can produce real good unless it be the work of public opinion, and unless the people themselves take the initiative.

The reader now will be able to understand the real nature of Spanish decline. He will see how, under the high-sounding names of loyalty and religion, lurk the deadly evils which those names have always concealed in Spain. A blind spirit of reverence, taking the form of an unworthy and ignominious submission to the Crown and the Church, is the capital and inborn vice of the Spanish people. The idea of liberty is extinct. Outbreaks, no doubt, there have been and will be, but they are bursts of lawlessness rather than of liberty. In the most civilised countries the tendency always is to obey even unjust laws, but, while obeying them, to insist on their repeal. For a nation to be able to take this view a certain stretch of mind is required, which in the darker period of European history was unattainable. But since the sixteenth century local insurrections, provoked by immediate injustice, are diminishing, and are being superseded by revolutions, which strike at once at the source from whence the injustice proceeds. In Spain, however, there never has been a revolution properly so called; there has never been even one national rebellion. The people, though often lawless, are never free. Certain feelings there are of our common nature which even their slavish loyalty cannot eradicate, and which from time to time urge them to resist injustice. The Spaniards therefore resist, not because they are Spaniards, but simply because they are men. Still, even while they resist, they revere. While they will rise up against a vexatious tax, they crouch before a system of which the tax-gatherer is the executor, and fall prostrate at the feet of the contemptible prince for whom the tax-gatherer plies his craft. To expect that,

under such a state of things, the Spaniards should make any of the discoveries which accelerate the march of nations would be idle indeed, for they would not even receive the discoveries which other nations have made for them, and have cast into the common lap. The Spaniards desire to walk in the way of their ancestors, and not have their faith in the past rudely disturbed. While human intellect has been making the most prodigious and unheard-of strides, while discoveries in every quarter are simultaneously pressing upon us, Spain sleeps on, untroubled, impassive, receiving no impressions from the rest of the world, and making no impression upon it. There she lies, a huge and torpid mass, the sole representative now remaining of the feelings and knowledge of the Middle Ages. And what is the worst symptom of all, while she is the most backward country in Europe, she believes herself to be the foremost. She is proud of everything of which she ought to be ashamed.<sup>1</sup>

We have done. Spain is the pattern Catholic State. The Spanish are a people according to the heart of popes, bishops, and monks. In 18,000,000 of Spaniards there are only 6654 Protestants, 464 Jews, and 9645 Rationalists, and all this notwithstanding the great efforts of the Protestants and Rationalists who seek to enlighten the minds of the people. The Church need not, therefore, fear that for a considerable time the Spanish will abandon her. They will remain good Catholics, and probably go on in their decay. Such a people cannot be hated; it can only be profoundly pitied. But if other nations heed the example afforded by this clerically ideal State, they will take warning, and carefully avoid the path by which Spain has been led on to her ruin.

PAOLO ZENDRINI.

<sup>1</sup> Buckle, *History of Civilisation in England*, vol. ii.



## REMEDIES FOR SNAKE-BITE:

### · SCIENTIFIC AND EMPIRIC, ·

FOR some years past Professor Frazer, of Edinburgh, M.D., F.R.S., and Dr. A. Calmette, of the Institut Pasteur, Lille, and others, have been engaged in the very laudable endeavour to discover a reliable remedy for snake-bite. This they believe has been found in the poison of the reptile itself.

When we reflect that in India alone more than 20,000 people die annually from the effects of snake-bite, the extreme importance of an easily-applicable remedy cannot be over-estimated. Whether the *antivenine* proposed as this remedy by Drs. Frazer and Calmette will ever become generally useful time alone will show; it is at present in the experimental stage, and although the results appear to give great hope for the future, it must be many years before it can be so employed as to make any sensible diminution in the number of victims.

The system adopted by these learned doctors is that of Pasteur, the scope of which, since its first inception, has become so widely extended as to embrace many diseases formerly regarded as incurable, but now found to be more or less amenable to the new treatment, which consists of inoculation with attenuated virus of the disease itself, or with the blood-serum of animals which have been immunised by the process, the treatment being employed not only as a cure, but as a prophylactic.

In the case of snake-bite the remedy consists in the subcutaneous injection of gradually increasing doses of the venom of deadly snakes until the animal treated becomes proof against the poison, [the blood-serum of an animal thus immunised, known as *antivenine*, or of the snake itself, being used to cure or protect others. The animals thus treated have been chiefly rabbits, rats, and pigeons, and it is asserted that instead of being injured or weakened by the experiments, they gain in weight and vigour.

The doses administered have been proportioned to the weight of the animal, and four methods of administration have been tried experimentally. In the first the venom and the *antivenine* were mixed together before injection; in the second the two were administered

separately but simultaneously ; in the third and fourth the *antivenine* was injected before and after the venom. The latter is, of course, the only method applicable to actual cases of snake-bite, and it is of special interest to know how long after the bite *antivenine* may be relied on as a remedy, because the poison of the more deadly of the snakes acts so quickly that no remedy can avail unless close at hand. In some of Dr. Calmette's experiments serum injected an hour, and even an hour and a half, after a large dose of venom seems to have effected a cure, which would at all events allow time for the application of the remedy should any one competent to administer it be near at hand.

But undoubtedly the chief value of *antivenine* is its protective influence ; and here the question arises as to the durability of the immunity acquired by the injection of snake-venom, or the blood-serum of immunised animals ; this has not as yet been ascertained, but Dr. Frazer found it perfectly efficacious in a rabbit after twenty days.

Some very curious experiments conducted by Dr. Frazer tend to show that immunisation may to a certain extent be conveyed to the offspring of an immunised animal through the mother's milk. A cat, whilst undergoing the process of inoculation with cobra venom and *antivenine*, gave birth to kittens which, whilst still fed solely with the mother's milk, were injected with cobra venom. One, when fifty-seven days old, was given twice the minimum lethal dose, and showed only very slight symptoms of poisoning ; the other, when sixty-nine days old, succumbed to thrice the minimum lethal dose of poison, the mother's milk not being sufficiently antitoxic to so large a dose of venom, although sufficing for the smaller dose.

This experiment is of great value as showing that immunity may be obtained by administration through the stomach as well as by subcutaneous injection, and that the milk of immunised animals is powerfully antitoxic. Dr. Frazer, indeed, believes that serpent venom, although apparently inert when taken internally, may really produce immunity, and it is to this point that I would particularly direct attention, because it would appear that some of the lower races have long been accustomed to use the venom of the serpent as an antidote, having thus ignorantly anticipated the discoveries of modern science, and the object of this article is to show the various remedies resorted to by non-scientific folk in various parts of the world for the cure of or protection against snake-bite. Most of these are empirical and mingled with curious superstitions, but some are of undoubted value as curative or protective agents.

It has long been suspected that Indian snake-charmers have some means of rendering themselves immune to the bite of the reptiles they handle so fearlessly, and it was this supposed immunity, added to the widespread belief that venomous serpents are protected against

the venom of their own and other species of serpents which led to Dr. Frazer's experiments.

Nevertheless we hear from time to time of snake-charmers being killed by the reptiles they handle, and of snake-fights in which the vanquished succumbs to the venom of the victor; but these instances are comparatively rare, and in the case of the man may be the result of some laxity in the application of the preventive agent, whatever that may be.

It is generally supposed that the serpents exhibited by snake-charmers have been deprived of their fangs, and this is doubtless often the case, whilst one instance at least is recorded in which the mouth of the snake had been sewn together to prevent it from biting. The writer noticed at the Ceylon Exhibition, given some years ago in London, that one of the snake-charmers, finding the cobra he was exhibiting becoming too lively and aggressive, seized the reptile by the neck and thrust it hastily into the small round basket in which it was carried, at the same time pushing it with a voluminous white cloth at which it bit savagely. Having almost closed the lid of the basket, the man drew away the cloth violently, thus doubtless dragging out the fangs which were fastened in it: he then secured the basket and carried it away. This, of course, required a large amount of cool courage as well as great quickness of hand and eye, all which qualities must be doubly necessary in capturing and taming these deadly reptiles. But if we are astonished at the skill and dexterity displayed by Indian snake-charmers, still more must we marvel at the hardihood of the American Indians, who, in their snake-dances, not only handle the deadly rattlesnake with impunity, but absolutely carry it about in their mouths.

There is reason to suppose that in both hemispheres those who handle these venomous reptiles have found some means of rendering them innocuous. What this means is has yet to be discovered; but probably in some cases it consists of anointing the body with some preparation distasteful to snakes. Navaretto, a Spanish monk, writing of *The Chinese Empire* at the beginning of the last century, says of the snake-charmers: "They said those that carried the snakes were anointed with the juice of several herbs, so that, though they bit, they could do them no harm." It has often been noticed that the snakes turn their heads away from the charmer, and appear sick and disgusted, and it can hardly be doubted that these reptiles are affected by certain odours which are repellent to them. Hence a piece of deer-skin is said to afford protection to the wearer, but whether that applies to all deer-skin, or only to that of the musk-deer, is not specified.<sup>1</sup> Some natives drag a piece of deer-skin between their toes in walking as a protection, and they have doubtless proved its efficacy.

<sup>1</sup> The author of *Pleasures Afoot, Afield, and Afloat* says, "Most of the small deer

A nearer approach to the remedies of Dr. Frazer was given in the discussion of his paper, by Professor Stokvis, of Amsterdam, who said that "in the Dutch colonies it is customary for the snake-catchers to prepare themselves, before starting, by rubbing all over their skin a powder made from the dried heads of snakes, with their poison-glands. As a result of this precaution they either are not bitten, or they are rendered immune against the effects of bites."<sup>1</sup>

But immunity is also sought, and probably obtained, by the ingestion of poisons, and it is a noteworthy fact that the little Bushman, low as he is in the scale of humanity, has to some extent anticipated Dr. Frazer's experiments, for he boldly swallows the poison-bag of the cobra and other venomous snakes, believing that he can thus protect himself from their bite.<sup>2</sup> In the *Graaff Reinet Advertiser* for June 25, 1896, it is stated that Dr. Laurence, of Cape Colony, knew a Kaffir boy (age 25) who could handle the most deadly snakes, suffering them to bite him with impunity, which he said was owing to the fact that when a child, while playing in the veldt, a puff-adder fastened on his leg; he called to his father, who killed the puff-adder and removed the poison-glands. He then made little pellets of mud, dipped them in the poison, and administered one occasionally to the boy, which cured him and apparently rendered him immune.

The aborigines of Australia are fearless hunters of snakes, which they will dislodge from high trees, and, although we do not read of their swallowing the poison-bag, like the Bushman, they greedily devour the whole reptile, even pounding up the bones and swallowing them, and in this way they may, perhaps unintentionally, acquire protection from the bite. But vegetable poisons are those most generally employed for the purpose of preventing the deadly effects of snake-bite. These are commonly named snake-weeds, or snake-roots, and are sometimes chosen from some fancied resemblance to the reptile; but, according to Miss Gordon Cumming, the "Tamil coolies are said to eat a small portion of the *nux vomica* bean daily as an antidote against snake-bite."<sup>3</sup>

Niebuhr, treating of Arabian medicines, says that *Aristolochia semper virens* is used as a cure and preservative from snake-bite. If this be drunk for forty days, a man is in no future danger of being bitten.

are preserved by the odour they emit. A bit of fresh deer-skin will keep off snakes and the odour of musk will suffocate them. Very few reptiles will go near a musk-deer, and even the most seemingly helpless creatures appear to be furnished with a weapon against its most common antagonist."

<sup>1</sup> *British Medical Journal*, August 17, 1890.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Bolton, L.R.C.P., writing in the *Lancet* in 1886, stated that the natives in Bechuanaland, Namaqualand, Demaraland, and the Kalahari are in the habit of extracting the poison-gland from a snake immediately it is killed, squeezing it into their mouths, and that they thereby appear to acquire absolute immunity from the effects of snake-bite.

<sup>3</sup> *Two Happy Years in Ceylon*, vol. i. p. 125.

Dr. Schliemann relates that during his excavations at Hissarlik, where poisonous snakes were found among the stones as far down as from thirty-three to thirty-six feet :

"I had hitherto been astonished to see my workmen take hold of the reptiles with their hands and play with them ; nay, yesterday I saw one of the men bitten twice by a viper without seeming to trouble himself about it. When I expressed my horror he laughed, and said that he and all his comrades knew that there were a great many snakes in this hill, and they had, therefore, all drunk a decoction of the snake-weed which grows in the district, and which renders the bite harmless. Of course I ordered a decoction to be brought to me, so that I also may be safe from their bites."

But he adds :

"I should, however, like to know whether this decoction would be a safeguard against the fatal effects of the bite of the hooded cobra, of which in India I have seen a man die within half-an-hour."

So far the remedies of which we have treated must be classed under the head of prophylactics, their use being intended to prevent rather than to cure, and among these it will be seen that, to a certain extent, the ignorant savage and untaught peasant have anticipated the scientific remedy of the Edinburgh Professor in employing the venom of the snake to counteract itself.

When, however, we come to remedies, or supposed remedies, for the actual bite, we shall find some possessing more or less therapeutic value, whilst others belong wholly to empiricism and superstition.

There is a story told by Lobo, the Jesuit traveller in Abyssinia (1622), which is a good illustration of the superstitions relating to serpents current in his day, and the remedies for snake-bite then in vogue :

"I was," he says, "in great danger of my life, for, as I lay on the ground, I perceived myself seized with a pain which caused me to rise, and saw, about four yards from me, one of those serpents that dart their poison at a distance ; although I rose before he came very near me, I yet felt the effects of his poisonous breath, and if I had lain a little longer had certainly died. I had recourse to bezoar, a sovereign remedy against these poisons, which I always carried about me. These serpents are not long, but have a body short and thick, and their bellies speckled with brown, black, and yellow. They have a wide mouth, with which they draw in a large quantity of air, and, having retained it for some time, eject it with such force that they kill at four yards distance."

Then he adds sagely, "I only escaped by being somewhat farther from him," and continues :

<sup>1</sup> Schliemann's *Troy*, p. 117.

<sup>2</sup> This was doubtless a puff-blower, which is so named from its peculiarity of emitting puffs of breath ; but, although very venomous, we never now hear of its killing by its breath.

"This danger, however, was not much to be regarded in comparison of another which my negligence brought me into. As I was picking up a skin that lay upon the ground I was stung by a serpent that left his sting in my finger. I at least picked an extraneous substance, about the bigness of a hair, out of the wound, which I imagined was the sting. This slight wound I took little notice of till my arm grew inflamed all over; in a short time the poison infected my blood and I felt the most terrible convulsions, which were interpreted as certain signs that my death was near and inevitable. I received now no benefit from bezoar, the horn of the unicorn, or any of the usual antidotes, but found myself obliged to make use of an extraordinary remedy, which I submitted to with extreme reluctance."

What this extraordinary remedy was we are not informed, but he adds:

"This submission and obedience brought the blessing of Heaven upon me; nevertheless, I continued indisposed a long time, and had many symptoms which made me fear that all danger was not yet over. I then took clover of garlick, though with a great aversion from the taste and smell. I was in this condition a whole month, but at length youth and a happy constitution surmounted the malignity and I recovered my former health."

In this narrative we are introduced to two species of serpent unknown to zoologists, and to several remedies which would be scorned by science; nevertheless one of the remedies held its own for a long series of years, and it is doubtful whether it is yet wholly discarded.

The bezoar or bezcars, for there are several kinds, were so highly valued that they were often encased in gold, and handed down as heirlooms. The *Encyclopædia Britannica*, eighth edition, has a long article upon them, but the word does not appear in the ninth edition, probably because the scientific editor regarded it as among lapsed superstitions. Glancing at the description given in the *Encyclopædia* we find the bezoar described as a calculous concretion found in the stomach of certain animals of the goat kind, composed of concentrical coats having a little cavity in the centre containing a bit of wood, straw, hair, &c. This is evidently such a substance as is frequently found in the stomach of ruminant animals, but it does not tally with the bezoar described by Lord Lytton in his *Strange Story* as used in Corfu by the peasants, and which had never been known to fail but once, and then it had not been used until after the lapse of twenty-four hours. This was a stone almost black in hue, which was applied to the wound caused by the bite of a venomous snake, to which it adhered, absorbing the poison and falling off when saturated. It was then thrown into milk, when it disgorged the poison, which appeared as a green scum floating on the milk. When dry it was again ready for use. This was, doubtless,

<sup>1</sup> "Lobo's Voyage to Abyssinia." *Pinkerton's Voyages*, vol. i.

an Oriental bezoar, which is more esteemed than the Occidental, the latter being rougher, lighter in colour, and larger, sometimes as large as a goose's egg, whilst the Oriental is seldom larger than a walnut.

Dr. Johnson derives the name bezoar from the Persian words *pa* (against) *zahar* (poison), and describes it as "a medicinal stone formerly in high esteem as an antidote, and brought from the East Indies, where it is said to be found in the dung of an animal of the goat kind called *paizan*, the stone being formed in its belly, and growing to the size of an acorn, and sometimes to that of a pigeon's egg. Its formation is now said to be fabulous. The name is applied to several chymical compositions designed for antidotes; as mineral, solar, and jovial bezoars."

That bezoars were often manufactured is certain, as also that they were employed as antidotes to poison in any form; those denominated *jovial* being, doubtless, used to detect and destroy poison in the wine cup, but it was as the serpent-stone that they were chiefly famous. Sir Emerson Tennant described some of these, black and highly polished, as used in Ceylon for the cure of the bite of the cobra.

The common and well-nigh universal use of these bezoars seems to prove that there was some efficacy in them, when properly prepared, so as to be highly absorbent; but superstition soon seized upon the "serpent-stone," and gave its name to every stone which had upon it little cavities whether absorbent or not; hence the serpent-egg of the Druids, glass beads, and those spindle-whorls known as pixies' wheels, were all accredited with the properties of the bezoar, whilst the mysterious origin of the famous nostrum gave rise to innumerable fables. Avenzoar, an Arabian physician, describes it as generated of the tears of stags, who, after eating serpents, used to run into the water up to the nose, where they stood till their eyes began to ooze a humour, which, collecting under the eyelids, gradually thickened and coagulated, till, being grown hard, it was thrown off by the animal in rubbing frequently. It is not a little interesting to find a variant of this fable still credited in India.

Mr. Crooke, in his *Popular Religion of Northern India*, says: "It is still believed that when a goat kills a snake it eats it, and then ruminates, after which it spits out a manka or bead, which, when applied to a snake-bite, absorbs the poison and swells. If it is then put into milk and squeezed the poison drops out of it like blood, and the patient is cured. If it is not put into milk it will burst in pieces." The treatment of this stone by milk in order to eliminate the poison is similar to that of the Corfu bezoar, whilst new milk, administered internally in large quantities, is highly esteemed as a remedy for snake-bite by the Dutch at the Cape.

This, in conjunction with salt water and the "serpent-stone," is said by Thunberg to have effected the cure of a man who had been bitten by a *ringhals*, rendering him instantly blind, which blindness continued for a fortnight. "An incision was made round the wound with a knife, and the foot washed with salt water; he drank new milk copiously, and that to the quantity of several pailsful<sup>1</sup> in a night, but cast it all up again. After this the serpent-stone was applied to the wound. By means of this he gradually recovered."

The use of salt as a remedy seems also widespread; it is used empirically in India and America, but a recent instance of its use in South Africa seems to show that it is really, to some extent, a cure when judiciously applied.

The case alluded to was communicated to a South African paper by Mr. Bowker, a name well known at the Cape. He relates that a Kaffir was bitten by a cobra just above the ankle, the fangs drawing blood. "Then," says Mr. Bowker,

"There being no time to lose, and no 'Croft's Tincture' at hand, I at once cut a cross over the place where the fangs entered, causing the blood to flow freely by sucking the poison out. I applied fine salt to the wound, kept the leg quiet, and administered small doses of brandy, a dessert spoonful every half-hour, until he became dead drunk. This process lasted for about twelve hours. The next day he was quite blind, the second day he could see a little, the third, fourth, and fifth day he still complained of slight giddiness; the sixth day he was quite well and able to do his work."

Mr. Bowker says his father had often used salt successfully as a remedy in similar cases; but it is easy to see that the suction and the brandy were probably the most important factors in the cure. It is not, however, everybody who would have the courage to apply suction in a case of snake-bite. The slightest abrasion of the lips or tongue would probably prove fatal; it is, therefore, not surprising that the bezoar which, when properly absorbed and promptly applied, performed the same good office as the human mouth without risk, should be regarded as something magical. The wonder is that it should have dropped out of use instead of having been taken up and improved by modern science. The reason, however, of this neglect is not hard to find: the fabulous origin and magical properties attributed to it, and shared by stones of no therapeutic value, rendered it an object of ridicule, and obscured whatever merit it might possess, so that in a scientific age no physician dared to recommend it, lest he should be deemed a believer in magic.

There can, however, be no doubt whatever of the value of suction in the case of any poisonous bite, and even the savage aborigines of New South Wales have learnt to apply it to snake-bite, after which they encourage bleeding by the application of pieces of hot opossum-skin frequently changed.

<sup>1</sup> For *pail* read *pannikin*.



Mr. Gomme, in an article upon "Totemism in Britain" in the *Archæological Review*, gives an instance in which the therapeutic value of suction has passed into the empiric stage; he says that "Totems assist their clansmen by acting as doctors; one of the snake class of Asia Minor believing that if bitten by an adder they had only to put a snake to the wound and their totem would suck out the poison." Here we seem upon the verge of that curious and widespread worship of the serpent which is a survival from pre-historic times, and may still be traced in both hemispheres in many superstitions and almost identical usages, by which the snake, regarded as the totem, or the abode of a deceased ancestor, may be propitiated. Hence, the snake may not be killed, and should a man be bitten he must not mention the fact. In India they say, "A rope has touched me;"<sup>1</sup> in America the prescribed formula is, "I have been scratched by a briar;" and as a natural sequence the remedy is in the form of a charm, sometimes, but not always, combined with herbal medicines and outward applications.

The following is the prescription of a Cherokee medicine-man for snake-bite, as given in Mr. Mooney's *Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees*, in the Smithsonian Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Vol. VII. "Rub tobacco-juice on the bite for some time, or if there be no tobacco, just rub on saliva once. In rubbing it on, one must go around four times. Go around towards the left, and blow four times in a circle. This is because on lying down the snake always coils to the right, and this is just the same as uncoiling it." This prescription is accompanied by a song of which Mr. Mooney gives the translation:

"Listen! Ha! It is only a common frog which has passed by and put it into you."

Listen! Ha! It is only an Usa'gi which has passed by and put it into you."

Here the frog takes the place of the briar, and is spoken of as the aggressor, in order that the rattlesnake may not be offended by being named. "When one dreams that he has been bitten by a snake he must be treated as though actually bitten, or the same effects will follow a year or so later."

Mrs. Stevenson, who describes graphically the way in which rattlesnakes are handled by the Sia at their annual rain ceremonial, says that those taking part in it, who are always either members of the snake society or novices entering one of the degrees of the society, are purified by taking an emetic for four days before the ceremony. This emetic is made of the stalks and roots of two

<sup>1</sup> "Snakes," says Mr. Crooke, "should of course be addressed euphemistically as 'maternal uncle,' 'tiger,' or 'rope,' and if a snake bites you, you should never mention its name, but say 'a rope has touched me.'"—*Popular Religion*, &c. p. 275.

plants crushed and mixed with water ; but she says this emetic is not given, as has been supposed by some, in order to prevent the poisonous effects of snake-bite, but simply by way of purification. "Medicine for snake-bite," she adds, "is employed only after one has been bitten ; for this purpose the Sia use the plant *Aplopappus spinulosus*, in conjunction with *ká-wai-aite*, a mixture of the pollen of edible and medicinal plants. An ounce of the plant medicine is put into a quart of water and boiled ; about a gill or so is drunk warm three times daily during the four days, and the afflicted part is bathed with the tea and wrapped with a cloth wet with it. An hour after each draught of the tea a pinch of the *ká-wai-aite* is drunk in a gill of water. The patient is secluded four days." The reason for the seclusion is a curious superstition which prevails among the Zunis as well as the Sia, which is that, should the sufferer look upon a nursing mother, death would result.<sup>1</sup>

When, however, we read of the way in which the rattlesnakes are handled by members of the society at this ceremonial, being first captured and placed in sacred vases, then each taken out separately, handed from one to another, allowed to twine round the neck, replaced in the vases, carried therein by men to a considerable distance, again taken out separately and allowed to escape, we cannot help thinking that these men must have found some means of preventing the reptiles from biting, or of rendering themselves immune ; and, indeed, we find among the Ojibwa the rattlesnake itself used, mixed with other things, to concoct a magic medicine. The rattlesnake is partially crushed and hung up, the drippings being collected and dried, and used in a powdered form.<sup>2</sup> They also use *Aristolochia serpentaria*, Virginian or black snake-root, chewed and spat upon the wound, as a cure for snake-bite.

Another famous remedy among the American Indians is the rattlesnake-weed, so called because it is believed that when rattlesnakes fight the one wounded resorts to this plant and is cured.<sup>3</sup> The seed of this weed is furnished with sharp barbs called *stickers* in California, and we are told that the early settlers made their herdsmen always carry a bottle of extract of this plant to treat therewith any cattle or sheep which might be bitten, and it is affirmed that the remedy was always effectual. Although the American Indians hold the rattlesnake in veneration, regarding it as a beneficent and protective genius, and not suffering it to be killed within the limits of the camp by their own people, they gladly allow the white man to destroy it, but there is always a dread of offending their powerful divinity. Hence the objection to name the offender when a man

<sup>1</sup> *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* Smithsonian Report, p. 98.

<sup>2</sup> Query, Is not this similar to Dr. Frazer's blood-serum ?

<sup>3</sup> I have not entered into the disputed assertion that snakes and mongooses or *Johnneumons* when bitten resort to certain herbal remedies, as these herbs have never been identified.

has been bitten, and the anxiety not to speak of the mysteries of the medicine-dances except when the rattlesnakes are hibernating, so that they cannot hear. When Mr. Stevenson wished to possess himself of one of the ancient vases in which the snakes are placed at the Sia ceremony, he was told, "These cannot be parted with : they are so old that no one can tell when the Sia first had them ; they were made by our people of long ago ; and the snakes would be very angry if the Sia parted with these vases." Afterwards, he was waited upon by the members of the council of the snake society, and the *houwaite* (priest) thus addressed him :

"You have come to us as a friend ; we have learned to regard you as a brother, and we wish to do all we can for you ; we are sorry we cannot give you one of the vases ; we talked about letting you have one, but we concluded it would not do ; it would excite the anger of the snakes, and perhaps all of our women and little ones would be bitten and die. You will not be angry, for our hearts are yours."

In the end, however, the vicar of the society conveyed one of the vases to Mr. Stevenson secretly, urging him to pack it up at once, meanwhile depositing a sacred plume in it, sprinkling it with meal, and praying with tears running down his cheeks.<sup>1</sup>

Sacred meal, which plays such an important part in all the American ceremonies, being always sprinkled upon people and places to sanctify them, is freely showered upon the rattlesnakes used in the snake-dances, and they are said to devour it, licking it in with their forked tongues ; corn pollen is used instead of meal by the snake society, as more acceptable to the *houwaite*. In all these American ceremonies a line of sacred meal, or corn pollen, is drawn round the altar, or in certain directions, forming a sanctuary within which no one is permitted to enter ; the spirits worshipped alone are supposed to cross this line and to animate their images or fetishes placed upon or around the altar.

Both in America and in India snakes are connected with the elements, and propitiatory ceremonies are held and offerings made to induce the snake god to send rain. In India there are numerous survivals of the serpent-worship which formerly prevailed very extensively, but Mr. Crooke says, "So far as I am aware, the only place in the Himalaya where the living snake is worshipped is at the foot of the Rotung Pass."<sup>2</sup> As may be supposed, however, the superstitions connected with a worship once well-nigh universal and of which innumerable shrines still remain, are numerous, and among them are many cures for snake-bite. All through Upper India, says Mr. Crooke, the stock remedy for snake-bite is the *ojha*, or sorcerer—a performance known as *jhār phānk*, consisting of a series of passes and incantations which is supposed to disperse the venom.

<sup>1</sup> *Report of Bureau of Ethnology*, vol. xi., article "The Sia." Stevenson.

<sup>2</sup> *Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India*. W. Crooke, B.A.

"In Hoshangabad there were once two brothers, Rájwa and Soral; the ghost of the former cures snake-bite and that of the latter cattle murrain. The moment a man is bitten he must tie a string, or a strip of his dress, in five knots and fasten it round his neck, crying 'Mercy, O god Rájwa!' To call on Ghorí Bádsháh, the Delhi Emperor who conquered the country, or Rámji Das Bába, will do as well. At the same time he makes a vow to give so much to the god if he recovers. When he gets home they use various tests to ascertain if the poison is in him still. They take him in and out over the threshold and light a lamp before him, acts which have the effect of developing latent poison. They then give him salt and the leaves of the bitter *nim*-tree. If he can take them he is safe. If he cannot take them the whole village goes out and cries to Rájwa Deo until he recovers. No one (Sir C. A. Elliott's informant told him) had ever been known to die of a snake-bite after this treatment, but the god has no power over the dreaded *biscobra*."

\* This *biscobra*, or poison-headed serpent, is said to be so venomous as to kill with its breath, like the African serpent of Father Lobo, and like the famed poison maiden of Indian story.

In Ahmadnagar snake-bite is cured by taking the victim to Bhuroba's temple and giving him crushed *nim* leaves mixed with chilies to eat, whilst *nim* branches are waved round his head.

The *nim*-tree in India seems to take the place of the ash in Europe as a protection from snakes and witches; but the women in the North-Western Provinces make a wavy line of flour round their dwellings as a magic circle over which snakes may not pass. This use of flour is an approach to that of the sacred meal of the American Indians, whilst the American offering of plumes of different birds to their deities is paralleled in India by the smoking of the tail-feather of a peacock in a tobacco-pipe as a charm against snake-bite.

It is not easy to understand why the peacock's feather should be chosen for this charm; had it been an eagle plume, such as is used in America, the meaning would be clear, as Guruda, the eagle, is the deadly enemy of snakes, and a propitiatory offering of one of his feathers to the snake-god would seem appropriate.

In India also it is a crime to kill a snake, entailing leprosy upon the descendants of the man who commits it, which can only be cured by rubbing the leprous spots with earth from a serpent's hole, and making a pilgrimage to some serpent shrine, wriggling round the shrine several times, in imitation of the gliding motion of a serpent. Miss Gordon Cumming describes a plant,<sup>2</sup> the seeds of which are apparently used as a charm. They are known as *Naga-darana*, or snake's fangs, because they have sharp curved points like teeth, which inflict a very painful scratch. These are offered to snakes with a small bowl of milk to propitiate them.

In what manner the imagination can so act upon the nerve centres

<sup>1</sup> *Popular Religion and Folk-lore in Northern India*, pp. 273-4. W. Crooke, B. A.

<sup>2</sup> Miss Gordon Cumming, *Two Happy Years in Ceylon*, p. 127.

as to cure actual disease is an unsolved, if not an insoluble, problem. That it does so act sometimes appears probable from the numerous so-called miracles and faith cures recorded; but that the deadly venom of a cobra could be neutralised by the superstitious rites traceable to the ancient worship of the serpent passes the bounds of credibility. Therefore, in cases of recovery it may be assumed either that the bite was not that of a deadly snake; that it was inflicted when the poison-bag had been emptied by recent use; or that the man had become immune through some counter poison previously absorbed.

As regards the antidotes at present in use, Dr. Cunningham, of Calcutta, seems to have proved by a variety of experiments that all are practically useless; nevertheless, many of them have certainly been found efficacious in some cases, although not always to be depended upon. There can be no doubt that a ligature, immediate scarification or excision of the bite, suction to encourage bleeding, the copious injection of strong ammonia, and much brandy taken internally will cure the bite of many snakes. "Croft's Tincture" is also relied upon as a specific at the Cape. The materials of which it is composed are not fully known, but doubtless ammonia is one, and its efficacy has often been attested, although not invariably effectual.

Sir William McGregor, in a paper read before the Royal Colonial Institute, speaking of the natives of New Guinea, says:

"Many of them have come to know the beneficial results of speedily applying permanganate of potash to snake-bite, and will hurry to a missionary or Government officer to have this tried. Snakes are numerous, and often their bite is deadly, and in some districts deplorably so. Officers, in dealing with recent cases, are instructed to pinch up between the finger and thumb, or with a forceps, a small bit of skin including the puncture, to cut this out sharply, and to rub the crystals of permanganate of potash into the wound, and then to administer some ammonia or brandy"; and he adds: "There has been so far reason to be satisfied with the results."

Of salt as a remedy in South Africa, India, and America we have already spoken. In some parts of India the blood of the lizard is regarded as a remedy, and a similar remedy, that of turtle blood, was formerly esteemed at the Cape. Thunberg gives an instance of its effectual use, but so many other remedies were tried at the same time that it would be hard to say which was the true antidote. A man was bitten on the hand by a venomous serpent, the hand was scarified immediately, and a cupping-glass applied to extract the poison. It was then steeped in a solution of vitriol, which is said to have become quite black, then an union was applied, and afterwards turtle blood, which last got the credit of the cure. It was laid on the wound in a dry state, and was said to liquefy and show signs of effervescence, "because the poison of serpents has a stronger affinity

for turtle blood than for human blood, so as to attract the poison to itself."

A somewhat similar remedy appears to be still in vogue in Wales, for a friend informs me that her son having been bitten on the thumb by a viper, in a wood in Wales, which almost cost him his life, the peasants all told her she ought to have tried the local remedy: that is, to kill a fowl, cut it open, and insert the wounded part within the hot and bleeding carcase.<sup>1</sup> This somewhat barbarous practice is doubtless a survival from some old-time superstition of the use of blood as an antidote; but the dried turtle blood of Thunberg seems an approach to the serum treatment of Calmette and Frazer. The experiments of the former show that the serum of some animals is naturally antitoxic to a small extent, especially that of the ichneumon, but whether that is the case with the turtle and lizard we do not know.

Dr. Calmette finds that hypochlorite of lime will destroy serpent venom, and recommends its injection in the parts near and into the wound itself, after the serum has been injected in the abdomen, which again suggests the pre-scientific mode of the application of external remedies to the wound, some of which have certainly been found efficacious, as, for instance, Croft's Tincture in South Africa. It is said that Cotewayo had a specific never known to fail, in the form of a grey powder, but the composition of this, as of Croft's Tincture, is unknown. The chief remedy of the native doctors is said to be the root of the *Aster asper*, a small plant, somewhat like the daisy, with lilac-coloured flowers; but this is only one of many reputed herbal remedies.

One of the greatest obstacles to the discovery of a truly trustworthy specific for snake-bite is the difference in the strength and quality of the venom of different species of snakes. It is generally agreed that the Indian cobra di capello is the most deadly of all, but there are other Indian snakes, as well as some in South Africa, Egypt, Australia, and the American rattlesnake, which are almost as venomous, although the effect of the poison is not the same, and not usually so quickly fatal. The bite of some of the South African snakes produces temporary blindness, whilst with some of those of Australia it is the kidneys which are chiefly affected. It is therefore easy to see the difficulties which attend the discovery of a remedy which will counteract the poisonous bite of all species. This, however, Dr. Calmette claims to have found in his anti-venomous serum, which he says is equally efficacious for curing the bite of the *cobra di capello* and *trimerisaurus* of Asia, the *naja haje* and *cerastes* of Africa, the *crotalus* of America, the *bothrops* of

<sup>1</sup> The Dutch at the Cape are fully persuaded that there is nothing so efficacious in drawing poison of any kind from a wound as the skin and flesh of a newly-slaughtered animal such as a kid or lamb.

the West Indies, the varieties of *pseudochis* and *hiploccephalus* of Australia, and the vipers of Europe; but the dose must be varied according to the species of snake, the age of the person bitten, and the time which intervenes between the bite and the application of the remedy. After the injection of the serum perspiration is to be encouraged, but the administration of ammonia and alcohol, both of which under the old system were looked upon as powerful agents for good, is denounced as positively hurtful, and the cauterisation of the wound is regarded as unnecessary.<sup>1</sup>

Although there can be little doubt of the efficacy of the serum treatment of snake-bite, it is hardly likely, at least for many years to come, to make any great reduction in the mortality caused by these reptiles; for the natives, who are the chief victims, will require to be well assured of the efficacy of the remedy before they will submit themselves to the series of inoculations necessary to produce immunity, and the actual wound is generally received in field or jungle remote from medical aid, so that the victim would undoubtedly succumb long before the remedy could be applied. Nevertheless, if only a few can be rescued, the labours of Drs. Calmette and Frazer will not have been in vain; and if, meanwhile, they can so modify the remedy as to make it protective when taken internally, or curative when rubbed into the actual wound, so that it might be applied by the man bitten or his companion in the field, they would indeed deserve to be regarded as benefactors to the human race.

A. W. BUCKLAND.

*See British Medical Journal, July 21, 1895, p. 171.*

## A NEW APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM OF THE ORIGIN OF LANGUAGE.

### I. EVIDENCES OF A FELT WANT OF IMPRESSIONS OF SOUND IN THE REMOTE PAST HISTORY OF OUR RACE.

THE aborigine rattles and drums, presumably because he must; but his inordinate and childish love of rhythmic noise and movement has appealed but little to the sympathy and understanding of his observers. One traveller will describe the drumming of native races as ludicrous, another will call it hideous, others content themselves with the assurance that contact with civilisation would soon put an end to such extravagances; and Schweinfurth, in his *Heart of Africa*, unblushingly relates his act of treachery in pouring destructive chemicals over the skins of his host's drums to ensure rest for himself on the following night.

It is natural, of course, that the breath of civilisation should gradually subdue the aborigine's boisterous rhythmic play, and nowadays we are getting to hear less and less of it in the writings of ethnologists; but in the early days of ethnological research nothing is more common than to read expressions of amazement over the deep-rooted character of the natives' love of rhythmic noise and movement, and the enormous proportion of their lives spent under its influence.

In the *Transactions of the American Ethnological Society* (vol. iii. p. 153) we are told that when Fray Bobadilla inquired of the natives the number of occasions of their drumming and dancing—that is to say, their festivals—he doubted whether he made them understand his question, for they gave him the names of the twenty days of the month. A comparative knowledge, however, of festal drumming and dancing in all parts of the earth leaves little doubt that the Indians thoroughly understood Fray Bobadilla's question. A daily celebration of drumming and dancing is no wonder in the early stages of human history, either in the New or Old Worlds; even writers who express no doubt about the fact cannot help dwelling on the difficulty of believing that so much time was spent in them. For instance, in relating the almost daily festivals of the Aztecs, Mr. Prescott observes that it is difficult to understand how the ordinary business of life could have been compatible with these habits; and Bancroft, in his *Native Races*, tells us that the Cali-



fornians often continued drumming and dancing day and night, and sometimes entire weeks. They danced at a birth, at a marriage, at a burial; they danced to propitiate the divinity, and they thanked the divinity for being propitiated by dancing. Hartwig, in his *Tropical World*, informs us that

"when the moon shines bright the spirits of the East African rise to their highest pitch, and a furious drumming, a loud clapping of hands, and a drowsy chorus summon the lads and lasses of the neighbouring villages to come out and dance . . . at no other time does the East African look so serious, so full of earnest purpose."

As for wondering how the ordinary business of life was compatible with these rhythmic exercises, they appear to have become the very storehouse of human skill in performing the business of life. It is needless to point out the universal prevalence of the war-dance, and, where war was not the exclusive business of native life, we behold the actions of hunting and fishing drawn into the mysterious vortex of rhythmic exercise. By Australian tribes

"every action of finding the opossum, the ineffectual attempt to poke it out of its retreat, the smoking of it with a fire, and the killing of it by the hunters as it runs out, is rendered not only by the words of the song, but also by the concerted actions and movements of the performers in the pantomimic dancing" (*Journ. Anthr. Inst.* vol. xvi. p. 32).

Bancroft tells us that the snaring of the elk and the coming of the salmon had a great celebration-day. And with regard even to courtly formalities, we learn, from Crawford's *History of the Indian Archipelago*, that among the Javanese,

"if a warrior throws out a defiance to his enemy, it is done in a dance, in which he brandishes his spear and kris, pronouncing an emphatic challenge. If a native of the same race (Celebes) runs amuck, he braves death in a dancing posture. When they swear eternal hatred to their enemies, or fidelity to their friends, the solemnity is accompanied by a dance. . . . All orders executed in the presence of a Javanese monarch on public occasions are accompanied by a dance. When a message is to be conveyed to the royal ear, the messenger advances with a solemn dance and retreats in the same way. The ambassadors from one prince in Java to another follow the same course when coming into and returning from the presence of the Sovereign to whom they are deputed."

But no matter how many facts of this kind were quoted,<sup>1</sup> it will still be said that dancing is mere play, and drums and rattles are mere toys. This view, however, cannot be correct unless we are prepared to regard the aborigine's life as a matter of play, and, indeed, everything that most decisively distinguishes his life from

<sup>1</sup> Regarding American aborigines, see Bancroft's *Native Races*, vol. i. pp. 67, 84, 112, 170, 200, 243, 353, 416, 550, 566, 636, 706, 744; vol. ii. ch. 9. Also *Publications Smithsonian Institute*, vol. ii. p. 113 *et seq.*; vol. iii. pp. 342-355. Regarding African tribes, *Trans. Ethnol. Society*, New Series, vol. ii. p. 340; vol. iii. p. 97. Of the Arabs, Hartwig's *Tropical World*, p. 117. Of the Akka (Pigmies), Schweinfurth's *Heart of Africa*, vol. I. p. 129. Of the Fans (Cannibals), *Trans. Ethnol. Society*, vol. v. p. 44. Of the Tribes of the Malay Peninsula, vol. v. p. 79; of the Hill Tribes of India, vol. ii. pp. 245, 277, 283.

that of brutes. Let us take, for instance, the essentially human power of fixed or prolonged reflection on things past and done. The savage sits and broods, but does he sit and reflect? We may well doubt it; but we know for certain that it is his habit, and has been the habit of his ancestors from time immemorial, to rattle and drum and dance his reflections.

Look at the war-dance, which, of course, dominates all other forms of rhythmic exercise. Schoolcraft tells us of the American Indian that

"Long before it comes to his turn to utter his stave or part of the chant, his mind has been worked up to the most intense point of excitement. His imagination has pictured the enemy, the ambush, and the onset, the victory, and the bleeding victim writhing under his prowess. In thought he has already stamped him under foot, and torn off his reeking scalp. It would require strong and graphic language to give utterance, in the shape of a song, to all he has fancied, and sees, and feels on the subject. Physical excitement has absorbed his energies. . . . The inspiring drum and mystic rattle communicate new energy to every step, while they serve, by the observation of the most exact time, to concentrate his energy."

The fishing Indians of Vancouver's Islands, when induced, on board H.M.S. *Discovery*, to give a specimen of their dance, made "a coil of rope, a life rail, or a handspike their enemies for the nonce, and with stealthy bounds, and much turning and twisting, each enemy was pounced upon and scalped."<sup>1</sup>

But while the event of war may have been most enthusiastically dwelt upon by way of drum and dance, they are not the only events: every occurrence of life and nature which succeeded in drawing to itself a vestige of after reflection does so by way of drum and dancing — birth, age of puberty, marriage, death, burial, escaping a danger.

Even a little chance event like the one related, for instance, by E. W. Payton, in his *Round about New Zealand*:

"I was standing talking to a Maori, when one of my fellow-countrymen made a remark that the natives did not like: in a moment he and his three companions were picked up, and thrown bodily out through the big door. The excitement of pitching out four *pakehas* had just been sufficient to rouse them up to the proper pitch for dancing; and they did dance."

But the most remarkable and suggestive aspect of drum and rattle, as aids to the nascent human impulse to dwell on things, occurs, I think, in the rudest tendencies to social interest. Can we imagine savages moving towards each other fraternally on the spur of their own powers of social insight? Yet these men, with whom Darwin would sooner deny blood-relationship than he would with some brutes, could, under the spell of drum and dance, become veritable cosmopolitans.

<sup>1</sup> *Mem. Anth. Soc. Lond.*, vol. iii. p. 264.

The Californian Muckalucs, who drum and dance to the stranding of a whale, the snaring of an elk, and the coming of the salmon, have a great celebration-day once a year, when the neighbouring tribes join together to dance and sing.<sup>1</sup> Among the aboriginal inhabitants of the Andaman Islands, distant communities join from time to time in drumming and dancing and song.<sup>2</sup> Among the Australian aborigines, many tribes join together to hold a large ceremonial corroborry.<sup>3</sup> For the ceremony of the Bora, even hostile tribes unite.<sup>4</sup> On festive occasions all the tribes (hill-tribes of India) freely fraternise, and participate in the feasting and dancing, and old feuds and dissensions are settled.<sup>5</sup>

Even the ancient world may yet be made to give back echoes of the drum and dance fostering an interracial spirit.

"Manifold are the shouts during the festival of Uaga; the two lands are united to celebrate the funeral dances."<sup>6</sup>

Does not such a consensus of facts raise a presumption that there is something at the root of the aborigine's habits of rhythmic exercise which has not received proper appreciation? Can we, at any rate, help admiring the downright 'cuteness of Dame Nature in putting rattles, and time-beating sticks, and drums into the hands of her untamed children?

We need not trouble ourselves at present with the question how she first came upon these nursery devices; let us rather try and appreciate their wonderful aptness for enticing the wild children of nature to keep on doing those very things that most decisively raise them above the brute creation.

It may be stated comprehensively that, even in the civilised world, great forces, legal, social, religious, are still necessary to maintain what is distinctively human amongst us against the forces of brute impulse. How was it with the aborigine?

This man does not introspect and write diaries; but we may look at him and the obvious facts of his environment. Do we not behold him dragged incessantly between a devil and deep sea—between the alternatives of brute passion and a dread of malignant powers above him? A dread which is potent enough to engulf his senses, and render them of less use to him than they are to the very brutes. And in this turmoil the germs of human habit had to be, and were, as a matter of fact, maintained. How was this rendered possible? Suppose, by way of fiction, we granted to these germs of human habit a coherence of their own apart from rattle, drum, and rhythmic exercise. Suppose these habits had reached the stage at which we meet them in the aborigine, without the aid of nursery devices; suppose that the aborigine's traditions, the

<sup>1</sup> Bancroft's *Native Races*, vol. I. p. 353.

<sup>2</sup> *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* vol. xii. p. 388.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* vol. II. p. 269.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* vol. II. p. 269.

<sup>5</sup> *Trans. Ethnol. Society*, New Series, vol. VII. p. 239.

<sup>6</sup> *Hymn to Osiris, Sayce, Records of the Past*, vol. IV. p. 19.

exhortations of his chiefs, medicine-men, &c., had an independent existence in his mind; where would be the conditions necessary for bringing them to the fore, to be dwelt on, and memorised?

Certainly, tradition and legend were bound up with conservative and propagating forces besides those of drum, rattle, and rhythmic exercise. There was the terrible discipline of school, and initiation ceremony; but would the most exacting devices for rivetting the disciple's attention avail always if his senses were so many wide-open doors, letting in every prompting to his brute nature? I think not; I doubt if there ever existed a cloister with walls thick enough to protect his human *recueillement* from the sounds and sights of the brute world still so terribly near him. There is a pitiable aspect of this big human baby when we come to imagine him standing in red-toothed and red-clawed Nature, with no sensory protection for the sparks of humanity in him. Let us not forget that, even with well-developed minds, possessed of clear and definite traditions, their meditations on these traditions are not without various sensory helps. When distraction came to our contemplative aborigine, the common light from sun and sky was not intercepted by dim glass and filtered to him, as it were, through the faces and figures of his traditions.

But let us drop the fiction, and give our big baby what Dame Nature took care somehow that he should have—namely, his drums and rattles—and a transformation takes place: a temple springs into existence around him, not a temple of rock, not a temple to the sense of sight, but to more effectual senses, senses whose roots strike deeper into this wild infant's being—into his very body, namely, his muscular and auditory senses. Dance and rattle and drum built the stones of this temple and sheltered him from red-clawed Nature while he nourished the germs of human habit within him. No other temple would be valid or possible at this threshold of man's development. What would it avail, even if it were possible, to draw off the vision, by absorbing it in majestic forms? The muscular and bodily sensations, and the sense of hearing, were more powerful and domineering over animal instinct and passion—we know that auditory impressions enter the body and radiate there with a force unequalled by any other sense, except bodily and muscular. These senses would be restless watch-dogs of brute instinct; but by dance and drum the aborigine drew them off, while what was human in him maintained some sort of a coherence in his mind. Drum and dance and rattle robbed the nervous and muscular machinery of brute fear and appetite, of their best levers.

Can we wonder so much, then, that, before they were much influenced by contact with civilisation, aborigines in all parts of the earth were found passing an extraordinary proportion of their lives with the nerves and muscles of their bodies moving in waves of rhythmic excitement, whilst the air about them was pulsating more

or less horribly with rhythmic bangs, and clangs, and yells? Can we wonder that drumming and rhythmic exercise generally were found clinging, as a great protective husk round a fruit, around every distinctively human habit and tendency that the aborigine possessed? I think that the ludicrous proportion of their time which natives spent in rhythmic excitement acquires a sternly scientific aspect when we consider the extreme probability that it was because their ancestors got into the way of rattle and drum and dance, that they came, we shall not say to *possess* any human habits at all, but, at any rate, to *preserve* and memorise such as they did possess.

## II. IMPRESSMENT OF VOCAL ORGANS INTO THE SERVICE OF SUPPLYING THE FELT WANT OF IMPRESSIONS OF SOUND.

The suggestions are many that arise from considering the fact that habits of drumming and rhythmic exercise are found clinging around every distinctively human habit of aboriginal man, as a protective husk around a fruit. The fact will make some think of the art of music. Of course, drumming and rattling and dancing constitute a sort of music at a very rude stage of development. But experience in the study of aboriginal music has proved that the student may expect little else but confusion for his pains, if he brings modern ideas of highly developed music to throw light on the aborigine's drums and rattles; for if we place an entire Wagnerian orchestra beside them, they are not made more comprehensible; on the contrary, we lose sight of them altogether in the wave of mystery that the thinking world has created round the art of music. Reminiscences of ancient musical legends may occur to my reader—for example, those of Orpheus and his lyre; and something more than legend in the rumoured high place of music in the educational systems of the ancient cultured nations. These reminiscences may be encouraging, but we must ask no actual support from them in extracting the real significance out of our aboriginal drums and rattles. These are neither legends nor rumours, but things made by hands of little skill and costing considerable effort; and whatever else they suggest, there is one thing which they prove beyond the possibility of doubting—namely, that once upon a time, among the ancestors of those whom we now find making and using them, impressions of sound became a felt want—not merely the sounds that came from nature inevitably, but sounds over whose production they would have control.

If these things tell us with absolute certainty that, at some more or less remote prehistoric period, impressions of sound became a felt want in our race, it is worth while to give the fact our fullest and most careful consideration, not at present with a view to finding out what was the nature of the felt want, but with a view to determining whether there was not something at our remote ancestors' command to supply

the felt want—something much easier of discovery than the rudest sounding instruments that could be made by hand. I mean, of course, the voice, the vocal apparatus, with all the means of breaking or checking the uttered sounds which lay at the command of aspirate breath, teeth, tongue, and lips. Here was a sounding instrument ready, as it were, with wind and stops, one whose position in the body rendered it extremely liable to be shaken into sound by the very bodily excitement that is always found attending the felt want of rhythmic sound. Would not its capabilities for supplying the felt want be forced upon the notice of our remote ancestors without calling for as much ingenuity as was required to make even a time-beating stick? The inference is, I think, well-nigh inevitable that where such impressions of sound became a felt want, the voice would be pressed into the service of supplying it as soon as, if not sooner than, anything made by hand for the purpose.

What sounds the voice made, in its first tentative supplies of the want, is open to conjecture; probably endless repetitions of similar sounds, harshly uttered—and decisively broken and separated to catch the rude ear. They may have been guttural sounds, labial sounds, aspirate sounds; this is no great matter—what we have to grasp firmly is the fact that some such sounds must have been produced copiously, abundantly, and entirely apart from any prospect of their present or future usefulness.<sup>1</sup> And now comes the question, if this is so, what has become of the sounds—these labials, and gutturals, and aspirates? Have they died away in the echoes of wood and prairie like the bangs of drum and rattle? I think not; it seems to me that we have entered upon one of the most interesting and important aspects of unwritten human history, namely, *the origin of the sounds out of which man made his speech*; in other words, the sounds made vocally to supply that very felt want whose reality in the remote past is vouched for by the traditional antiquity of drum and rattle or similar sounding things, became the articulate and rhythmical material of human language.

It may be we are rushing upon ground where angels fear to tread, and we ought to be immediately checked with the question, How do we know that human language did not exist before this want of impressions of sound was felt? How do we know that speech was not there to help create the want? Certainly there is not the slightest probability that we shall ever get historic records of the time when the ancestors of aborigines began rattling and drumming, in order to see whether they were already in possession of language. Language is an old possession even among the rawest natives. When some natives of Australia were asked why they uttered a certain piece of incantation, they replied, "We got it from our

<sup>1</sup> Some natives are found, in the excitement of rhythmic exercise, making articulations by applying their hands to their mouths: "and his yells uttered quick, sharp, and out off by the application of the hand to the mouth."—Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes of North America*, vol. ii. p. 60.

grandfather, who got it from his parents, who got it from the old people, who got it from Bunjil."<sup>1</sup> So far as historical or traditional evidence goes, we are unlikely to improve on this account of any bit of aboriginal language. But then the habits of drumming and rhythmic exercise were also got from their grandfather, who got it from his parents, who got it from the old people, who got it from Bunjil, and they are just as deeply rooted in the natives as their speech—indeed, they are rooted with their speech—so inseparably that every particle of it bears the stamp.

If speech-sounds were created some other way entirely, and then managed to insinuate into man the want of such impressions of sound and rhythm, as drumming and dancing witness for, we may still pardonably retain interest in rattle and drum, and their history, at least until some other substantial witness of the manner of the origin of speech-sounds is produced.

And, first of all, we have to consider a fact which is quite remarkable, though our familiarity with it may have bred contempt—the fact that men are found uttering genuine speech-sounds, the very articulate and rhythmic material out of which language is made, and yet they are not language, nor are they produced with the remotest prospect of them ever becoming language or conveying meaning. They are uttered to supply that very felt want of impressions of sound that we have been pursuing; they are uttered along with beats of drum or kindred instruments, and amid the excitement of rhythmic exercise—I refer to the meaningless syllables, sometimes called refrain-syllables, which are produced exuberantly in the dancing songs of all races, but more copiously in the ruder stages of rhythmic excitement, as displayed by native races where the reiteration of such syllables takes place almost without limit.<sup>2</sup>

Here, then, after language has long existed, and the needs of significance have been fully supplied, we still find speech-sounds issuing from this unique mould; and if we are told that this mould was created after speech came into existence by man's love of song and music, that there must have been another mould for speech long previously, then we must not complain; but one thing is absolutely certain—the other long previous mould must have been extremely like ours, because the latest philological researches tend to show that there was a great rhythmic and articulate structure of vocal sounds in the prehistoric and emergent historic stages of the development of human speech. This was made very clear when once the Indo-Germanic and the Semitic spheres of philological inquiry were widened, and such comprehensive studies as Steinthal's *Chief Types*, &c., and the grammars of Bleek and Boethlingk were added to the stock of philological data. Then every leading philologist was driven to make some sort of a generalising remark upon the richness and

<sup>1</sup> *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* vol. xvi. p. 334.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* xii. 392; xiii. 441; xiv. 806.

exuberance of the phonetic elements of speech in the earliest stages of its development. For instance, Professor Max Müller says :

"We must suppose that the first settlement of the radical elements of language was preceded by a period of unrestrained growth, the spring of speech—to be followed by many an autumn."<sup>1</sup>

Even Humboldt had to express his astonishment at the superfluous fulness and complexity of primitive languages where sound wells forth freely without necessity and without intention.<sup>2</sup>

The richness of primitive phonetic structures drove even a man of strict etymological analysis like Pott to the cloudy assertion that there must lie in the vocal organs and in the "souls" of men a large and unused stock of linguistic material which flowed forth when necessity demanded.<sup>3</sup>

Professor Sayce was impelled to say, "The more primitive a language is the more rhythmical we discover it to be ; in fact, early speech may be called a lyric."<sup>4</sup>

It may be repeated, if speech-sounds did not first get moulded in that husk of rhythmic sound and exercise which is found clinging, protectively as it were, around all that is distinctively human among aborigines, then they must have come from a very similar mould ; for, besides appearing with the mould-marks of rhythm and articulation, they appear in amazing abundance—the very characteristic that has most puzzled the civilised observer of the habits of rhythmic exercise which have survived to our day.

If we take only a cursory glance at the phonology of primitive as well as ancient languages, we will find that as articulations and rhythms were not the only varieties of sound possible for the vocal apparatus to produce under the impulse to satisfy the want of impressions of sound, they are also not the only varieties that significance got fixed upon ; for example, besides articulation there was, of course, all the varieties of sound producible by change of tone, which became the chief resource of all music that rises above the drum and rattle. And as significance seized upon articulation, so it also seized upon changes of tone. It is well known that changes of tone, as in the Chinese and other monosyllabic languages, are used to convey various meanings. This is especially the case with African languages. "The different tones of each syllable are of the greatest importance in all the languages of the Volta and Niger group, and also in Hausa."<sup>5</sup>

And with regard to the Fullah language, "it seems more agreeable coming from a native's mouth than Italian. It falls on the ear almost as if sung."<sup>6</sup>

"The Yoruba language," says another grammarian, "has often been remarked by the missionaries as musical ; this is perfectly correct ; so are

<sup>1</sup> *Science of Language*, vol. i. lect. ix. ; see also Bréal, *Mélanges de Myth. et Ling.*, p. 263. <sup>2</sup> *Ueber die Verschied. des Menschl.*, spr. ii. p. 78. <sup>3</sup> *Étymol. Forsch.*, ii. p. 34. <sup>4</sup> *Princ. Comp. Philol.*, p. 34. <sup>5</sup> *Zeitsch. für Afr.*, spr. Berlin, 1888, 167. <sup>6</sup> *Ib.* 220.



also the Hausa, Nupe, and, in some degree, the Ibo. . . . If the difficulties of tones lay in these simple monosyllables only, they might be got over by the sense of the sentence of which they are members; but when a polysyllable contains two or all these three tones, how is it to be known how to pronounce it without a guide? . . . but let any lady touch these notes on her piano, and she will make the instrument speak as a native."



Bé, means "to come"; bē, means "again"; bē, means "to resemble."

Agadagodo, means "look."

Magani, means "medicine."

Not only are the different tones of separate syllables interesting from our point of view, but there is also what is known as the "sentence word" in aboriginal languages—here a sort of vocal harmony is found to be a formative principle before significance.

Professor Sayce speaks of vocal tones "as undifferentiated units, out of which the various parts of the sentence were eventually to come."

"It is only gradually that the different parts of speech are distinguished in the sentences, and words formed by breaking up its co-ordinated elements into separate and independent wholes."

Needless to multiply instances from the pens of philologists.

It is the same with alliteration, reduplication, tone accent, stress accent, &c., and the puzzling phenomena of meaningless terminations.

All things phonological point to one general fact—a limitless exuberance in the material which lay subservient to the needs of significance in the early stages of the development of language.

### III. DRAMATIC ORIGIN OF SIGNIFICANCE.

As late as the scientific observer comes on the field, he may still behold the needs of significance working their way into the primitive structures of vocal sound as new forces, entirely different, and in some respects antagonistic to the old forces which first created the sound. Significance has never used up the material at its command. Sometimes the needs of significance were so small that they picked up only a few articulations. We are told in the *Transactions of the American Ethnological Society* that even the labial articulation is not known in the language of some tribes; and Waitz, in his *Intro. to Anthropol.*, informs us that there are dialects possessing only seven consonants.<sup>1</sup>

If the higher developed races, where the needs of significance

<sup>1</sup> Crowther, *Grammar and Vocabulary of Nupe Language*, p. 4. London, 1864.

<sup>2</sup> *Introduction to Science of Language*, vol. ii. p. 302. *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 86.

<sup>3</sup> See also Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, vol. ii. p. 456. Müller, *Science of Language*, vol. ii. lect. iv. Sayce *Introduction to Science of Language*, vol. i. p. 140.

grew continually, the effect of their growth was to warp, contract, and partially destroy the original phonetic structures; these structures are found casting off rhythmic and articulate branches and leaves quite copiously, until at last they have cast off, or let wither into dull contractions, every syllable that significance could not make use of. It was the needs of significance that brought about the phenomena aptly described by Max Müller as "phonetic decay," that brought about the autumns of speech-sounds.

Reverting to our standpoint in the exuberant spring, let us examine our position. Even if we are quite sure that the raw material of language originated in the mould of rhythmic exercise, does there not still remain a gap between this raw material and the finished product of articulations bearing meaning? We cannot assume that when the rhythmic excitement passed away the articulations to which the vocal apparatus had been trained would be coolly fixed upon trees, and rivers, and mountains. How any need of significance could make itself felt without some language existing already is an obstacle that has stood like a wall of adamant against the philologist's sword-point of Reason. To put the difficulty in the words of Professor Sayce:

"How did this need arise, and how were the means of supplying it communicated? . . . However much language may now be defined as the expression of thought, it was not so at first, when conceptual thought was *not* made possible by the help of language."

But we may once more profitably spend a moment in the din of aboriginal drum, rattle, and exclamatory utterance. Now here there is every indication that at least a nascent significance should get fixed on vocal sounds, not only without any need of significance being felt at all, but without any intention or choice whatever. Do not habits of rhythmic exercise emerge into the light of scientific observation as a veritable nervous and muscular storehouse of human actions; warring, hunting, and wooing, chiefly, but also the less important actions? Is there not a consensus of opinion among the observers of native habits that the dramatic realism of pantomimic dances is most intense in the remotest and rudest stages of human development? And in cases where this realism has died, or partly died, are there not traces of its previous existence? The facts relating to pantomimic acting suffer precisely the same penalty as the facts of drumming and rhythmic exercise; we meet them only in a moribund condition, falling away like the decaying husk from the ripe fruit. As higher developed needs of significance warped, contracted, and destroyed the original phonetic structures, so the fuller needs of human activity left less room for the first, wild impulses of acting.

In order to keep speculative elements as much as possible out of

this tentative interpretation of familiar and unquestionable facts, we entirely shirk the question, How did the play repetitions of actions of life come into the vortex of rhythmic exercise? We find them there as a matter of fact, and can afford to leave the why and wherefore aside just as we did regarding the felt want of impression of sound. I believe that psychologists will be fully capable of explaining both questions, when their importance in regard to human origins is sufficiently established. But it may be remarked in passing that the play imitation of actions of life is not near so special and unique a matter in the animal kingdom as the want of impressions of sound. Brutes in play repeat their chief life-caring actions—fighting, hunting, &c.

Therefore the appearance of the play repetition of actions in the rhythmic exercises of aborigines is in itself no very decisive dividing-line between them and their humbler fellow-creatures. After all, it is rhythmic exercise, and the proved felt want of impressions of sound, that make the real dividing-line; and we purposely shirk speculating how and why they began; and, having begun, how and why they drew mimic play into their vortex.

We must accept the fact of this mimic play, and it directs us to the weightiest of our suggestions regarding the origin of language; for as these mimic actions were performed in conjunction with the utterance of rhythmical and articulated vocal sounds, which were drawn forth to supply the felt want of impressions of sound just as mimic play was drawn into rhythmic forms, we must perceive that these articulations and rhythms had to become invested gradually with some vestiges, however vague at first, of the emotions belonging by natural right to the actions imitated. This calling up of the emotions belonging by nature to the actions, whilst the brute attention was, so to speak, uncoupled, through its absorption in rhythmic impressions, from the brutish stress of the self-caring instincts and passions, would be a pre-eminently favourable set of circumstances for significance to get welded upon articulate and rhythmic syllables.

Is this favourable set of circumstances a fiction? Or, do our facts, as meagre and remote as they must now be of necessity, bear out the circumstances? We may, at any rate, summarise these facts in conclusion, and bring them to bear on the results of philological research which has shown that the irreducible elements of the words we speak signify actions, or demonstrate circumstances of action.

The inducement which has throughout all human ages, and up to our own day, led to the production of sound in all the subtle varieties of musical tone, according to the continually developing aptitudes of the attending ear; that very impulse which even now, in the meaningless refrains of popular songs, leads to the exuberant productions of genuine speech-sounds, must have pressed the vocal organs first of all into its service to produce some such rough, harsh, and decisively

checked sounds as the labial, dental, guttural, nasal, and aspirate articulations of human language. And these articulated sounds were beaten upon the ear while actions of life were played by the rhythmically moving bodies. Thus we may see that the philological facts which go to prove that the irreducible elements of words signify actions, or demonstrate circumstances of actions, are supports of our supposition that the oldest bits of our language must be the fossils of long extinct dramas, that the syllables of the words we now speak are but the warped and contracted remnants of some unlimited series of rudely articulated sounds that were uttered to supply the need we have traced out with drum and rattle, during the repetition of actions in play; until before the players could have the remotest inkling of what was happening, their tongues and lips were practised to the utterance of syllables which had the power of calling into mind a general conception, however vague at first, of some action.

This power once attained by articulations, their aptness to convey meaning would be felt in time, and lead to their intentional use with this object in view. Surely this cannot be called speculation. Philologists can always trace the effects of the growth of the needs of significance once a beginning was made. The use of one sign-bearing tool would mean the speedy creation of the need of others. Take, for instance, the need of expressing circumstances of actions or things; in other words, grammatical relations. Professor Sayce quotes recent studies by Bergaigne and Meyer in support of his own convictions, that a

"thoroughgoing examination of the Aryan declension would show that its origin was similar to that of the Semitic noun, the cases being differentiated, as the need of them arose, out of various more or less unmeaning terminations."<sup>1</sup>

And, again, he says:

"When the conception of a locative case, for example, first arose in the mind of the Aryan, he selected some formerly existing, but hitherto meaningless, suffixes to express the new relation, and so turned a mere phonetic complement, a mere formal sound, into a grammatical inflexion."

The more successful is philology in throwing light upon the remote history of grammatical elements, the more clearly are they seen issuing from a mould determined by some interests of vocal combination which must have been effective before the interests of significance began to make themselves felt. "Language," says Humboldt, "may mark most, if not all, grammatical relations with sufficient clearness, they may possess a multiplicity of so-called forms, and yet entirely lack a grammatical formality." Pott considered these words "an important conclusion."<sup>2</sup> But it is no concern of ours that he proceeds at once to explain the puzzles they present by referring it to metaphysical considerations.

<sup>1</sup> *Princ. Comp. Phil.*, third edition, p. 396.

<sup>2</sup> *W. von Humboldt und die Sprachwiss.*, s. 316. Berlin, 1890.

What we have to observe is the conclusion drawn from facts that there was a multiplicity of "so-called" forms which are not yet grammatical, yet among them who use them seem to serve as such. And when they develop into true grammatical forms they do so through a process of decay or corruption in their primitive tonal combination.

"That many of the Aryan suffixes," says Professor Müller, "did not originally contain the meanings which were ascribed to them, but conveyed them by accident only, in the course of time and through many changes, this, I admit, has been established by Ludwig and his followers."<sup>1</sup>

But the alternative on the positive side presented such an uninviting appearance, that Professor Müller could not help objecting: "To suppose that Khana, Khani, Khanana, Khanitra, Khatra, &c., all tumbled out ready made without any synthetical purpose, and that their differences were due to nothing but an uncontrolled play of the organs of speech, seems to me an unmeaning assertion."<sup>2</sup>

When the giants of philology succeed in tracing syllables back to a stage where they had not yet acquired meaning, they have surely attained the greatest triumph of their science, and need not, like Alexander, sigh for a new world to conquer.

"Phonetic complement," "meaningless suffixes," "uncontrolled play of the organs of speech"—these prehistoric phenomena are the working ground of psychology. Are we not at least on the track of understanding them?

Finally, regarding the suggestion put forward in this paper, about the crucial point of the first beginning of significance, we should consider that, as far as we are now removed from this beginning, there still exists, in the nervous and muscular organisation of all speaking men, a strong, if more or less hidden, undercurrent of dramatic impulse; in its present contracted and warped forms of expression this impulse is labelled as "GESTURE." But if we go back a little, for instance, to the contemporary native races from whom we have already drawn information, we find the speech of authority, and all speech to which ancient and traditional manners of utterance have clung, accompanied by some dramatic action as well as rhythmical sounds. Then, in records of oratory among the ancient cultured races, are there not vague rumours of a dramatic action of which we can hardly form a conception, and of speakers having a musical accompaniment?

In this rhythmical acting of the native and ancient orator, may it not be that we are beholding, not something put upon speech by the mere caprice of oratorical excitement, but speech itself bared to its very roots and essence?

J. DONOVAN.

<sup>1</sup> Müller, *Sc. of Thought*, p. 228.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 224.

## POLITICS AND ASSASSINATION.

ASSASSINATION has always played its part in politics. The roll of sovereigns whom it has laid low is a long one, and every royal line of any length has contributed to it. We have our own Edward II., Richard II., Henry VI., Edward V.; the Scotch have their White King, whose fate has been sung in so many poems, and his grandson, James III., besides heirs-apparent and great men in an astonishing number; two successive kings of France, Henry of Navarre and his predecessor, fell under the knife of the religious fanatic; while the house of Romanoff, most unfortunate of any, out of eight sovereigns, from Ivan IV. to Alexander II., has had four assassinated. Yet it has been reserved to our own times, strange to say, when less depends upon the person on the throne than ever before, to see the greatest development of this crime. The wearer of a crown, and his relatives to the third and fourth degree, are in more danger from the assassin's knife and bullet now than they ever were before. It is strange that it is so. Queen Victoria, whose claims are disputed by no rival house, who has never put herself in opposition to any class of her people, or to any religious body, has three times had her life attempted. Henry VIII. could reform the Church, abolish monasteries, behead great Church dignitaries, or great nobles, as the fancy took him, and not a hand was lifted against his royal person. A well-aimed stroke at the beginning of his reforming career, and England might have remained Catholic. On Elizabeth's life as great issues hung, and plots were actually formed against her, yet no individual actually made the attempt. Oliver Cromwell represented the victory, after many a bitterly-contested field, of one half of the nation in arms over the other half, the outraging of the most intense religious and loyal convictions of a large portion of that half; he deposed and executed the king, and disestablished the Church, yet he died a natural death. All these rulers seriously offended great masses of their subjects, meddled with the most sensitive religious prejudices, and on their lives depended the continuance of their policies, yet the hand of private or public vengeance was never lifted against them. There are many assassinations in history, it is true; yet, on the whole, if we consider how much then depended on the individual in power, and what great results might follow from the

removal of a king, a statesman, a royal favourite, it is surprising that there are not more to chronicle. Sometimes one can hardly understand how the avenger failed to make his appearance. When Alva was harrying the Netherlands, torturing and burning by thousands, taking victims from all ranks of life, putting citizens to death in the most public and harrowing manner in the very midst of their friends and sympathisers, one can but wonder at the fate which reserved him for a peaceful, and indeed idyllic, death in his old age. Were people made of tamer stuff then, or did they fear death more? And how are we to explain, on the other hand, the extraordinary prevalence of the crime at the present day? Now that kings and queens are more and more becoming but popular head-pieces, now that the most autocratic have learnt that they must bend their will to the people's when they clash, now that there is little or nothing to be gained by the crime, the assassin is more in evidence than ever. And he has now become entirely incalculable in his movements. Not only kings, but the popularly-elected president, not only crowned heads, but those whose removal can make no conceivable difference to politics, are his victims. If Persia lost her last Shah by his hand, France has lost her Carnot, and the United States their Garfield, and now the beauty and the sorrows of the Austrian Empress have not proved a sufficient defence from his knife. The royal personage, as he looks around, must bitterly reflect that not one of those dear to him is protected either by age or sex, by nearness to the throne or by remoteness from it, from this possible danger. The young Queen of the Netherlands stands nearest to her people's heart, probably, of any monarch in Europe; her situation, just now, is the one most calculated to stir loyal feelings, yet no one would venture to contradict the rumour that she, on the eve of her coronation, was fired at, as a thing in itself incredible and impossible.

What is the reason of this intensification of the natural danger attendant on high places? Anarchism, we are told; but why should there be anarchists now, and not in Alva's time? There must be a reason for this extraordinary product of the nineteenth century; anarchists are presumably not simply emanations from the Evil One, but men of like passions with ourselves. At the worst, one must admit of them that they are willing to pay the penalty for their deeds; in every case (except Lucchini's) the assailant in these recent crimes has been captured and put to death, and he must have known it would be so. A European does not sacrifice his life as lightly as a Chinaman or a Dervish; there must be some strong impelling motive for these deeds, and even if we explain it by saying that these men are crazy, why should madness take this form? It is better to look calmly for some sort of motive for these crimes than to rail blindly against the perpetrators.

Assassination is a that thing human nature has always shuddered

at ; but it was once rational. It is the weapon of despair, the last tool which revolt can never be deprived of ; it is also the logical weapon against an autocracy. When all government is carried on in the Czar's name, when the peasant is taxed, or knouted, in the name of the Czar's will, every quarrel he has against the laws and ordinances is a personal quarrel with his ruler ; the Russian law calls almost every means by which the citizen can rebel "assassination of the Czar," and the Nihilist of the last generation was perfectly logical when he made assassination the first means by which he sought to rebel. He was logical, but hardly rational, and the modern Nihilist recognises that, even in Russia, matters have got beyond the stage at which the removal of a ruler can alter everything at once. Czars come and go, but the Russian Government continues ; and the educated Nihilist abandons this part of his political programme. But it will still—it must, under present circumstances—remain a most tempting means of private vengeance in that unhappy country. Where the citizen is entirely at the mercy of the Government, liable to loss of fortune, of liberty, of life, at its discretion, liable to be sent to Siberia at a moment's notice, perhaps purely in mistake, unable to make any defence, to obtain any redress, denied every legitimate means of airing his grievances, be they trifling or important, what wonder if all the resources of civilisation have to be called upon to keep the Czar surrounded in an invisible wall of steel to protect him from his enemies ? The ordinary passions of mankind are quite sufficient menace to the peace of mind of the Czar ; we have no need of Anarchism to explain the shadow on the Russian throne ; but Russia, happily, is unique among European nations, and what does this shadow do nearer home ?

The centre of danger to royalty has entirely shifted. The assassin, if he lurked anywhere, was in old times to be found in the person of a kinsman, a courtier, a great noble, some one within the inner circle ; their foes used to be those of their own household. Our own murdered rulers, for whom we must go back to the Wars of the Roses, all fell by their kinsman's hand or through his instrumentality. In the case of plots against them, even when most widely laid, these would be confined to members of the aristocracy and upper classes. The history of the Russian royal family strikingly illustrates this change. We are accustomed to date the fears that haunt their palaces from the Emperor Alexander's murder by a Nihilist ; as a matter of fact, the Romanoff princes have always had the Damocles sword hanging over their heads, but the hands they used to fear were those of their courtiers and kinsmen ; their palace stairs have seen many a stealthy meeting of titled and courtly conspirators, many a sudden rush, a butchery in the dark, and a Czar sent to his account, sometimes with dark whispers of the complicity in the deed of his nearest and dearest. More than its due share of catas-



trophes has fallen to their house, for no sooner has it emerged from the semi-barbarous zone marked by these palace intrigues, than it has fallen upon the equally dangerous modern ore. The Scotch kings have suffered even worse things at their nobles' hands, though in their case it was open rebellion rather than secret intrigue that they had to fear. Religious fanaticism has also at times been an acute source of danger: the assassinations of Henry III. and Henry IV. of France, and of William the Silent, have changed history, and were no doubt expected by their perpetrators to change it still more; but this is an obsolete danger, and no religious body is likely ever again to commend assassination as a duty.

At one time it seemed as if democracy, the great mass of the nation, were a foe to be feared. The executions of our Charles, and of Louis XVI., have no doubt caused more heartburning in royal and loyal circles than any other events in history; but this was a false alarm, for these poor kings were only put to death because their perplexed subjects could see no other way of effectually deposing them: and now that we know it can be done without, we are not likely to resort again to this method. Modern kings and peoples manage the matter much more peaceably. No, all the old sources of danger have vanished; the aristocracies of every country now feel their fate bound up with the fortunes of the Crown; the masses of the people are loyal, the only danger that threatens is from the group, trilling in mere numbers, of anarchists, yet this is a danger more acute than has ever threatened royalty before.

Anarchism as an intellectual theory is beneath contempt; but, as an intellectual theory, it is also the mildest, most optimistic creed ever enunciated by man. It is a curious phenomenon that it is the exponents of this milk-and-water theory who have made their name a terror to society. Bakounin first stated the theory, in opposition to the great socialist Marx, and his creed is, indeed, the very antipodes of Socialism, though it is popularly supposed to be an offshoot from it. He and his followers believe in the perfection of human nature. All the social evils round us, they say, are due to the restraints of society: abolish the laws, and the law-breaking impulses will cease to work; get rid of Governments, and men will govern themselves wisely and justly. One cannot argue with people like this, one can only marvel at their ignorance of human nature. There are philosophers in England who write to the reviews to hold up the ideal of a Voluntary State, where no taxes shall be enforced by law. Nobody ever seriously argues with these people, who believe in rates and taxes being paid by voluntary subscription! Still less can one seriously argue with people who believe that stealing can be cured by abolishing punishments for theft, or who dwell upon the ethical discrepancy of society's setting limits to the *ego*. Under

ordinary conditions, a theory so in contradiction with human nature could impose on no sane person; yet this is the creed which gives us the modern political assassin. Why is it, first, that so optimistic a theory is translated into such bloody actions; and secondly, that the creed wins any adherents?

With regard to the first question, assassination is the weapon of despair, and the task of reducing society to chaos may well seem a desperate one. The whole trend of modern legislation is towards the opposite goal, towards Socialism, more and more regulation of society by the State. To try and persuade men, by logic and argument, to renounce the fabric of ages, and all the protection and guarantee of the laws, must be felt a Herculean, an impossible task; to throw bombs about, kill this or that royal person taken at random, to massacre a handful of deputies here, and a group of ordinary citizens there, seems an entirely senseless proceeding, but it is the sort of thing that fanaticism will always turn to when it sees no other means available. Probably the connection between the theory of Anarchism and this terrible practice of it is less intimate than is generally supposed; the corollary of assassination is probably not drawn by all their teachers, and naturally it is only the craziest of their followers who attempt to put it in execution. The whole thing seems entirely crazy at first sight; the way, above all, in which they make enemies of all classes of society, not only of princes and rulers, but of the bourgeoisie, whom they profess to hate even more, and indeed of the masses, the workers whom they profess to benefit. This, in one way, is the best feature in the situation, for all classes would eagerly join hands to extirpate them if only some practicable scheme should be found—all but the few who are anarchists themselves. But the essential question still remains, Why are these few anarchists there? and why is a misguided wretch like Lucchini, not palpably insane, eager to lay down his life to spread their doctrines?

There must be a real and serious root to this cancer, nor is it far to seek. Anarchism is the extreme expression of a creed which has always found, and will ever find, exponents. The theory and the practice of government are both continually alternating between two poles—the poles of Individualism and of Socialism. Last century English legislation had swung nearer to the individualistic pole than it had ever done before; now it is steadily moving towards the other, and all politicians seem to help on the movement. The working classes especially are in general approving spectators of the change. But one can understand that on the Continent, where men are so much more governed than they are here, there might be a small but violent opposing current to the general tendency. Anarchism is Individualism exaggerated, intensified to the point of absurdity; it is the extreme of one side, just as Communism is the extreme of the socialistic tendency. But for the rise of a sane Individualism,

instead of this crazy, distorted, and perverted version of it, there is plenty of reason in the Continental States. Men may well feel there that they are somewhat over-governed. The difference that conscription and enforced military service must make in the feelings of a people is one that cannot easily be estimated. Where there is any discontent it must quicken it as nothing else could. It is significant that it is Italy that, above all countries, is the home of Anarchism; Italy, where free institutions are a new growth, where the burdens of taxation are heaviest, where conscription has been made doubly odious by unpopular and disastrous foreign wars, where religion is opposed to loyalty, and the priests fan, rather than discourage, popular discontent; Italy, that has had all the burdens of advanced civilisation placed upon her shoulders before she has had time to taste its benefits, before she has hardly learnt even to think of herself as a unity. In the old days, if a Government was oppressive, it was hardly felt beyond the upper and middle classes. Kings might rob and ill-treat the nobles, the wealthy traders, the rich corporations; but their hand was not felt directly by the artisan and the labourer. Now the net of taxation is narrowed, so that no one, however insignificant, escapes it; the humblest workman contributes his full proportion to the revenue—experts say now that he contributes more than his just proportion—and he knows it. If Governments are far more just, more merciful, more tolerant than they were, they are also far more all-pervading, their arms stretch farther and grasp firmer. So it comes about that, while formerly discontent was most likely to be found in the upper ranks of society, it is now to be found among the lowest and least educated, among whom the monstrous growth of Anarchism is now raising its head.

There will certainly be many schemes proposed for crushing Anarchism, and no feeling of sympathy for it is likely to deter rulers or people from any that seems possible. It would be perfectly logical to make the profession of it a capital offence, or to consider it proof that the man was a dangerous lunatic, to be shut up for life. But experience teaches us that we should thereby be only suppressing the appearance, while the reality remained. If there is really a reason for this growth in the state of modern society, it will continue till conditions are changed. Here in England, happily, the growth is not spontaneous; we have only imported specimens. The English mind is too strongly individualistic by nature for the Continental over-centralisation and bureaucracy to rule our politics, and we are still free from the incubus of conscription; Anarchism finds no food to feed upon. It is greatly to the credit of the Irish Nationalists that even they, the only party in politics now which cannot reasonably hope to get its desire by means of ordinary methods, have completely given up violence and threats of violence. As for our neighbours, France, with all her troubles,

has so much patriotism within her borders that one cannot but think that her anarchists must be an infinitesimal minority of the population ; the Germans seem too sensible for this creed to take much hold of them ; let but this terrible burden of great armaments and heavy taxation be lifted from Europe, and the anarchist will be as extinct as the dodo and our crowned heads once more sleep in peace.

GERTRUDE SLATER.

## INDEPENDENT SECTION.

*[Under the above title a limited portion of THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW is occasionally set apart for the reception of Articles which contain opinions at variance with the particular ideas or measures it advocates. The object is to facilitate the expression of opinion by writers of high mental power and culture, who, while they are zealous friends of freedom and progress, yet differ widely on special points of great practical importance.]*

### THE LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL AND THE LORD'S DAY ACT OF 1781.

THE Sunday Question is undoubtedly one of great difficulty, and governing bodies are perplexed to know how to settle disputes that arise between contending parties.

All freely admit that the institution of the Sabbath is an incalculable blessing, and there can be no doubt that the pause in the rush of trade and mental activity brought by the weekly day of rest lengthens life and increases human happiness.

The words of Lord Macaulay, in his brilliant speech in favour of reducing the hours of labour in factories, in 1846, should never be forgotten. He said :

"We are not poorer, but richer, because we have rested from our labour one day in seven. That day is not lost. While industry is suspended, while the plough lies in the furrow, while the exchange is silent, while no smoke ascends from the factory, a process is going on quite as important to the wealth of the nation as any process which is performed on more busy days. Man, the machine of machines, is repairing and winding up, so that he returns to his labours on Monday with clearer intellect, with livelier spirits, with renewed corporeal vigour."

\* All parties also admit that all labour cannot be suspended on the day of holy rest. Some work must be done even on the Sabbath day.

This is where the difficulty begins.

The Lord's Day Rest Association urges as a guiding principle that all public labour should be suspended by law, except that for which there is a reasonable common-sense show of necessity.

Tested by this principle, the volume of Sunday labour might be

reduced to a very small amount; and tens of thousands of toilers in great industries who are now needlessly deprived of the weekly rest might be set free to enjoy the delights of home, the privilege of public worship, and the repose for which their minds and bodies cry out.

On the other side of the controversy there are certain companies and speculators who are bent upon appropriating the day of rest to the business of money-making; and there are Sunday Opening Societies aiming to make the Sunday a day of mere pleasure and amusement for some, at the sacrifice of the day of rest of the toilers in the great amusement industry.

Between these two contending parties governing bodies have to decide, and the London County Council has for a long time been much exercised on questions involving Sunday labour.

The London County Council is not a legislative body, but an administrative body. It is the duty of the Council to respect and enforce the laws of the statute-book, and not to annul them.

One duty entrusted to the Council is to issue a licence to theatres and music-halls for music and dancing.

That licence must be in harmony with the law, and accordingly it contains the following words:

"That he does not open his said house or place on the Lord's Day, commonly called Sunday."

In July 1881 a proposal was made to the Licensing Justices to alter the form of music licence so as to allow Sunday concerts. The Justices decided to take Counsels' opinion as to the legality of the proposed new form, and the joint opinion of the late Lord Justice (then Sir John) Holker, Q.C., and the present Lord Justice A. L. Smith was given to the Licensing Justices as follows:

"We are of opinion that it is not competent for the Justices to grant a form of licence as proposed by Mr. Ritchie, for in our judgment such contravenes the provisions of the Lord's Day Act (21 Geo. III. c. 49), for licence is thereby given to open on Sundays for the performance of sacred music unconnected with religious services."

Notwithstanding the clear terms of the music licence, the clear legal opinions of two of our most distinguished Justices, the clear terms of the Lord's Day Act, which prohibits the opening of any "place of amusement or entertainment on the Lord's Day for money payment or tickets sold for money," the administration of the London County Council has been so weak, and so unfaithful to its trust, that gigantic concerts are held in London on the Sunday at which thousands of pounds are taken and distributed by way of trade between caterers, managers, and performers, and pressure is put on musicians to give up their Sunday rest or to run the risk of losing work on weekdays; and instead of the London County Council controlling

the music-halls and theatres there appears to be some danger that the music-hall managers will control the London County Council.

The prospect of having all the music-halls and theatres of London gradually opened for gigantic concerts on Sundays influenced the supporters of the Working Men's Lord's Day Rest Association to oppose by Counsel the renewal of the music licences of the Queen's Hall and the Alhambra Theatre at the November Sessions, first before the Licensing Committee, and then before the whole London County Council.

Mr. Tindal Atkinson, Q.C., and Mr. Montague Lush were engaged by the association, and after listening to the arguments advanced, and after examining witnesses, including Mr. Newman, of Queen's Hall, and Mr. H. Mills, of the Sunday League, the London County Council agreed to renew the two licences on the condition that the persons licensed do not open their halls on Sundays "for private gain or by way of trade."

The Earl of Hardwicke, at the meeting of the London County Council on November 25, proposed to alter this recommendation by adding the words "except for concerts of a high-class character." This amendment was defeated by 62 votes against 33, and the recommendation of the Licensing Committee was adopted by the Council.

At the same meeting another important vote of the London County Council was taken, on a motion by Mr. Radford, that the words of the music licence—"on the Lord's Day, commonly called Sunday"—be omitted from the licence. This proposal was defeated by 79 votes against 8. These votes show that the London County Council is awakening to the dangerous policy it has hitherto pursued of encouraging not only the breaking of the clear terms of their own licence, but also the terms of the Lord's Day Act.

But the appetite for money-making Sunday concerts has been whetted, the thirst for Sunday amusements has been aroused, and in defiance of the strong votes recorded at the London County Council given above, the Sunday concerts for money are continued as vigorously as before; and the *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News* of December 24 describes the position as follows:

"How wonderful is the ingenuity of man! and what lovely hypocrites we are in England! . . . The Council is glibed and flouted, defied and defeated by the Sunday Concert Society, which, being constituted a philanthropic body, does not ply for profit, and such pecuniary surplus as there may be is quietly handed over to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales's Hospital Fund. But before this surplus is reached, what happens? Does Mr. Newman charge a rental for the hall? Is he paid for his services as manager? Is the Sunday labour voluntary on the part of the officials?"

That money-making is the object is clearly shown by the Secretary of the Sunday League in the organ of the League for October, in which he writes:

"The experience we have had at Queen's Hall is, of course, a lesson for all connected with the Sunday reform movement, for it shows conclusively, and I am sorry to have to admit it, that we are surrounded with those who have no interest in the movement except as it affects them financially."

That pressure is put upon musical professors to give up their Sundays for Sunday concerts is shown by a letter quoted in *Truth* of December 8, written by a well-known gentleman who is well acquainted with the musical world. The letter, signed "Freedom," is as follows :

"Referring to the question of Sunday concerts, one little point with which the general public is probably unacquainted is that many of the musicians engaged would prefer not to play on that day—not for Sabbatarian reasons, but simply because they would like to have a day of rest.

"I presume it is generally known that the musicians, many of them against their will, are obliged to accept reduced payments for the Sunday performances."

But it is urged that the Lord's Day Act under which Sunday concerts for money are prohibited in the London County Council music licence is obsolete and oppressive and ought to be repealed.

No more erroneous charge has ever been made against any Act on the statute-book. The Lord's Day Act is neither obsolete nor oppressive. It was brought in by the Government of the day, and passed in 1781, to meet attempts to make money on Sundays by opening places of amusement and entertainment.

The Act was confirmed by the Government of the day in 1875 under the "Remission of Penalties Act."

An exceptionally strong Select Committee of the House of Lords, after an exhaustive examination of many witnesses, reported in July 1896 as follows, in favour of the Lord's Day Act :

"It remains for us to consider whether the law as now in force is (apart from its phraseology) in general harmony with the sentiments and wishes of the English people. We believe that it is, and further, that the good which might sometimes result from giving increased facilities for lectures and music on Sundays, would be more than counterbalanced by the increase of paid and practically involuntary Sunday labour, and by the encouragement given to endeavours to make pecuniary profit under the guise of entertainments 'for the public good.' In this connection attention may be drawn to the evidence of a witness who has had large experience as 'a public entertainer and vocal comedian' not in England only, but in the United States, where such Sunday entertainments are given without restriction (Q. 2608-2716). His oral evidence calling attention in the interests of the musicians and performers to the perils of such a change, is supported by a weighty memorial, since addressed to us, with the signatures of 734 members of the dramatic and musical professions, and managers of halls, theatres, entertainments, concerts, &c., who desire to express the hope that the law which prohibits the opening of places of amusement and entertainment for money payment on the Sunday may be upheld, so that the 500,000 persons employed in the amusement industry may be protected from the burden of Sunday labour."



But still later has the Lord's Day Act been confirmed. In 1897 a Bill was introduced by Lord Hobhouse to the House of Lords to alter the Lord's Day Act so as to sanction Sunday concerts and entertainments for money payment. After a lengthened debate, Lord Hobhouse's Bill was defeated by 50 votes against 33; and the value of the Lord's Day Act was then established, and it was practically re-enacted.

These facts unanswerably prove that the Lord's Day Act is, by no means obsolete nor antiquated.

As to the charge that the Act is an interference with liberty and freedom, we urge that it is exactly the reverse.

It protects the workers in the amusement industry (one of the largest in the country) against the tyranny of speculators and amusement caterers who would employ them seven days a week.

Mr. John Burns, M.P., L.C.C., is reported in the *Sun* of July 20, 1898, to have used the following words on this question :

"He should be sorry to see that what had already been done should be caught up by music-hall proprietors as a stepping-stone to the inauguration of Sunday entertainments. He had seen the Continental Sunday in Paris, and its counterpart in New York, and heartily detested both. In the interests of music-hall and theatrical people themselves, who were worked severely enough, he would be very watchful against any innovations which threatened to deprive them of the Day of Rest."

It was stated by Mr. Hollingshead, in a deputation to the Home Secretary from the managers of theatres and music-halls on December 15, 1887, that upwards of 500,000 persons were employed in the amusement industry—150,000 of whom are in London.

This great army of workers is protected against Sunday labour under the Lord's Day Act; and there are many auxiliary trades connected with the amusement industry which are indirectly benefited under the merciful provisions of the Lord's Day Act.

Let it be distinctly understood that the Working Men's Lord's Day Rest Association would not interfere with any person by law as to how he chooses to spend his Sundays, provided that person does not interfere with the Sundays of other persons. But when speculators and caterers for the public amusement, and leisured people in search of amusement, do not scruple to inflict the burden of Sunday labour on those dependent on them, for purposes of money-making or in the pursuit of pleasure, the Lord's Day Rest Association would enforce the law against such persons, and protect the weak against the strong, the toiler against the selfish employer, and secure as far as possible to all classes the inestimable blessing of rest on the Lord's Day.

CHARLES HILL,  
Secretary Working Men's Lord's Day  
Rest Association.

## CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

### SCIENCE.

IN no department of the world's work has the subdivision of labour proved so fruitful as in biology. The careful researches of specialists have thrown a flood of light upon many subjects which would have remained obscure had they been treated in the superficial manner formerly in vogue. An interesting and valuable contribution towards a subject which has hitherto been too much neglected by biologists is *Colour in Nature*,<sup>1</sup> by M. I. Newbigin. The title is somewhat misleading, for the book deals with the organic side of Nature only, and it is precisely among the simpler inorganic compounds that we might expect to find facts upon which to base the laws relating to the mutual connection between colour and matter. But if we must take exception to the title we have no fault to find with the book, which displays a thorough knowledge of the subject, and gives evidence of wide and careful research. The labour of collecting data from the numerous periodicals and other sources detailed in the appendix must have been considerable. At the outset of such investigations, the observer meets with the difficulty that while some colours are due to pigments, others are dependent upon structural characters, such as striation, iridescence, or reflection. The subject of phosphorescence is a wide one, and it is intimately connected with colour; but here, even more than in the case of pigments, we are met with the difficulty of determining whether the eyes of the organisms affected by the phosphorescence have the same perception of light as we have. It is quite possible that the eyes of deep sea fishes, for instance, may be affected by rays which are quite imperceptible to us. In the same way the colours of birds and butterflies may have a very different appearance in the eyes of those who display them than they can have to our unaided eye. As to the sources of colour and luminosity we are still almost in the dark, although more than twenty years ago Professor Panceri succeeded in tracing the source of luminosity to certain cells in various marine animals. Luminosity is not altogether dependent upon life, for the liquid expressed from some organisms after death

<sup>1</sup> *Colour in Nature: a Study in Biology.* By M. I. Newbigin. London: J. Murray. 1898.

remains luminous for some time. The chemical investigation of luminosity and phosphorescence is still in its infancy, and the same may be said of most of the colours that we see around us. The pigments of butterflies and humming-birds, those gorgeous gems of the organic world, have been partially investigated, and chemists have given us some explanation why the bluish lobster boils red, and why some oysters are green. Only the fringe of the subject, however, has been touched, and there is not even an attempt at a general theory of organic colour. To those about to enter upon this wide field of research, and, indeed, to any naturalist, this book can be confidently recommended.

That it has been found necessary to publish a second edition of Mr. W. Briggs' *General Elementary Science*<sup>1</sup> within five months of its first publication is in itself sufficient evidence that it meets a want. This useful little volume of the "University Tutorial Series" practically consists of three treatises—one on Mechanics; a second on Heat, Light and Electricity; and a third on Chemistry. In each section the definitions are clear and concise, and the illustrations graphic and well suited to convey an accurate impression of the apparatus to the student.

The more advanced student of chemistry will find fuller information, from the experimental point of view, in a new volume of the "Organised Science Series," by Mr. F. Beddow,<sup>2</sup> which is specially written to prepare students for the elementary examination of the Science and Art Department. It appears well suited for the object in view, and should save the student much useless cramming.

We have received volume 40 of the Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, being the second edition of *A Catalogue of Scientific and Technical Periodicals*,<sup>3</sup> by H. C. Bolton. This is not quite up to the usual high standard of the publications of the Smithsonian Institution, either as regards the arrangement or the quality of the subject matter. The whole of the titles are not arranged alphabetically in one list, but are cut up into three separate sections, so that each of these sections has to be searched before a title can be found. It would have been far better to have arranged the titles of new works together with the old ones than to split up the book into sections. Without wishing to deny the utility of the book, we do not by any means consider that the work has been thoroughly carried out. We took at random four scientific periodicals from our library and failed to find three of them in the catalogue. Two of these are American—namely, *Anales de la Sociedad Científica Argentina*, first published in

<sup>1</sup> *General Elementary Science*. By W. Briggs. London: W. B. Clive. Second edition. 1898.

<sup>2</sup> *First Stage: Inorganic Chemistry (Practical)*. By F. Beddow. London: W. B. Clive. 1898.

<sup>3</sup> *A Catalogue of Scientific and Technical Periodicals*. By H. C. Bolton. Second edition. Washington: Smithsonian Institution. 1897.

Buenos Ayres in 1876, and *Archivos do Museu Nacional do Rio de Janeiro*, published in Rio de Janeiro. Both contain interesting scientific monographs, and are worthy of a place in any catalogue of scientific literature. The third omission is even more surprising. The *Journal of the Society of Chemical Industry* is not only the best periodical on technical chemistry in the English or any other language, but it is the organ of the only English scientific society which has a New York branch. As that branch numbers more than 500 members it is remarkable that Mr. Bolton has not heard the name of this periodical. Should a third edition of this work be published we trust that it will be complete and avoid the defects we have mentioned.

• *The Tutorial Algebra*,<sup>1</sup> by Mr. William Briggs, M.A., and Mr. G. H. Bryan, Sc.D., must be recommended to students generally. It is based on the work of an Indian, Professor Radhakrishnan, which has, however, been considerably modified and enlarged so as to render it suitable for the requirements of English students. The volume is intended to form an advanced course in algebra suitable for examinations similar in scope to the Intermediate and B.A. Examinations of London University, and the Cambridge Senior and Higher Local Examinations.

## PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY.

THE title of Mr. Marshall's book<sup>2</sup> leads us to expect a serious study of some important problems in psychology, and in this we are not disappointed. If we have a fault to find with Mr. Marshall it is that his work is somewhat diffuse and contains too many repetitions. This arises, no doubt, from his desire to make himself clear; but we think it has the opposite effect, and that more conciseness would have contributed to a better understanding of his theses. The work contains much that is informing and deserving of careful consideration, but it will not fail to excite criticism. A philosopher who begins by depreciating the efficiency of reason and ends by bidding his readers be religious, is likely to arouse a feeling of opposition, if not of actual prejudice, which will, perhaps, prevent many from taking the trouble of reading the more than five hundred pages in which the

<sup>1</sup> *The Tutorial Algebra*. Part II. Advanced Course. By William Briggs, M.A., and G. H. Bryan, Sc.D. London: W. B. Clive.

<sup>2</sup> *Instinct and Reason*. An Essay concerning the Relation of Instinct to Reason, with some Special Study of the Nature of Religion. By Henry Rutgers Marshall, M.A. London and New York: Macmillan & Co.

author seeks to justify his position. Instincts, we are told, are earlier than reason, and represent the inherited experience of the race, in some cases earlier than humanity itself, while reason is the source of individual variation, and therefore later and of less authority than instinct; and religion belongs to the sphere of instinct. Mr. Marshall, upon biological grounds, arranges the chief instincts in the order in which he maintains they arose—first, self-preservation; secondly, the sexual instinct, or the perpetuation of the life of the species; and lastly, the racial instinct: it is with this last religion is related. Religion, therefore, teaches us to subordinate the “lower” or narrower instincts to the higher or broader one, which is concerned more with the well-being of the race than that of the individual. There is some truth in this, but it does not appear to us to be the whole truth; and it is in connection with this that reason is, we are told, to give way to religion or instinct. This, it will be seen, would justify the view that religion is a corporate matter, and that the individual reason ought not, without very good reasons, if we may say so, set itself against the instinctive tendency of the group or race. It appears to us that Mr. Marshall falls into some fallacies in his first chapter, in which he confounds reasoned action, which may be right, with the intellectual results of the reasoning process, which may be wrong, because starting from incorrect or insufficient data. Mr. Marshall seems to think that the Christian Church has often been right in opposing rationalism; for instance, because some of the dicta of the rationalism of the last century are losing their hold upon men. But the fact is that this is due to a continuation of the rationalising process itself; new facts have come into knowledge which show that conclusions had been prematurely adopted, and new conclusions are being drawn from these newly-known facts by reason itself. We have no doubt that there is a tendency for individual self-will to run riot in England in these days, but this appears to us to be more instinctive than rational, and calls for the control of reasoned processes. Mr. Marshall translates the “suppression of our will to a higher will,” which is one definition of religion, into psychological terms, as “the restraint of individualistic impulses by racial ones”; but it is reason itself which teaches us the duty of this restraint, thus exercising a command over all our impulses. Again, he describes “Reason as representing the influence in organic life which breaks down our complex inherited tendencies; the influence which leads us to vary from typical forms of action as determined by instincts of broader scope.” If this is correct, then reason is the source of individualism, liberty, and progress, and is entitled to rank higher than instinct.

The author of *The Gospel according to Darwin*<sup>1</sup> is not only an

<sup>1</sup> *The Gospel according to Darwin*. By Woods Hutchinson, A.M., M.D. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.

enthusiastic admirer of the author of the *Origin of Species*, but a thorough-going optimist, who not only rejoices in the survival of the fittest, but also in the elimination of the unfit, even though they are men and women. No doubt a good deal is to be said for this view, though it will not be palatable to many soft-hearted enthusiasts. We share to a very great extent the author's exultation over the destruction by "Darwinism" of some of the old orthodox views of existence; those, for instance, which hold that pain and labour and death were the penalties inflicted upon the race for the sin of Adam. Our apprehension of the part the struggle for existence has played in the development of humanity has made us wiser, and we recognise that pain is one of our greatest teachers, labour the source of progress, and in time we shall no doubt realise that death itself is a blessing, or, at least, we shall have the courage to confess openly what we often admit to ourselves. We can commend Dr. Hutchinson for having given us a cheerful, wise, and instructive series of Darwinian sermons. We should add that he has also some very serious and necessary things to say about the population question and others related to it.

The fame of Augustine, Bishop of Hippo,<sup>1</sup> is nearly all that remains to remind us of the fact that Christianity once flourished on the soil of North Africa; flourished to such an extent that Milman says it was "Africa and not Rome gave birth to Latin Christianity;" though we must remember that it is the Roman colonies in Africa that are meant. Mr. Holme has written a full and reliable account of these African Churches which disappeared more than a thousand years ago. The story is well told, and will be read with pleasure and consulted with confidence.

Another volume of Church history designed more for general reading than for students is Dr. Waterman's *Post-Apostolic Age*.<sup>2</sup> This is one of the 'Eras of the Christian Church Series,' several volumes of which we have already noticed. There does not appear to be any order in the issue of these volumes, which are by different authors, as several relating to much later periods have already appeared. Dr. Waterman retells the well-worn story of the early Church in an interesting manner, and discusses controverted points, such as the Episcopacy, impartially, but without concealing his own leanings.

The *Philosophy of Greece*, by Mr. Alfred W. Benn,<sup>3</sup> is an attempt to show that Greek philosophy exhibits, under an abstract form, certain ways of acting and thinking which characterised the Greek genius before philosophy commenced. The idea is the sug-

<sup>1</sup> *The Extinction of the Churches of North Africa.* (Hulsean Prize Essay, 1896) By L. R. Holme, B.A. London: C. J. Clay & Sons. 1898.

<sup>2</sup> *The Post-Apostolic Age.* By Lucius Waterman, D.D. (Eras of the Christian Church.) Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1898.

<sup>3</sup> *The Philosophy of Greece.* By Alfred William Benn. London: Grant Richards.

gestion of Professor Knight of St. Andrews, at whose suggestion Mr. Benn originally undertook this work as a contribution to a more comprehensive work on *The Philosophy of the Nations*. The first chapter deals with the general form of Greek thought, and the author dwells on the fact that the Greek ideal lay in the one word *Sophrosyne*—self-knowledge, self-control, temperateness. Much space is devoted to the Ionians and their development. The portions of the work dealing with Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, though intelligently written, by no means exhaust, or even satisfactorily elucidate, the subject of Greek philosophy.

---

#### SOCIOLOGY, POLITICS, AND JURISPRUDENCE.

*British Rule and Modern Politics*,<sup>1</sup> by the Hon. Albert S. G. Canning, is not an epoch-making work, but it is, nevertheless, a painstaking attempt to examine the varied tendencies of British policy and its influence upon civilisation. Coupled with this is an examination of the effect of English literature upon modern politics and national thought, which, as far as we are aware, is a distinctly new departure, and one which, in Mr. Canning's able hands, is eminently successful. The ground covered by this work is immense, and necessarily upon such a controversial subject as modern politics, unanimity of agreement with the author's conclusions is not always possible; but, upon the whole, we see no cause for differing with Mr. Canning's general opinions. One of his chief points is the secularisation of politics generally throughout Europe, and especially in Great Britain, with the exception of Ireland. Another point he strongly insists upon is the foolish attitude which this country from time to time adopts in its open or concealed hostility to Russia. A third is the success of England, France, and Russia in so capably governing non-Christian populations. When there is so much to praise, we shrink from blame, but we are bound to point out that Mr. Canning seems blind to the strength of agnosticism, which he evidently mis-names atheism. His remarks as to atheism are true enough, but, whereas atheism may be said to be a negligible quantity in modern politics and national thought, the case is very different with agnosticism, which is a stronger force than most people suppose, the more so as much of it is for the present disguised under the

<sup>1</sup> *British Rule and Modern Politics. A Historical Study.* By the Hon. Albert S. G. Canning. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1899.

garb of orthodoxy, unacknowledged by its possessors, no doubt, but none the less real for all that.

M. le Bon's new book, *The Psychology of Peoples*,<sup>1</sup> is very similar in treatment to his *Psychology of The Crowd*. The author is careful to point out that this work is only a synthesis of his larger treatises on the history of civilisations. Races possess psychological characteristics almost as fixed as physical characteristics, and those vary with the anatomic variations. And just as one race is mentally superior to another, so in the same race some individuals are more highly developed mentally than the masses. The inevitable effect of civilisation is to differentiate individuals and races. As Herbert Spencer has taught us, the evolution of nature is from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous. Consequently, says M. le Bon, peoples are not progressing towards equality, but towards a growing inequality. This brings us to the object of this work. In Socialism M. le Bon sees a force which makes for equality, and with equality begins the decadence of a race. Amongst European nations, says M. le Bon, England alone has not imbibed this spirit, but it is ripe on the Continent, and especially among the Latin races. Although these races talk most loudly of liberty, they are the first to call in the aid of the State in matters of trifling importance, and individuals are losing all their initiative, self-reliance, and energy. In England, on the contrary, the principles of self-government, self-reliance, and individual initiative prevail. The Latin races seem incapable of self-government. They require a Napoleon, and they will even gladly submit to a Tiberius or a Nero. In the life of a race character is the most powerful element. Thus ideas, and lastly environment. Institutions go for little. Thus for one race to impose its character or its ideas upon another is impossible. Institutions may be imposed, but without the spirit they are valueless. With these views every one will not be in accord with M. le Bon. He himself insists that all the highly-civilised races are historical races, and not natural. Have not many of the historical nations, notably the English, swallowed the civilisation of the races which they conquered, and have they not imposed their civilisation upon the races subdued by them? At present it is true that Republican France seems incapable of governing herself, and M. le Bon looks to militarism as the only salvation for the manhood of France! He recognises, too, one of the causes of this national decadence—viz., the defective system of education. The recent exposure of French militarism does not, to our mind, offer much hope for France. A nation of such a high intellectual order will surely, now that it is beginning to see the folly of its educational system and its consequent army of officials, remedy all this, and proceed on the right lines? The

<sup>1</sup> *The Psychology of the Peoples.* By Gustave Le Bon. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1899.



English, no doubt, are born administrators, and they owe much to national character; but they owe much also to their robust system of education, which, with all its intellectual defects, and those are great, makes a self-reliant man out of the schoolboy. When the French learn this they will go far. That a great intellectual nation like the French should die out or be swallowed up by the Slav seems incredible. From these few remarks it will be seen what interesting problems the author discusses. We think he is too pessimist on the question of Socialism. Continental Socialism would probably end in equality, followed by despotism, but the present inequality of wealth is the true cause of modern Socialism both on the Continent and in England. Remove the cause to more moderate dimensions, and we shall hear less about social equality.

#### VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

*Among the Celestials*,<sup>1</sup> by Captain Younghusband, is an abridgement from this writer's larger work, *The Heart of a Continent*. It consists in a narrative of this energetic traveller's first great exploration, the object of which was to establish the truth with regard to the ever-white mountain in Manchuria. It was supposed to be of great altitude, and so named from its perpetual snow. It turned out, however, to be but some 8000 feet in height, and was white, or partially white, with pumice-stone from an extinct volcano, now the basin of a beautiful lake, the source of the mighty river Sungari. The value of the book, however, does not lie so much in the successful exploration of this mountain as in the description of the Chinese colonists in Manchuria, the cradle of the present ruling dynasty of China. In Southern Manchuria these colonists are pushing their way through the primeval forests with rapid strides. Already a considerable area is cleared for cultivation; the soil is virgin and prolific; their houses large and well built, and provisions of all kinds in abundance. One hardly looks for such vigorous enterprise on the part of John Chinaman as is here described by Captain Younghusband, who was himself much astonished with what he saw.

The contrast between them and the Russian colonists in Eastern Siberia is very marked. Colonel Sokolowski told the author, although the Russian Government gave every encouragement to settlers—free implements and cattle, free travelling expenses, &c.—they exhibited no energy or vigour, and only worked to produce enough to live on.

<sup>1</sup> *Among the Celestials*. A Narrative of Travels in Manchuria, across the Gobi Desert through the Himalayas to India. Abridged from *The Heart of a Continent*. By Captain Francis Younghusband, C.I.E. With Maps and Illustrations. London: John Murray. 1898.

Not only is Manchuria rich agriculturally, but thousands of square miles of most valuable timber forests, both of pine and of hard woods, such as oak, walnut, and elms, are only waiting a market, which, with rivers like the Sungari, the Yalu, and the Liao, means a market on an enormous scale, and which, says the author, will one day make Manchuria famous.

The return journey from Peking, through the Gobi Desert, Turkestan, and over the Himalayas into Cashmere, is well told. Altogether this is an interesting and instructive book.

A reprint of Kinglake's *Bothen*<sup>1</sup> from the first edition will be gladly welcomed. As Mr. Tuckwell well says in his Introduction, this book is now a classic, which will be read long after *The Invasion of the Crimea* has been all but forgotten except by professional students.

*The White North*,<sup>2</sup> by Miss M. Douglas, is another of this writer's epitomes of adventures and explorations in the far north taken from *The Voyage of the Vega*, *The Voyage of the Jeanette*, and *Farthest North*. These epitomes are extremely well done and calculated to arouse interest in the minds of young people, for whom, doubtless, they are intended.

## HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

MR. HERBERT FISHER'S elaborate work, *The Mediæval Empire*,<sup>3</sup> presents us with a comprehensive view of a wide-ranging subject. The author, who has consulted all the available sources of information, including Von Ranke, Waitz, Schröder, Stobbe, Kiezlen, Stälen, Huber, Lavissee, Richter, and Giesebrecht, shows the essential homogeneity of the German tribes. With regard to the Bavarians, he points out that their origin is wrapped in obscurity. By a curious blunder some mediæval historians derive them from Armenia. This much is certain—that, whatever the Bavarians were, they were never Kelts. They were probably a branch of the Suevic tribe which, according to Tacitus, embraced the Semnones, the Lombards, the Quadi, and several other tribes.

The portions of the work dealing with the German Monarchy, the Imperial Court, the Church in Germany, and Imperial Administration in Italy, are exceptionally interesting. Frederic II., a most important figure in German mediæval history, is described as having been, "like Napoleon I., not a revolutionary, but an eclectic." The

<sup>1</sup> *Bothen*. By Alexander William Kinglake. Reprinted from the First Edition. With an Introduction by the Rev. William Tuckwell. London: George Bell & Sons. 1896.

<sup>2</sup> *The White North with Nordenskiöld, De Long, and Nansen*. By M. Douglas. London, Edinburgh and New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons. 1899.

<sup>3</sup> *The Mediæval Empire*. By Herbert Fisher. London: Macmillan & Co.

parallel is a little overstrained. We cannot well compare two such men, separated by centuries and by a historic as well as ethnological chasm. In conclusion, Mr. Fisher emphasises the fact that the history of the mediæval empire has been fertile in contrasts. By a curious freak of destiny the title and tradition of the Cæsars passed to the latest barbarian arrival within the circle of the civilised nations of the West. The difference between the functions of an Emperor, as they were understood in antiquity, and those prevailing in the Middle Ages, is thus indicated: The ancient Roman Empire was a federation of towns; the mediæval Roman Empire was a loose union of independent communes in which all the engines of autocracy were wanting. Amongst the services rendered by the mediæval empire was the preservation of the individuality of Italy. If Italy had, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, fallen under the dominion of France, the Italian genius could scarcely have asserted its independence.

Baron Bramwell was a typical middle-class Englishman of the more intellectual sort. His father was "a precise, conscientious business man of the antique school," head clerk, ultimately partner, in a banking firm. He was himself originally a bank clerk. Then he went to the Bar and worked his way to the Bench. The volume<sup>1</sup> by Mr. Fairfield, issued by Messrs. Macmillan, deals mainly with the learned judge's career after his elevation to the Bench; and we cannot say that the record is especially interesting. Baron Bramwell's strong common sense was shown not only in his judgments, but in his occasional letters to the *Times* and other newspapers. His answer to Henry George was not quite convincing, but it appealed to the *bourgeoisie*. On the temperance question he held views which will be generally regarded as sound. His tendencies, on the whole, were liberal, but he took a thoroughly insular view of progress. He was in no sense cosmopolitan.

Lord Selborne's *Memorials*<sup>2</sup> range over a period of thirty years. It must be acknowledged that Lord Selborne was a great judge; but in public life he showed a tendency towards narrowness. His attitude on the Irish Church Disestablishment question was disinterested but by no means statesmanlike. As Lord Chancellor he exhibited dignity, impartiality, and learning. His ecclesiastical tendency was one remarkable feature in his character. Had he not been a great lawyer he might have been a great churchman. His private life was flawless; and yet these memorials are so colourless that we can well understand the exclamation, "How uninteresting good men are!"

Few European statesmen of this century can rank higher than

<sup>1</sup> *Memoir of Baron Bramwell*. By Charles Fairfield. London: Macmillan & Co.

<sup>2</sup> *Memorials: Personal and Political (1865-1895)*. By Roundell Palmer, Earl of Selborne. London: Macmillan & Co.

Cavour.<sup>1</sup> It would, of course, be an exaggeration to say that he was the maker of United Italy. Many forces were at work for the regeneration of the country. But it was Cavour's hand that controlled the working of these forces. First of all, he made Piedmont the lever by which Italy could be raised. Next, with the aid of Napoleon III., he destroyed the power of Austria in Italy. Lastly, he, with the help of England, prevented the European Powers from obstructing Italian unity. The life of this great man has been dealt with admirably and with the utmost clearness by the Countess Martinengo Cesaresco. Born in 1810 of a noble Piedmontese family, Cavour embraced liberal ideas, in which he was supported by his grandmother, the Marquise Philippine, a lady of great intellectual powers. He was originally intended for the army, but he soon abandoned a military life for politics. For a time he became a journalist, but with a political object, and it was as a Parliamentarian that he found his true vocation. He soon rose to prominence, eclipsing two distinguished Italian statesmen, Rattazzi and D'Azeglio. When at length Cavour became the leading figure in Italian politics, he played a cautious but patriotic rôle. He desired to win the sympathies of other nations for Italy. He went to travel as soon as he found himself free from the cares of office. He diplomatically got the Emperor Napoleon on his side, although that cold-blooded individual cared nothing about Italian liberty. In 1855 the Italian statesman entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with England and France. He disliked the Jesuits heartily, yet he thought it wiser to give them more freedom rather than to suppress them. He reached his objects by tact and determination. But his sincerity, his patriotism, cannot be questioned. He has been sometimes accused of cynicism; but, as the writer of this biography points out, he was really an optimist at heart. During the Franco-German War a keen-witted Frenchman remarked that Bismarck had taken Cavour's conception without what made it really great—liberty. This is, indeed, the difference between the two men to whom must be respectively ascribed the creation of German and of Italian unity.

Dr. Bernard Moses has written an interesting book on *The Establishment of Spanish Rule in America*.<sup>2</sup> The Spanish element in American history has been neglected. Prescott, of course, did much to enable the student of history to understand those strange peoples, the Aztecs and the early inhabitants of Peru. The present work, though small in compass, contains the result of much recent research. It is clearly shown that Spain, by her high-handed policy and her commercial jealousy, lost touch with her colonies. The

<sup>1</sup> *Cavour*. By the Countess Evelyn Martinengo Cesaresco. London: Macmillan and Co.

<sup>2</sup> *The Establishment of Spanish Rule in America*. By Bernard Moses, Ph.D. New York and London: Putnam's Sons.

chapter comparing the Spanish and English colonies in America is well worth reading. The main explanation of the difference between the institutions planted by England and those planted by Spain in the New World lies in the difference between Spain's centralised administration and England's strong local government.

The fine work by Ferdinand Gregorovius on *The Emperor Hadrian*<sup>1</sup> has been well translated by Mary E. Robinson, and is published in a volume of about 400 pages by Messrs. Macmillan and Co. The book is what it purports to be—a "picture of the Græco-Roman world" in the time of Hadrian. The work shows the cosmopolitanism of "the great world-traveller Hadrian," which, as Professor Pelham says in his learned Introduction, "was in reality imperialism." The love of Greece was in fact an evidence of culture. His reign introduced the golden age of the Antonines. This volume will be of enormous value to the student of Roman history.

#### BELLES LETTRES.

A GOOD picture of American "Bossism" is given in the novel, *American Politician in England*.<sup>2</sup> It is hard to say whether Roof Roofer, the author of this book, wishes to vindicate the Yankee Boss or to hold him up to contempt and ridicule. The *dénouement* shows the Boss of the story, Silas Bolivar, married and entirely under what is called "petticoat government," Mrs. Bolivar being the successful leader of a woman's club movement. There is some cleverness in the novel.

In *Das Ewige Licht*<sup>3</sup> we have another of Peter Rosegger's delightful productions, so full of imaginative insight and spiritual beauty. Few German books of the day will prove more fascinating to those who read the language and appreciate what is best in the Teutonic genius.

There is an idyllic charm in *Waldjugend*,<sup>4</sup> by the same author. The simplicity, truth, and sincerity of the work should gain for it popularity both with old and young.

*Katerfelto*<sup>5</sup> is one of the late Major Whyte-Melville's most readable novels. This author possessed the power of interesting his readers, but he was superficial and had not the gift of characterisation. *Katerfelto* has his chief merits and defects as a writer of fiction. Messrs. Ward, Lock & Co. have brought out a very handsome edition of the novel, beautifully printed and illustrated.

<sup>1</sup> *The Emperor Hadrian*. A Picture of the Græco-Roman World in his Time. By Ferdinand Gregorovius. Translated by Mary E. Robinson. London: Macmillan & Co.

<sup>2</sup> *American Politician in England*. By Roof Roofer. London: Gay & Bird.

<sup>3</sup> *Das Ewige Licht*. Von Peter Rosegger. Leipzig: Verlag von L. Staackmann.

<sup>4</sup> *Waldjugend*. Von Peter Rosegger. Leipzig: Verlag von L. Staackmann.

<sup>5</sup> *Katerfelto*. A Tale of Exmoor. By G. J. Whyte-Melville. London: Ward, Lock & Co.

The well-known work of Chamisso, *The Shadowless Man*,<sup>1</sup> has been brought out in a handsome illustrated edition by Mr. George Allen. In the Introduction by Mr. Joseph Jacobs it is rightly claimed for this marvellous tale that it has an entirely novel and, at the same time, striking plot. Chamisso, its gifted author, united in himself both French and German characteristics. *The Shadowless Man* is quite unique in literature. It is a work, therefore, that will live, just like *Gulliver's Travels* and *Alice in Wonderland*.

Mr. G. Beresford Fitzgerald has, in *The Stigma*,<sup>2</sup> given us a story, of considerable interest, even though the subject is by no means original. The plot turns on the effect of a father's sin in blighting his son's career. The story is well constructed, and the author writes in a very agreeable style, so that the reader's attention is never allowed to flag up to the end of the last chapter.

Great interest will be taken in Herr Wilhelm Waldeyer's essay, *Ueber Aufgaben und Stellung unserer Universitäten seit der Neugründung des deutschen Reiches*.<sup>3</sup> From an educational point of view, the essay is most instructive and full of valuable suggestions.

Those who desire to know the conditions necessary for obtaining the various degrees given by the London University will find them in *The London University Guide and University Correspondence College Calendar, 1898-99*.<sup>4</sup> The high status of the University and the value of its degrees may be seen from the fact that, taking one examination with another, about half the total number of candidates are rejected. In this way the high esteem in which London degrees are held is maintained. The volume contains an immense amount of information as to the subjects prescribed for a pass and for honours, together with some valuable advice as to the choice of a faculty.

*Irish Holidays*,<sup>5</sup> by Robert Thynne, is an amusing book, evincing considerable knowledge of Irish peasant life. There are many touches in it that remind us of Carleton.

Mr. Henry Arthur Jones evidently likes to see himself in print. He has already given us *The Tempter* in book form. Now we have *The Rogue's Comedy*.<sup>6</sup> The play has really no merit, if we regard it as literature. Everything in it is obvious and made to order. The characters are not worth a thought. That such plays are looked on as popular successes shows the low level to which the British drama has sunk nowadays.

<sup>1</sup> *The Shadowless Man*. By Adelbert Chamisso. With Illustrations by Philip Burne-Jones and an Introduction by Joseph Jacobs. London: George Allen.

<sup>2</sup> *The Stigma*. By G. Beresford Fitzgerald. London: Digby Long & Co.

<sup>3</sup> *Ueber Aufgaben und Stellung unserer Universitäten seit der Neugründung des deutschen Reiches*. Von Wilhelm Waldeyer. Berlin: Verlag von August Hirschwald.

<sup>4</sup> *The London University Guide and University Correspondence College Calendar, 1898-99*. London: University College Press.

<sup>5</sup> *Irish Holidays; or, Studies Out of School*. By Robert Thynne. London: John Long.

<sup>6</sup> *The Rogue's Comedy*. By Henry Arthur Jones. London: Macmillan & Co.

## POETRY.

*The Demon of the Wind, and Other Poems*, by G. Hunt Jackson, has not one line worth remembering. It is essentially commonplace, even when dealing with inspiring subjects. How trite is the opening line in the poem—can we call it a poem?—on Gordon :

“He loved his country and his God”! . .

*The Epic of Humanity*<sup>1</sup> is an ambitious poem actually covering 600 pages of print. The author, whose name is not given, originally intended to call his work *Law, Love, and Life*, but was dissuaded from doing so by the editor, who appears in the character of “An Apologist.” While we cannot approve of the length of the poem, we find in it much excellent philosophy and no small share of the “divine afflatus.” There is a superabundance of classical allusions, but we recognise in the author a man of learning as well as a poet.

## ART.

HALF a century ago a young architect, who was in full sympathy with the newest school of art as it was then, designed a piece of office furniture as an illustration of the theory he was urging before the Architectural Association of London—“namely, that in the unity and fellowship of the several arts lies their power.” William Morris, Edward Burne-Jones, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Ford Madox-Brown, Valentine Prinsep, and others gave their assistance. The present account<sup>2</sup> contains careful plates of the panels painted and decorative work wrought by them to prove the possibilities of such an union of the arts. The result is interesting, undoubtedly, though its originator confesses that, so far, it remains unique. A short history of “good King René,” whose supposed “honeymoon” forms the subject of the different art-works decorating the cabinet, is given. He was the father of Margaret of Anjou, the hapless Queen of our own Henry VI.

<sup>1</sup> *The Epic of Humanity; or, the Quest of the Ideal*. Edited by “An Apologist.” London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.

<sup>2</sup> *King René's Honeymoon Cabinet*. By John P. Seddon. London: B. T. Batsford. 1898.





THE  
WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

VOL. CLI. No. 3.—MARCH 1899.

LIBERALS AND CROSS-CURRENTS.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT having flown off to the Riviera, after placing a charge of dynamite under the Established Church, Liberals were at liberty early last month to make up their minds as to his successor in the parliamentary leadership of the party. The parliamentary leadership, be it observed, as distinct from the popular leadership. There is a difference between the two things, though, owing to the fact that Mr. Gladstone filled both offices so completely, there has been a disposition to confuse them. Mr. Gladstone himself, between 1875 and 1880, still continued to be the popular leader of the party, even while Lord Hartington (as he then was) figured as the parliamentary leader, and it was by virtue of his recognised position as popular leader that Mr. Gladstone succeeded to the Premiership after the elections that proved fatal to the Beaconsfield Administration. The position to-day is not exactly the same as it was when, in 1875, Lord Hartington was elected parliamentary leader of the party. Then there was always the overshadowing personality of Mr. Gladstone in the background, a personality believed to be ready, and proving itself to be ready, to emerge at any moment from retirement for the purpose of leading the Liberal hosts. To-day there is no such personality in the background. There is no one towards whom the aspirations of the Liberal masses turn as to their natural champion. Lord Rosebery may enjoy the admiration of some of his former colleagues; he may be able occasionally to inflame the national enthusiasm of an assembly of Scots; but the masses know little of him, and have no disposition to learn more. Even Sir William Harcourt, notwithstanding his ability as a parliamentary leader, has never occupied a sure place in the imagination and affections of the average demo-

VOL. 151.—No. 3.

R<sup>t</sup>



cratic voter. The same may be said of Mr. John Morley, and in even a stronger sense of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, who now, like the "mighty millionaire" in the *Shop Girl*, occupies the post of parliamentary Liberal leader "with dignity, but no ill-bred bravado."

There can be no question that, for a man who was having greatness thrust upon him, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman behaved, at the Reform Club meeting, in the nicest way possible. He had a little compliment ready for the mover of every resolution or amendment, and a jest in lavender for the Ministry. To use the phrase which so annoyed and troubled Mr. Parnell, the Opposition is to be conducted on lines essentially gentlemanly. It is not to be violent, or vindictive, or reckless, "as have been many of the Oppositions by which the Liberal party when in power has been confronted." There is in such a declaration as this a spirit of the infant piety expressed in one of the best known of Dr. Watts's hymns. In that hymn the fact of its being Sunday is adduced as a reason why its reciters

"Must not play,  
Nor run about, nor make a noise,  
Like the naughty girls and boys."

No; the Opposition over which Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman is to preside is not to behave like the naughty girls and boys of the Tory party. It is to be righteous in all its ways and holy in all its works. It is to employ no bad language. It is always to use the expression "if you please"—an expression which, as every one knows, "a particularly gentlemanly tone implants." It is, of course, to be "alert, steady, and active," without any regard to the contradiction of terms which lurks in the association of these three adjectives. As for newspapers that hint at difficulties arising from differences of opinion, they may be disregarded, for of course such difficulties do not exist. There are no differences save such as must exist in a body of men who "are habituated to think and act for themselves, instead of thinking and acting to order." And so, amid a glow of tender and gentlemanly optimism, the eventful meeting came to a close, without a hint having been given of the existence of a single positive principle to fight for.

It may be a subject of speculation as to how many of the 140 and odd members of the House of Commons who were present at that meeting awoke the next morning free from the suspicion that they had made themselves and the Liberal party ridiculous. Let us look at the position. At the General Election of 1895—three and a half years ago—the Liberal party found itself left in a dire minority. That minority was not so much the result of Tory and Unionist successes as of Liberal abstentions. If the Liberal units had shown the same enthusiasm as they had shown in 1892, there

would have been a Liberal majority in the House of Commons. Why was there not a display of such enthusiasm? The answer to the question is very simple. Enthusiasm disappeared because, under the influence of those who had assumed the direction and control of Liberal policy, the Liberal programme had been whittled away till there was, apparently, nothing left worth fighting for. With a peer as Premier, the Liberal party, in the eyes of hundreds of thousands of Liberal voters, had repudiated the representative principles by which it professed to live. More than that, it had lost hold of that policy of domestic reform which in previous times had made it popular. More than that again, it had adopted principles of foreign policy which were strange to Liberal traditions. It was not to support a Liberalism of this kind that Liberal voters were going to fight. The result was that the elections went in favour of the Tories in a great degree by default, the Tories receiving a majority larger, probably, than they themselves had ever dreamed of. In the course of some two and a half years more, another General Election becomes due. It is hoped rather than expected that, at this next General Election, the Liberal party will redeem the defeat which it suffered in 1895. It is hoped, rather than expected, that there will be a marked revival of Liberal enthusiasm, resulting in the return of a Liberal majority. Such a thing would not be, under certain conditions, altogether impossible. There is good reason to believe that the masses are still true to the democratic principles which secured the notable victory of 1880. If they could be roused upon some two or three points, or even upon only one cardinal point, of the democratic programme, they might repeat, in perhaps a less marked degree, their performance of 1880. If there were an undoubted popular leader of the Liberal masses, it would become his business, during the space that will probably intervene before the next General Election, to work up democratic enthusiasm and concentrate it upon one or two salient points. There is, for example, that constant interference by the House of Lords with democratic legislation which practically neutralises all democratic endeavours. That is a point in respect of which a talented and enthusiastic popular leader might be able to score a victory for the Liberal cause. But where is the chance of such a work being taken in hand? Where is the leader to organise and animate the campaign? He does not, so far, exist, and it seems only too likely that if he endeavoured to exist he would incur the censure of the parliamentary leader of the Liberal party for advocating a "violent" and "reckless" policy. How are the elegant and good-natured platitudes of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman going to stir Liberal enthusiasm for service at the next General Election? The fact that his manners—and it is much more an affair of manners than anything else—are approved by Liberal journals in London

says nothing, or even less than nothing, for Liberal journals in London are by no means noted for their thoroughness. That his leadership is by no means satisfactory to provincial Liberals was indicated clearly enough at the Reform Club meeting. In fact, the whole circumstances seem to suggest the suspicion that Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman has succeeded to the post of parliamentary leader of the Liberal party in the House of Commons chiefly because, being both a Scotchman and a newly-fledged landed proprietor, he is not likely to prove obnoxious to Lord Rosebery.

However this may be, one thing is certain—viz., that the next general elections are not going to be won by any tactics of this sort. It is not politeness but vigour that leads to success in the world of politics. If you can by any means be vigorous and at the same time polite, your politeness may perhaps not do any harm. But vigour you must have at all costs, and vigour does not always take the trouble to select rose-water methods or rose-water language. Its want of politeness was very well illustrated when the President of the National Liberal Federation publicly referred to Tory foreign policy as “a filthy rag.” This was not polite certainly, but it was expressive, and, being expressive, it had its effect. It served to emphasise the difference that exists between the views of the masses with regard to foreign policy and the views of those who claim, far too often without justification, to represent the masses. And, after all, it is this “filthy rag” of Tory foreign policy which official Liberals, including Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, have made their own by their adoption of the blessed doctrine of continuity. What does continuity mean? Its meaning may be not inaptly illustrated by a story told of a shrewd old Englishman who, some twenty years ago, was unfortunate enough to possess a farm on the border between Zululand and the Transvaal. During the operations of the Zulu War a body of British troops located itself on the farm, and pulled down all the buildings for the purpose of constructing defences. For this the owner of the farm claimed compensation, only to find that the Tory Chancellor of the Exchequer refused to admit his claim. When a Liberal Ministry got into office he had another try, with no better success. “At last,” he said in despair, “I have discovered the difference between Tories and Liberals. The Tories steal your property, and the Liberals refuse to pay you for it.” That will be exactly the result of the adoption of Lord Rosebery’s blessed doctrine of continuity in foreign politics. There is no restraint placed upon Tory adventure; all that is provided for is the acceptance by Liberals of whatever a Tory Ministry has done, no matter completely it may be at variance with Liberal principles. That is to say that, in the worship of the blessed word “continuity,” all popular check upon foreign policy is absolutely abandoned at the very moment that the necessity for the establishment of such a check

is being more and more emphasised. Such an abandonment is simply giving *carte blanche* to Tory adventure. "No matter," Liberals declare in the light of this new-fangled principle, "no matter what bills a Tory Government may draw upon national credit, national resources, national reputation, we, the Liberal party, will take them up whenever they are presented to us." Could deeper hypocrisy be imagined? Could any policy be set on foot more utterly at variance with all the principles in the following of which Liberalism has acquired a great and worthy name?

That this new policy of continuity is strangling Liberalism in the House of Commons can easily be gathered from the tone of the debate on the Address, and more especially from the tone of the speech delivered by the new parliamentary leader of the Opposition. Most of the Liberal journals the next day warmly praised Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman for having drawn certain admissions from Mr. Balfour, and dwelt with satisfaction on Mr. Balfour's apparent depression. Why, the whole discussion, so far as the leaders of the two parties were concerned, was a ridiculous farce, a comic fight with wooden swords for the amusement of an uncritical gallery. All these apparent shades of difference in respect of foreign policy mean absolutely nothing. Whatever blunders a Tory Ministry may commit, in whatever unjustifiable adventures it may become engaged, Liberals, according to the official view now prevailing, are bound to adopt those blunders and to carry forward those adventures. All that the apparent differences of opinion mean is this—that every now and then, for the sake of keeping up appearances and humbugging the electorate, one little band of office-seekers who call themselves Tories will be replaced by another little band of office-seekers who call themselves Liberals. It is merely a migration of certain professional politicians from the blue bed to the brown—from the right hand of the Speaker to the left. And meantime all the great popular causes, all the pressing national needs, all the political and social reforms that cry day and night round our doors—all these may wait out in the cold, untouched and unsatisfied.

It is because of the apparent determination to prolong this mockery of popular government, to plant upon the country a sham system of representation, under which the needs of the many will be made use of as counters in a game which, whatever its result, can only benefit the few—it is because of this that what have been somewhat slightly alluded to as "Liberal cross-currents" have a high interest and value. These cross-currents, what are they? They represent the real and honest convictions of the hundreds of thousands of democratic units, and they are spoken of as "cross-currents" because they come in to disturb the peace of those official Liberals whose dearest wish it is to enjoy the reputation of being Liberals without rendering themselves obnoxious to high social influences.

Mr. Gladstone, strong in his sense of right and justice, true to the great principles of popular representation, was utterly careless as to the goodwill of those high social influences, and suffered—not that it ever hurt him—in consequence. It needs, however, a strong man to stand up against these influences, and the average official Liberal is anything but strong. Indeed, the very fact of his being a Liberal tends to render him all the more sensitive to social pressure, for, as a Liberal, he has a certain amount of prejudice to overcome to start with. Those who are altogether free from the temptation to bow before high social influences are better qualified to arrive at sound and honest political convictions. That those convictions will not always exactly coincide with each other is only to be expected. People who are in the habit of thinking for themselves are, as Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman has very truly said, less likely to agree absolutely than those who think to order. At the same time it has to be borne in mind that, in the absence of a popular leader, in the absence of any commanding personality to indicate the due relationship to each other of spontaneous convictions, those convictions are likely to be more numerous and more varied. In other words, the development of cross-currents is the direct result of the absence of an undoubted popular leader, and it is this very same absence of an undoubted popular leader that is accountable for the weakness of parliamentary leaders. Instead, therefore, of an uninspired parliamentary leader having logical reason to complain of “cross-currents,” it should be his wisdom to recognise the fact that these “cross-currents” are only the natural result of the circumstances that have placed him in the position of parliamentary leader. To neglect and deprecate the bubbling up of these “cross-currents” may for a year or two add to his comfort as parliamentary leader. When, however, the moment for a General Election arrives, he will not only find that he has divested himself of all popular influence, but that his inability to give the party a clear and popular lead has, by multiplying its divisions in respect of points of detail, seriously diminished its chance of scoring a majority at the polls.

On the whole, therefore, and arguing from a wide Liberal point of view, it has to be feared that what has happened to the Liberal party in the election of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman as parliamentary leader in the House of Commons, is not, and cannot be, for its general well-being. That it will for the moment tend to the dignity and order of the House of Commons is quite possible, and such a result is doubtless calculated to give satisfaction to a political leader who has gone out of his way to style himself a “son of the Commons.” In so styling himself, however, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman has only revealed, no doubt unconsciously to himself, his utter unfitness to become the popular leader of a great national party. The House of Commons is no doubt a great and

dignified institution. Far greater, however, than the House of Commons is the nation which it represents; far greater than the man who sits at Westminster is the constituency that sent him there; and far greater than a parliamentary leader's ideas of official policy are the convictions of the electoral masses. It is the absence of any kind of realisation of these facts on the part of the official Liberals of the day that emphasises more than anything else their unfitness for the part of Liberal leaders. They are incapable of learning anything from the masses on the one hand; they are incapable of teaching the masses anything on the other. And hence, when the next General Election comes, they will have to be content either to see themselves condemned to a prolonged sojourn in the cold shade of Opposition, or to see the leadership taken from their hands by men who possess the power of gaining popular confidence.

## ADVERTISING DISFIGUREMENT.

A MEMORIAL signed by more than 300 London architects has lately been presented to the County Council, praying that honourable body to consider seriously the grievances of many citizens with respect to advertising disfigurement.

It is not suggested that the County Council can at present grant the desired relief. It is simply urged to promote legislation with a view to obtaining the necessary powers.

It would be disrespectful to anticipate the result of the application. But the auguries are favourable. During the last session the Council made inquiries of the Vestries as to the expediency of prohibiting the peculiar variety of advertising device known as Blazing Signs, and the replies received disclosed a preponderant, if not an unanimous, conviction that the things were intolerable nuisances.

Again, we owe to the Council the abolition of sky-signs—a type which, but for this opportune doom, would by this time have been rampant everywhere. I acknowledge most willingly that when the County Council decided to get them penalised by Act of Parliament they found “danger to life and limb” a useful, because a familiar, ground of objection. But the impelling motive was an instinctive feeling that the gigantic frameworks were too hideous to be endured. These are but illustrations of the temper of Spring Gardens on the subject. By a happy accident some partial and indirect means are at the disposal both of the City Corporation and the County Council of checking certain forms of street puffery, and both these bodies have made a most stringent use of these rudimentary provisions.

In the same way many provincial municipalities have often strained their authority in their earnest wish to do something to mitigate the evil.

The Bill prepared by the National Society for Checking the Abuses of Public Advertising has been re-drafted with a view to including urban as well as rural areas. Its predecessor was introduced by Mr. Boulnois and backed by Sir Edward Clarke, Sir H. Roscoe, Mr. Ald Forster, Mr. Caine, Mr. Benson, Mr. Darling, Mr. G. Wyndham, and the Hon. Vicary Gibbs.

It must not be imagined that the failure to obtain legislative relief has been due to any want of sympathy at St. Stephen's. Our

proposals have never had a hearing in the House of Commons simply because, in recent sessions, claims of Government business have left scarcely any opening for private members' projects. Yet, so far as we have been able to test the temper of the Legislature, the indications are encouraging. Thus, when the Irish Local Government Bill was before the Peers last year, Lord de Vesci moved the following clause:

"A district or urban council shall have the power of making bylaws for the purpose of removing or preventing the erection of manifestly disfiguring open-air advertisements within their several jurisdictions: Provided always that if an objection is raised to any decision under such bylaws there shall be an appeal to the Local Government Board."

No one opposed. The Duke of Abercorn, the Earl of Mayo, and Lord Clonbrock spoke strongly in favour of the clause, and Lord Ashbourne, in stating that the Government could not accept it, explained that the ground of objection was only that the Bill was already overweighted with matter, that time pressed, and that it would be expedient to deal with the subject in a separate measure.

It would be ungracious to construe this as a binding pledge of Ministerial support this year, but we are entitled to lay stress on the fact that the Irish Lord Chancellor was speaking as a member of the Cabinet.

This is by no means the only occurrence that justifies us in approaching the future with confidence. For the first time in English history a party has been formed within the House of Commons for the express purpose of defending what, for want of a happier term, I must be content to call the "Picturesque Amenities."

Here is a copy of the resolutions passed at a conference of Peers and members of the House of Commons, which was held in one of the Committee-rooms on June 23, 1898:

"I. It is desirable to make some permanent arrangement for concerted action between members of Parliament in both Houses on questions relating to—

"(a) The protection of rural scenes and landscapes and town prospects from such disfigurement or impairment as is not justified by considerations of public utility;

"(b) The provision and maintenance of commons, open spaces, public parks, and gardens;

"(c) The preservation of buildings and places which are of peculiar interest by age, beauty, or association, whether historical or literary;•

"(d) The conservation of wild animals and plants;

"and generally for asserting the importance on broad grounds of public policy, of maintaining beauty, simplicity, dignity, and interest in the aspect of out-of-doors Britain; and that we accordingly express our readiness to co-operate for this purpose, subject always to the exercise of individual judgment on the merits of the particular cases as they arise.

"II. That Lord Balcarras, Messrs. Bryce, Boulnois, Bond, and J. M. Paulton be requested to undertake the duty of circulating information, and, when deemed expedient, of inviting conference and common action,



when it appears that steps may usefully be taken in the House of Lords or House of Commons respectively.

§ III. With a view to obtaining the co-operation of the various agencies now in existence for the promotion of the ends indicated, it is suggested that the Secretaries shall place themselves in communication with the respective representatives of the following Societies :

The Society of Antiquaries,<sup>1</sup>  
 The Commons Preservation Society,  
 The Metropolitan Public Gardens Association,  
 The Kyrle Society,  
 The National Trust,  
 The Selborne Society,  
 The Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings,  
 The Society for Checking the Abuses of Public Advertising,  
 The Wild Birds Protection Society.

#### Explanatory note by the Chairman :

"It was understood that the several Societies named, though they might find it convenient to correspond with the members of Parliament named in Resolution II., or with others interested, through a single channel, or to consider the expediency of concert with regard to any matter they feel to be of common interest, should retain unimpaired their entire liberty of separate action.

"The members or ex-members of the Legislature present were : the Duke of Westminster, Mr. Shaw Lefevre, the Earl of Stamford, Sir J. Brunner, Lord Balcarras, Sir Charles Dilke, the Hon. Horace Plunkett ; Messrs. James Bryce, W. E. H. Lecky, Lees Knowles, Sydney Buxton, Brodie Hoare, E. Boulnois, Arnold Forster, E. Bond, and H. C. F. Luttrell ; but many others it is quite certain will be willing to co-operate."

Even before this significant gathering there had been gratifying evidence of the willingness of Parliament to assist. Several schemes by which companies or bodies of promoters sought powers to change the character of defined districts had been rejected by large majorities. Into the merits of the opposition in each case I have no desire to enter here : the point for emphasis is that the projects were defeated because, in the judgment of the House of Commons, they were open to objection on what are commonly called "sentimental" or "æsthetic" grounds. This represents advance. Now that we show to advantage in the Division Lobby we are beginning to be thought men of the world. By-and-by those who dismissed us as faddists, *dilettanti*, and so forth, will be glad to persuade themselves, as hard-headed practical persons, that they agreed with us from the very first. For myself, I am less disposed to rejoice at the signs of awakening than to lay to heart the lesson which they teach. The House of Commons, we find, responds readily to a strong stimulus from without. But in each instance it will, I think, be found that much effort out of doors was needed to make the particular question a burning one.

<sup>1</sup> The Society of Antiquaries, while expressing approval of the plan of concerted action, has not felt that it came within its sphere to be one of the constituent societies.

To effect <sup>\*</sup>these great—but still partial and isolated—rescues an amount of private and voluntary exertion was required which cannot be indefinitely repeated. It is only when the damage threatened is gross, open, palpable, that effective local resistance is provoked—only when the blow is aimed in the very eyes of persons who are sensitive to the shock, and who have the spirit and patriotism to take trouble to frustrate the design. Much has been saved; but how much has been lost, and may yet be lost, simply because no one is on the spot with discernment enough to perceive the danger, and energy enough to avert it by organising timely protest! Dozens of Private Bills pass unnoticed through the House which offer either a chance of asserting some principle of public good or carry within them some serious impairment of public rights. Every one who is familiar with Private-Bill legislation is aware that when promoters find from experience that a certain provision will be inserted in Committee, they anticipate matters by adopting it as part of their own draft. To establish a systematic scrutiny of all projects of the class referred to would make the framers of schemes as timid on the score of “æsthetic and sentimental” opposition as they now are about conflict with interests that can be estimated in terms of money power. Railway directors have learned that it is not safe to apply for authority to construct a new branch through common lands. By-and-by “taste” may be regarded with respect as a factor in such legislation. I have ventured to apply the ambitious title of “**party**” to the members of the Legislature who have signified their benevolent interest by attending the conference. But the basis of accord is simply a willingness to keep in touch with each other, and to act (subject, of course, to their right of individual appreciation of each question as it arises) as if they were organised, however loosely, in some such form as the groups which already exist for the purposes of advancing—outside the regular party lines—some special cause. It would be humiliating if, when every large financial or sectional interest of a material kind has its eager advocates in Parliament, patriotic regard for the aspect of England proved too weak a bond to unite public men.

A Parliamentary party for defending the “visual amenities of out-of-door life” is essential, but it will be an effective force only so far as it represents and is sustained by the play of opinion and the work done elsewhere. In London there exist already a number of societies, which between them cover nearly the whole field.

The Commons Preservation Society, the Kyrle Society, the Metropolitan Public Gardens Association, the Selborne Society, the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings, the National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty, and the Cockburn Association in Edinburgh are, in my view, engaged in parts (not always distinct) of the same work. Some of them address them-

selves more directly to developing the taste for nature and the picturesque; some of them preserve or create places where the taste for beauty can be gratified. The humble aim of the Society for Checking the Abuses of Public Advertising<sup>1</sup> is to supplement these large and fruitful labours by an attempt to impose, by authoritative regulation and the use of social influence, some restraint on unnecessary disfigurement. Homely as its sphere may be, it is one, its supporters believe, that is the logical supplement of the scheme of the older and more important organisations. The latter, by the very nature of the case, have a happiness denied to Scapa; for they go on from year to year making positive additions to the number of spots where the quiet eye can find repose. We, on the other hand, have to wait, with what patience we may, until Parliament gives local bodies powers of regulation which will establish some reasonable compromise between the enterprise of those who compete for custom and the prevailing wishes of residents in a given locality.

In pursuit of its own special object, Scapa has sought from the first to do what little service it could to all the societies which were already working in the field, and which had in truth prepared the soil. If they had not been growing flowers, the members of Scapa would have had no inducement to keep down the weeds. Conversely, it has appeared, sometimes, that large efforts made by the old associations might incidentally have been utilised to help Scapa on its weary way. There have been in recent years frequent instances in which opposition has been organised to schemes which menaced scenery, or architecture, or historical remains with unjustifiable injury. Many of these succeeded; others failed. Yet in the cases where vandalism triumphed, a substantial reduction of the harm done might have been secured (without at all compromising or prejudicing the policy of absolute hostility to the plan as a whole) if advantage had been taken of the opportunity to subject the execution of the project—if it were to be executed—to rigid restrictions. A railway up a peaceful valley is bad; but surely a railway, the directors of which are under legal compulsion to abstain from any superfluous disfigurement—any display that is not essential to the working of the line—would be a smaller evil than one in which the ruthless advertiser was free to work his wicked will. Promoters are generally in a yielding mood on minor points when attacked on the main programme, and such restraints as are contemplated, if sanctioned in a few Private Bills, would soon become precedents for all Bills. Any recognition in this form of the right of the public to pleasant prospects would, in turn, give future opposition to disfiguring schemes much firmer ground.

But if we are really to arrest the process of creeping disfigurement which is changing from fair to foul the face of England, much

<sup>1</sup> Now beginning to be known, for shortness' sake, as "Scapa."

more is needed than central action. There are very few districts in which there is not a class of persons large enough and influential enough to make the better rule prevail, if only—I am conscious of the seriousness of the proviso—they care to assert themselves. I shall have further on to give reasons for the faith that is in me; here it must suffice to say that a network of local associations, each concerned to watch jealously over the amenities of its own neighbourhood, to help young and old to appreciate and to value all that is beautiful and interesting in their surroundings, would be the base of the reform pile of which the Parliamentary party would be the apex. Village improvement societies are a fairly familiar institution in the United States. Why should not the old country improve on the model and unite in one club all who sketch or care for pictures, who love natural history, the records and remains of bygone days, pleasant gardens, wooded roads, open spaces, and generally the comfort or delight of the eyes? If it took a benevolent interest in cricket and football, so much the better. In such a nursery the spirit of local patriotism would become robust.

So much for the machine. But what about the motive force and the prospect of outturn? I am well aware of the sceptical spirit in which these questions will be put by some who would like, if they could, to believe that a favourable answer is possible. My purpose is to attempt, in the driest light of analysis, to examine the conditions of the problem. Far from admitting that we who think great good will result are dupes of sentimental enthusiasm, I attribute the prevailing despondency to the sluggishness of what Mr. Goschen once called the “practical imagination.” The more clearly people can be brought to understand the way in which practices and usages and ideas grow and spread in a country such as ours, the less disposed will they be to repeat the heresy that there is no hope of throwing back the wave of disfigurement. My desire is to get to close quarters with the fundamental facts. And I may be forgiven if I illustrate my contention by reference to that particular branch of the question of defence with which it has been my lot to have some personal concern. I am under an obligation to show—

(1) That it is a national interest to impose restraint upon certain practices which are now subject to no restraint; and

(2) That there exists in public sentiment sufficient force to secure the imposition of such restraint, or (to vary the form of statement) I have to rest my case on grounds of utility as commonly conceived.

I suppose that if any one, whether wilfully or negligently, caused the destruction by fire of the warehouses in one of the commercial quarters of London he would be accounted a public enemy. The man in the street would have no hesitation about saying that there was a distinct sacrifice of national wealth. Nor would this judgment be

modified by the reflection that employment would be stimulated by the necessity of replacing what had been consumed. Even a Merchant or merchant would not care to extenuate the deed by maintaining that the sudden diminution of stocks held in the metropolis would enable him to sell his own commodities at a higher profit. Partly, no doubt, the man in the street is helped to his conclusion by the knowledge that the law treats the deliberate commission of such acts as a crime, and that no small part of the resources of the community are devoted to precautions against the accidental occurrence of conflagration. It is not a question of life merely: property, it is assumed, is worth preserving.

For my own part, I am for once in absolute agreement with the man in the street. A large part of the things burnt may have been finery that would only make the wearer less pleasing in my eye, or tobacco that might be smoked to excess, or sweetmeats that would end in headaches. Still, the hoard, if not in its entirety calculated to satisfy what, in my partial opinion, are wholesome tastes, was "wanted" by somebody, and was the product of human toil. Thus the economist who is a moralist also must drop the tributary tear upon the ashes.

"I have only been stating a truism"? Yes, I confess it. But it is a truism which has still to be fully grasped and rightly applied to practice. It is a settled principle of our public policy to encourage the production and secure the enjoyment of wealth (in the sense of pleasure-giving objects); but my complaint is that from this broad rule an arbitrary exception is allowed. Not long ago the lessee of a haunted house discovered to his sorrow that the law of landlord and tenant takes no cognisance of ghosts. My grievance is more mundane. Neither the statute book nor the unwritten rules of action which so powerfully affect the development of civilisation specifically acknowledge that the charm of landscape, the dignity of architecture, the freshness and interest of the out-of-door world, are an essential asset in the national wealth. There is an undesigned aptness in the saying that an Englishman's house is his castle. It is his only haven of refuge. Beyond its portals he is (as far as the comfort of his sight goes) an outlaw; his liberty is at the mercy of an indefinite number of others. Vision is almost the only sense which has been excluded from the scope of paternal legislation. Lest our nostrils should be offended, or our shoes unduly soiled, Parliament in its wisdom has made road-sweeping a compulsory charge. The ear has found friends at St. Stephen's; for there is a method by which, theoretically, bawling hawkers can be silenced and organ-grinders chased away. Our health is most carefully looked after. Between us and infectious disease stands an army of inspectors and a draconic sanitary code. It has even been thought due to the spirit of progress to do something for the atmosphere, for,

as Sir W. B. Richmond has been lately proving, there are penalties for the reckless production of smoke. Even the palate has been taken under the protection of the Legislature. Woe betide the grocer who sells us as coffee a compound into which chicory enters, or who, when asked for butter, tenders a preparation of animal fats! This session Mr. Long—as a Cabinet Minister—asks Parliament to penalise adulteration still more effectually. I am not concerned to inquire too nicely what the precise influences were which extorted from the Legislature these stringent rules for securing the purity of food. To promote health was not the object, for even British farmers acknowledge that margarine is wholesome, and beer, from some points of view, is not the worse for being watered. Nor was the object to make honesty compulsory; for it is not a specific offence to sell shoddy for cloth, or Birmingham ware as Japanese curios. As to the arrangements for mere convenience in locomotion, is there need of speech? The traveller who believes that the glory of modern civilisation culminates in being able to reach Edinburgh from London in eight hours (instead of the eight hours thirty minutes of the old bad days) should remember that he is whisked along not only by the Great Northern express but by Act of Parliament. I am not grumbling at these improvements; indeed, most of them I keenly appreciate. But still the old thought lingers, Why has the eye been forgotten? We are taxed and rated for all sorts of services that our ancestors would have despised as symptoms of effeminacy; but though we are compelled, whether we like it or not, to bear our heavy part in maintaining smooth well-drained streets, it is a pure matter of chance what those streets shall look like. Any one who fancies he can make an additional five pounds per annum by setting up a huge eyesore is free to destroy thereby the enjoyment which thousands of his fellows might every day obtain from the unspoilt prospect.

A good many reasons may be given for this arbitrary disallowance of "aspect" as an asset in the national wealth for which the State should be solicitous.

Scenery—I must use the word in the widest sense as covering everything that the eye finds to see in the open—belongs to no one in particular; and the tradition of our jurisprudence is to care almost exclusively for personal rights. Then scenery can hardly ever be sold or transferred from one ownership to another. Prevailing ideas of "value" are based on price.—But it is not worth while to go into these finer speculations, for one consideration explains everything. Not until the present generation did scenery and outlook need protection. There was no organised system of disfigurement, and therefore *laissez faire* was, on grounds of expediency, defensible policy. But it is one of the redeeming qualities of Englishmen that, slow as they are to divine a danger beforehand, and wedded as they

may be to fixed ideas, they do not in the end hesitate, when an evil becomes intolerable, to adopt the appropriate remedies.

Matters are rapidly approaching, if they have not already reached, provocation pitch. I must not reproduce here the unlovely record of the mischief done by the advertising craze in all its spectacular forms. *Si monumentum queris circumspice*. Compare an old print of Fleet Street and Ludgate Hill with the Fleet Street and Ludgate Hill of to-day. Consider what the outlook from the windows of a railway carriage is in this year of grace with the sight which refreshed the eyes of the travellers by the stage coach. Then ask yourself whether we were right in the Jubilee Year in talking without serious reserve of the progress achieved in the reign of our gracious Queen. I do not for a moment question the advance made in other directions. Among those who deplore the deterioration in this one great department of national life are many men who have made the discoveries in science, the inventors in the useful arts of which we are justly proud, who have by sagacity and by enterprise built up the fabric of our Empire and commerce. The deliberate contempt for dignity and propriety, the wanton destruction of what is pleasing in landscape, are not incidents in industrial development, but proofs of the absence of rational restraint. Great in creating by individual or corporate effort, we have failed in the no less urgent duty of preserving the unbought and unbuyable gifts of nature. Rightly relying on the *vis viva* of personal effort in pursuit of personal gain, we have missed the relative truth that competition, untempered by regulation, may play havoc with the best part of our common wealth. Observe that it is only as regards this single possession—comeliness and propriety of aspect in the national domain—that the oversight has occurred. To the instances of drastic regulation which I have cited already many additions may be made. The factory laws, the building Acts, the licensing system, the rules against betting and begging, will occur as leading types.

It is not necessary to dwell in any formal detail on the value of the right of which every citizen is deprived by the existing anarchy. In a noble passage of his latest book (*The Foundations of Belief*) Mr. Arthur Balfour eloquently asserts the place of Beauty in any well-ordered scheme of life. There exists in all classes of society a certain proportion of persons whose eyes are opened to the charms of landscape, and to those picturesque possibilities which the most unpretentious street in the dullest towns offer. Most of us may find inexhaustible pleasure in the chance groupings of wayfarers and all the small incidents of the daily round. We do not stipulate for any positive grandeur or grace, but a condition of pleasure in seeing any sight is the absence of what is jarring, incongruous, gaudy, vulgar, aggressive, irritating. There must be a neutral background to make the picture of common life agreeable. At present, if we follow the

lines upon which those who are not deliberately in search of restful sweetness are compelled day after day to toil, we find these opportunities of innocent and artless enjoyment becoming less frequent. Is not this a loss? Is it less a loss because most of those who suffer accept it as an ordinance of fate, and take it for granted that it has some necessary connection with the good of trade? The mere annoyance occasioned (to use the mildest phrase) must be pronounced in itself an evil. Many physicians of conscience and repute find in the incessant series of attacks upon the nerves (for the mind and temper are assailed through the eyes) a probable cause of physical disorder. Nor will the moralist fail to ask with concern what the effect must be on the future of the town child of the environment which the eagerness of business men to catch the eye creates for him. The instinct of patriotism, one would have thought, should enter into the controversy. How any man (with any pretensions to consistent intelligence) can talk complacently about the imperial greatness of Britain and yet contemplate without humiliation the face of his country, marred and blotted at will, is one of the mysteries of human thought.

But I need not labour the point. I have never talked to any one who, so far as feeling goes, was not converted already. Most people recognise the vexatious character of the modern tendency, and they admit that, in the absence of restraint, legal or moral, it must extend the sphere of its ravage indefinitely. There will always remain accessible spots where at least nature will be left unmolested; but in towns, and wherever the tide of holiday-makers sets strongly, eyesores will go on multiplying. Yet what, they urge, can be done?

"Your Parliamentary party, your associated societies, your local associations are of use only so far as there is public opinion to support them. And public opinion of the sort needed there is none, or next to none. A few sensitive souls murmur or cry aloud. They might as well expect the miracle of Ajalon repeated as hope to arrest this baleful march of disfigurement. Experience tells manufacturers and vendors that the more widely and painfully they impress themselves or their commodities on the memory of the public the more chance they have of increasing sales. They are within their legal rights in sticking up their names in mammoth letters and making night hideous with their flaming symbols. You can check the practice only by arousing some authority with legal powers of control. But that involves an Act of Parliament, and Parliament will never do that. The interests which live on advertising, or are promoted by it, are too strong. People in general don't mind these things. Many rather like them—finding them amusing, or exciting, or 'go-ahead.' True, some old gentlemen and young ladies, and at least one (forgive me) wrong-headed person of middle-age, are very much displeased. But they are *vox clamantis in deserto*. If the average person resented these attempts to catch custom they would not buy the articles peddled. But the articles are largely bought. Therefore public opinion is against interference.—*Q.E.D.*"

Such, I find, is the view often taken by the "man of the world." It has been my good fortune more than once to satisfy the man of



the world that, after all, the balance of good sense is on our side. The starting-point of the demonstration must be to insist that the preservation of that which pleases the eye or refreshes the mind is as much and as truly a contribution to the national wealth as the making of a pretty costume or the representation of a laughable farce. Both give pleasure. The only difference is that in the first case we have to relieve people of the unnecessary labour in spoiling; in the other we have to protect them in producing; and (I must repeat), even in regard to dressmaking and stage plays, regulation comes in. The *modiste* is punished if she allows the seamstress to work too many hours; the play has to pass the censor; the theatre requires a licence. Where is the anomaly in suggesting that there shall be some limit to the degree and mode in which owners of house-fronts and sites shall practise in the sight of people who are making a legal use of a public thoroughfare? We may take it, I think, that the members of the House of Commons will not be unapproachable on the ground of principle.

"But why should they care to consider the matter at all? Whatever is done at St. Stephen's is done under stress, or assumed stress, of some popular demand." I reply boldly that there is as much popular demand for authoritative treatment of the advertising disfigurement question as for nine out of ten of the reforms that have been consecrated in the statute book. Suppose we assume the following as a scientific analysis of the popular feeling on the matter:

Percentage of persons who (for any reason) would regret any diminution or check upon the increase of sky-signs, flaring advertisements, field-boards, metal plaques, colossal pictures in striking colours of stage brutalities, leering damsels, or men with cavernous open mouth . . . . .	5
Indifferent, with a leaning to toleration . . . . .	40
Indifferent, with a leaning to dislike . . . . .	40
Languidly opposed . . . . .	10
Strongly opposed . . . . .	5

It would be rash to vouch for the accuracy of the percentages, but I have not, I think, over-estimated the force of the reform element. My proposition is that, according to reason and precedent, there is a force which (if it can be induced to assert itself) will, in the long run, compel the Government of the day to introduce and to carry the necessary addition to the Local Government Acts. What percentage of the population, I should like to know, ever understood the principles of public hygiene which are now part and parcel of our administrative system? How many people were eager about technical education or free libraries? Yet we are all, by force of law, paying for both. And so the story may be told of most measures of change. A small number of enlightened or enthusiastic persons

think the matter out, make up their mind that something must be done; and it is done—less with the assent of the others than by virtue of the absence of any sustained opposition. The test is whether, in the long run, the policy will be generally approved—will be recognised as a source of common benefit. That this will be the sequel to legislation aiming at the discouragement of defacement and the widening of the sphere of popular enjoyment of natural beauty, it needs no great spirit of divination to foresee.

In dealing with my imaginary man of the world I have borne myself (for the sake of edification) with argumentative meekness. But I utterly reject and abhor the pernicious doctrine that the average Englishman does not care for beauty and does not mind ugliness. It is not his taste, but his theory of life, that is at fault.

If it were really true that the ordinary ratepayer or taxpayer does not understand or value architectural effect, what profligate waste of their money it is to build fine municipal buildings or Houses of Parliament! Barracks would do as well, and would be cheaper. Art schools and museums would, on the same assumption, be pure folly. Surely, if it is politic to cultivate taste, it is a consequential duty to save that taste from being affronted.

The complaint that every pretty place is spoilt by excursionists proves at least that prettiness attracts. Why are Christmas cards so daintily prepared if there is no preference for niceness? Or tell me whether the pantomime would draw crowds if there was indifference to form and colour in the transformation scene? There is a place of entertainment at Westminster which makes its *façade* a gigantic enlargement of a rag and bone shop. I noticed the other day that, in some handbills prepared for the sake of advertising the establishment, the artist has substituted a chaste design of his own device. The inference is, I suppose, that the manager was ashamed to let the public in general know what a sight he forced upon the passers-by.

Amongst working men, as among the members of other classes, there are varying degrees of sensibility. But probably as large a percentage of carpenters as of barristers find delicate delight in the nuances of a fine landscape. And it may be said without hesitation of Englishmen, that generally, even if they are not uncomfortably conscious of the wrong done by the defacers, they would get more pleasure out of their buildings and walks if the grosser blots were purged away.

At the root of the erroneous theory of popular taste is the idea that people consent to anything that they are powerless to prevent. Our working classes are happily a law-abiding people. But if the objects which assail the vision along frequented paths were once for all put outside the protection of the criminal code, few of them would survive the resentment of the passing traveller. A volunteer

company for the annihilation of these ruthless invaders could be formed at every rural place of pleasure resort. Wherever cyclists or cheap excursionists go, the enemy is on their track. But it is a refinement of injustice to charge the victim with responsibility for the crime. As well might it be said that individuals who get into a crowd are in favour of the pickpockets.

I may be asked why these vexatious forms of advertising pay. That they do pay in many instances must be acknowledged, though the only advantage reaped is often to neutralise the effect of the competing effort to impress the mind of the susceptible. That they sometimes bring disaster is shown by the bankruptcy of one of the leading Scotch whisky firms who took to this line. Space does not allow me to go fully into the morbid physiology of mechanical advertising. I must refer to the analytical table given above for a clue to the solution. There is a percentage, however small, of the purchasing public who are led by the mere iteration of puffs to believe that there is merit in the thing puffed, and it is worth the skill of the enterprising business man to spend money for the purpose of catching this stupid margin of custom. On a modest computation, the comfort of thousands of sensible men and women is impaired in order that two or three credulous individuals may be tempted to pin their faith on one nostrum rather than another. Shopkeepers are in this respect superstitious, and no doubt very often are disposed to keep in stock whatever they see "largely advertised."

But the tolerance which, I am bound to admit, the large neutral class extends to the practice of disfigurement demands fuller notice. I have appealed to Mr. Balfour's authority for a vindication of the claims of "Beauty" in the ordering of life, and from the same source I draw illuminating material concerning the mode in which public opinion forms itself. Few of us ever reach our practical conclusions as to what is right or wrong by any formal process of abstract thought. We take our standard of what ought to be from what we see is habitually done around us. Our tastes, our judgments, are often the result of unconscious inference from prevailing custom. Thus when the High Street at Oxford becomes (as it is destined in the necessary evolution of tendencies to become) a replica of Ludgate Circus, there will be dons and undergraduates ready to maintain that it is all in accordance with the law of urban life, for "one always expects to see this sort of thing where there are shops." Similarly, if we could dismantle the Strand of the excrescences which disguise the architectural and, in the best sense, picturesque character of the thoroughfare, and permanently free it from them, these same philosophers would assure us that this, too, is correct; for is not the Strand one of the great thoroughfares of the greatest city in the world? Use and wont is lord and master in the mundane sphere,

and hard is the lot, though assured is the reward, of those who face the odium and fatigue of convincing their fellows that use and wont is standing between society and a great addition to the public good. In most matters I believe this age to be immeasurably in advance of what may be called the romantic and artistic era. But we have still to understand and to correct our inferiority in this one vital element of real civilisation. England is in the condition of a rich and virtuous man who has a library of exquisite books, a picture gallery full of the old masters, trim stables for his horses, fine classrooms for the children of his labourers, but allows house and grounds to be at the mercy of casual despoilers.

I have delayed, perhaps too long, a disclaimer of any desire to see a rule enforced which is in the least inconsistent with deference to the requirements of industry or trade. As far as my own sensibilities go, I find a certain picturesqueness and poetry in the view of a great manufacturing town with its monumental chimneys, its sea of roofs, its eternal smoke of furnace fires. I am perpetually interested in the rush of a railway station, and I am a votary of shop windows. The test, I acknowledge, must be prevailing local opinion; no system of regulation can do any good which aims above the satisfaction of local desires. On the other hand, we must not be frightened by the prospect of opposition. If the practices which vex us had anything to do with the general productiveness of industry or the legitimate business of exchange, there would be reason for misgiving. I will not, however, insult the classes upon which the manufacturing and commercial greatness of England depend by comparing their fruitful activity with the advertising brawls of a comparative handful of specialists in eatables, drinkables, and drugs. Many of these would be only too grateful for an ordinance which would release them from a repulsive and exhausting form of competition.

A doubt which discourages some arises from the diversity of tastes, from the apparent helplessness of drawing the line between what is offensive and what is harmless. Those who are disturbed by this distress themselves superfluously. The only modification of existing law which we propose would be an addition to the power of such local bodies as corporations and district councils and county councils, whereby they would be enabled to frame bylaws for regulating signs and notices addressed to the eye of the public. Suppose they were content to adopt as the criterion the size of individual letters and the height from the ground at which they might be exhibited, can any one pretend that there would be any serious interference with the conduct of retail, or, for the matter of that, wholesale trade? The enforcement of the rule might be conditional on application made by persons locally aggrieved, the committee of the council having to decide, not so much on the æsthetic merits of the sign or notice in question, as on its appropriateness to the neighbourhood. As to

hoardings and posters, there would be (let us assume) a condition that no stations should be used without a licence. For railway stations and similar places the mere play of public opinion would be enough to induce the managers to introduce some sort of order and symmetry into the display without sacrificing a single penny of revenue, and, indeed, with every prospect of increasing it.

There is no greater delusion than the notion that representative bodies would be slow to use the powers I have sketched. An examination of the book of newspaper-cuttings kept by the Society for Checking Abuses of Public-Advertising would at once dispel this misconception. The only reason town councils do not act is that they are without legal power to grant redress, frequently having sought indirectly to give relief. Take some recent examples. At Rhyl a licence was refused to a theatre on the pier for the simple reason that the manager had used the outside for a soap advertisement. At Richmond local outcry was enough to prevent Glover's Island from being converted into an advertising station.

Watering-places, tourist tracts generally, pretty villages, and quiet suburban districts—these are the places where we should expect the process of deliverance to begin. Granted a legal basis for the start, Mr. Balfour's Law of Human Nature will do the rest. It will, in process of time, be as much the "fashion" to keep fields and streets free from eyesores as it is now to deface nature and the resorts of men.

RICHARDSON EVANS.

## FAMINE RELIEF IN SOUTH INDIA.

WHILE public attention has been attracted chiefly to the North-West Provinces, where famine first made its appearance, and to the Central Provinces, where through the carelessness of those in responsible charge it was attended by the most disastrous results, it is from South India we believe that the most valuable lessons in famine administration are to be learnt. In the Madras Presidency it has been found possible by thorough organisation and timely application of relief measures to meet and cope with a famine extending over an area of 16,000 square miles, and affecting a population of more than 3,000,000, by an expenditure not nearly equal to what is incurred in one of the most insignificant of our frontier wars. During the past year there has been a great deal of hardship and suffering among the poorer classes, and even among the well-to-do ryots, but there has been no actual starvation, and the death-rate has never risen very much above the normal even in those districts where the distress was most severe. Though the Government was undoubtedly favoured by fortune on at least two occasions, when a serious crisis was averted by a timely but unexpected rainfall, its success is really due to the care with which its Famine Code had been framed, and to the very great energy and ability displayed by the special famine officers appointed under this Code. The Code, which is based on experience obtained during the great famine of 1876-78, and the distress which prevailed in certain districts in 1891 and 1892, not only lays down general principles, but gives minute detailed directions for the organisation and administration of relief measures. In conducting a campaign against famine it must be laid down as a first principle that the object of State intervention is to save life, and to this end all other considerations must be subordinated. The success or failure of a system of relief at such a crisis cannot be subjected to a financial test; the bills of mortality will furnish the true criterion. On the other hand, the fact must not be lost sight of that the necessary funds have to be drawn from the public purse, and, while it is essential that there should be no such stint as would defeat the object in view, it is equally necessary to guard against a reckless expenditure, to recoup which would impose a heavy financial burden on the general taxpayer, and which by the exercise of proper precaution might be avoided. These principles, which are the basis

of the Code, have been on the whole faithfully followed in the details of administration, and as a result the Madras Government can congratulate itself on having made provision for all who were really in need, while excluding those who were able to obtain a livelihood without Government aid.

The famine, properly so called, lasted a little less than a year. The districts chiefly affected were Bellary, Kurnool, Anantapur, and Cuddapah in the Deccan, and Ganjam and Vizagapatam, which lie further to the north. In all these districts the harvest of 1895-96 was decidedly below the average, and consequently, when, in the autumn of 1896, the early crops proved a complete failure owing to the non-arrival of the south-west monsoon, very great anxiety was excited, and the north-east monsoon, which generally begins about the end of October, was eagerly looked for. As the days went on and there was no sign of rain, the main crops, on which the people depend for their food supply, began to wither, and the prospect became more and more gloomy. Before long there were signs of severe distress which threatened to become actual famine. The crops withered away, and the price of grain rose rapidly until it was almost thrice the normal rate. The poorer people, unable to obtain employment of any kind, went wandering in bands from village to village begging for food, and at times extorting by threats or violence what they could not gain by entreaty. Daily hundreds were to be seen crowding into the central towns to beg the Government officials to do something to save them from starvation. Housebreaking and highway robbery were alarmingly prevalent, and there was a universal sense of apprehension and insecurity. Strange, dark rumours of evil days to come began to circulate among all classes of society, and a panic seemed imminent. The Government did not at first realise the gravity of the situation, and at one time it seemed as if the halting, hesitating policy which has wrought so much mischief in the Central Provinces was likely to be followed. Fortunately, however, for the people, and for the Government, Mr. W. J. H. Le Fanu, the member of the Board of Revenue specially responsible for famine administration, was a man whose thorough knowledge of all classes of the rural population and intimate acquaintance with every branch of district work made him supremely fitted for the very difficult task of gauging the extent and severity of the distress that prevailed and making arrangements for its prompt relief. His reports soon made it apparent that some action was necessary, and orders were issued warning officers in charge of affected districts to be prepared for the organisation of relief measures.

When Mr. Le Fanu was appointed Special Famine Commissioner he entered on his duties with characteristic energy and zeal. He made a rapid tour through the greater part of the affected area,

examining the fields, visiting the houses of the people, questioning every one, official or non-official, who seemed likely to be able to give reliable information, and striving, in most cases with success, to inspire local officials with something of his own zeal and enthusiasm. Under his directions test works were opened in central places in order to see what proportion of the people were in immediate need of help. In the Madras Presidency such works can be organised much more easily than in some other parts of India, where all who wish to obtain employment are compelled to leave their homes and take up permanent residence in a relief camp. In Madras there is no restriction of this kind. Coolies employed on relief works can come and go as they please, provided they commence work at a certain hour in the morning and continue until dismissed in the evening. Children under seven who accompany their parents to the works are provided with food on the spot, but every one else receives a daily wage, which is greater or less in accordance with the price of grain in the local market. This wage is so small that only those who are in very great straits would be tempted to resort to the works. In ordinary times the Indian labourer will contend for a fair wage with the most obstinate persistency, and will cheerfully fast for a day or two rather than accept a pie less than the amount sanctioned by the custom of his district, so that readiness to work for a mere pittance, not more than a third of his ordinary wage, may be taken as an absolutely certain evidence of hopeless destitution.

As no work can be more rapidly organised or more easily managed than road repairs, this was resorted to in the first place. I have seen few sights more interesting or more pathetic than the opening of one of these road works. Early in the morning, while it is still dark, crowds of poor hungry-looking men and women and little children may be seen hurrying along the field paths from all the villages around in order to be present in time to earn the right to the first day's pay. One or two thatched huts have been erected near the quarries which are to be the scene of their labour, and several officials stand near these, taking down the names of the people as they arrive and marshalling them into gangs. A normal gang is supposed to contain a hundred workers, and is so arranged as to contain a certain proportion of men, women, and children. In calculating the work of a gang a man's task is considered equal to that of two women or four children. Children above twelve years of age are counted as adults; those under twelve receive from one-fourth to three-fourths of the adult wage. Women are paid from  $4\frac{1}{2}$  to 7 per cent. less than men. Special provision, however, is made for nursing-mothers. They are expected to take their place with the other women, but they receive slightly higher pay, and their wage must not on any pretext be reduced below a certain minimum. As soon as a gang is formed it is put under the charge of a head cooly,



who has to keep a nominal roll, mark the coolies present or absent, maintain discipline among them, and have general supervision of their work. There is a submaistry for every four gangs, whose duty it is to supervise the work of the head coolies, check the entries on their rolls, and see that their gangs perform the task allotted to them. An overseer, selected by the Public Works Department, has charge of the whole camp and is responsible for all that takes place in it, with the exception of the payment of wages. In order to lessen the danger of misappropriation this duty is entrusted to a paymaster, who is appointed by and responsible to the Revenue Department. As soon as a gang is duly organised its members are set to work at breaking stones or collecting and heaping gravel.

According to the Code, all persons on relief work should be classed as—

- (a) Professional labourers ;
- (b) Labourers not accustomed to work of the kind required ;
- (c) Able-bodied persons not accustomed to labour ; or .
- (d) Weakly persons.

The tasks allotted vary according to the status of each gang, and the pay given is proportionate, or nearly proportionate, to the tasks. Although most of the people who resorted to the works were labourers accustomed to rough outdoor work, very few were able to accomplish anything like the tasks required by the Code. Their failure was to a certain extent due to the wretched character of the tools supplied to them. Men might be seen attempting to break a huge piece of stone with a small toy-like hammer, with a handle eight or ten inches long, and about as thick as one's little finger, while some, unable to obtain a hammer of any kind, had to content themselves with a heavy stone. These difficulties were not taken into account at first, and in consequence the great majority of the workers were put on the minimum wage.

In spite of the unfavourable conditions, the people crowded to the works in numbers which proved the existence of very severe and extensive distress. Things kept going from bad to worse, and early in November the necessity of a very wide extension of relief operations became painfully apparent. Just at this stage, when every one had given up hope of rain, the north-east monsoon burst on the Madras coast, and for a time it seemed as though there might be a harvest after all. The ryots, who had pulled up the withered remains of their crops, hastened to procure seed to make fresh sowings, although most of them admitted that it was too late to hope for a crop. The result justified their forebodings, for the rain proved altogether insufficient, and by the end of December it was evident that the later crops must inevitably suffer the same fate as the earlier. By the beginning of the year the condition of the people was most pitiful. Government, under the impression that the

November showers had put an end to the famine, not only refused to extend its relief measures, but did its utmost to bring those already started to a close. The influence of one or two prominent officials, who, for some reason or other, have never been able to appreciate any other than financial considerations, and the apathy, and, it might be added, the incapacity of some of the officers in charge of the affected districts, favoured this retrograde policy. In some places relief works were so few and far between that only a small proportion of the people affected by the distress could possibly resort to them, whilst on almost all the works fines were so rigorously imposed that it was hardly possible for the people, already weakened by hardship, to continue at work on the miserable wage they received. Poor half-fed creatures had to rise at four o'clock in the morning, and hurry off in the dark, dragging their little children with them, a distance of five or six miles, or even seven miles, in order to be at work by half-past seven, when the roll is called. They had in most cases nothing to eat before beginning their work, and they had to work all day in the burning sun breaking stones or carrying gravel. The tasks assigned them were far beyond their strength, and when they failed to perform them their miserable pay, which at the best was not more than half of what is allowed for the support of prisoners in gaol, was so docked by fining that they did not receive enough to purchase sufficient grain for one good meal. The distress was greatly enhanced by the fact that no provision whatever was made for the relief of those whose age or infirmity prevented them from seeking employment on the test works. The wages given were, as has been said, insufficient for the needs of the actual workers, so nothing whatever remained for the support of those dependent on them. Those employed on the works soon began to show signs of failing strength. The late arrival at their homes at night, the early start in the morning, the long wearisome tramp to and from the works, the heavy toil of the day, and the miserably inadequate diet made them daily weaker and less fit for work. In many places the medical officers who inspected the works reported that 30 to 40 per cent. of the women showed signs of exhaustion and emaciation.

The Famine Commissioner saw the danger that threatened, and strove to avert it. He was most ably supported by Dr. King, the Sanitary Commissioner, who demonstrated most clearly that the scale of pay laid down for inferior classes of labourers was by no means sufficient to maintain the workers in health, and that to reduce this by fines or deductions meant slow starvation. The whole of the South Indian press threw the weight of its influence into the same scale, and in the end the cause of humanity triumphed. When, in the end of February, the Governor made a tour in the distressed districts, inspecting the relief works and making careful inquiries into the condition of the people, he saw enough to convince him that

a complete change of policy was necessary. Before his tour was over, he had given orders for the opening of a number of new works, and on his return to Madras he issued an order reducing the tasks, making an allowance for distance in the case of those who lived more than two miles from the works, and abolishing entirely the lower rates of wages. Some people who visited the Presidency at the close of the hot weather, after the early rains had made some improvement in the condition of the country, went away with the impression that the Madras Government had been over-lax in its requirements and unduly extravagant in its expenditure. It is most fortunate that such criticism came at the close instead of at the commencement of the hot weather. Had the Government refused to relax the severity of its earlier policy, there would undoubtedly have been an increase in the death-rate sufficient to convince even the most obstinate of the danger of a false and short-sighted economy. During the months of April and May the temperature is from 105° to 120° in the shade. In the open the air feels like the blast from a furnace, and the rocks and stones become so hot as to be almost unbearable to the touch. The people do little or no outdoor work during these months, and, as a rule, refrain from all exertion during the heat of the day. The people employed on the relief works bore the heat with wonderful patience, but they suffered from it acutely, and it was by no means easy for them to get through even the lighter tasks which the new rules imposed upon them. Happily they were treated with care and consideration, and given a wage which, though it left no margin, was certainly enough to procure a sufficient supply of food. Instead of deteriorating, they actually improved in condition, and by the end of June there was comparatively little of the weakness and emaciation so painfully apparent in the earlier months of the year. The worst sufferers were the babies. One saw many poor little creatures worn away to a mere skeleton through their mothers being unable to nurse them.

The order which lightened the tasks and raised the wages of those employed on relief works also gave directions for the organisation of village relief for the aged and infirm. In some districts these directions were promptly acted upon, but in Cuddapah and Anantapur it was some five or six weeks before the collectors took action. It would have gone hard with the people had not local committees, organised for the administration of the Mansion House Fund, stepped into the breach and undertaken the work which was being neglected by these officials. Members of these committees went from village to village, made careful inquiries into the condition of the people, and drew up lists of old and sickly persons who were without means of support. As the local secretaries received these lists they issued tickets and sent money to the villages to be distributed by the village officials in the form of small daily doles. This continued for

about a month, until the district authorities, obliged to take some action, began to open food kitchens, where destitute persons unable to work were provided with two fairly good meals daily, and to issue grain doles to those who were unable to resort to these kitchens. As a rule the village officials discharged their duties fairly and honestly, but there can be little doubt that in some places they habitually kept back part of the scanty allowance made to each person. In one case that came under my personal observation the *karnam*, or village accountant, a Brahman, who was in the habit of giving out this grain allowance only once in eight or ten days, rarely gave more than half the prescribed quantity. On one occasion he actually sent the people away empty handed, telling them that, as he was himself hard up, he had been compelled to use the grain provided for them.

Cattle suffered terribly during the hot months, as there was little or no straw to be had in the villages, and pasture was not to be found even on the hills. Many of the poorer ryots sold their bulls for a trifle, while others who strove to keep them alive by feeding them with coarse hill-grass or prickly pear leaves saw them slowly dying of starvation. Stray was imported at a later stage by the Madras Relief Committee, but as no free grants were made those who were really in greatest need were unable to avail themselves of it. Provision is made by the Agricultural Loans Act for the advancement of money on easy terms to ryots suffering from temporary embarrassment, but unfortunately nothing was done to carry out this provision until it was too late. In the earlier months of the year severe pressure was put on the ryots to compel them to pay the usual land-tax, and many were obliged to sell their scanty stock of grain or fodder, or even to part with their cattle, in order to meet the Government demands. The hardship was so great in many places that the Board of Revenue at last intervened and suspended collections for the time. It can hardly be credited, but in Cuddapah District collections were enforced for more than a month after the Board ordered their suspension, and yet the officer responsible for this piece of inhumanity escaped with a reprimand.

In the beginning of June there was dark cloudy weather, and every one looked for an early and abundant monsoon. In the south and west, where there was no famine, there was a fair rainfall, but in the affected districts a few showers fell and then the bright dry weather returned. In its anxiety to escape from a heavy financial burden the Madras Government, which was settled, as is customary, on the Nilgiri Hills, undoubtedly took far too optimistic a view of the situation, and resolved to make preparations for bringing relief operations to a speedy close. That the Governor and his advisers were sadly mistaken in supposing the distress at an end is proved by the fact that the number of those on relief rose steadily from the end of May to the end of July. During the week ending May 26

there were 353,519 people employed on Government works ~~for~~ receiving Government doles; for the week ending July 24 there were 880,686. There was no work whatever in the fields, grain was dearer than at any previous period, and yet Government, acting, it is said, under pressure from Calcutta, resolved to compel the people to abandon the relief works as quickly as possible, by increasing their tasks and reducing their pay and restoring the old rules which had already caused so much hardship and suffering. Fortunately the new orders did not come into force till the beginning of August, when the district officials began to put on pressure in order to reduce the numbers on the works under their charge. Their efforts were successful, for by systematic fining, which in some cases reduced the pay to about a farthing a day, the coolies were obliged to leave the works in ever-increasing numbers. There was a great deal of suffering, and there is little doubt that there would have been an appalling catastrophe, had it not been for an unexpected burst of the monsoon at a time when every one had given up hope of its appearance. The rain came in the end of August, and lasted right on through September, so that before long grass had sprung up for the cattle, and the ryots were able to put in their main crops. Prices relaxed somewhat, the feeling of hopelessness, so marked a feature of the famine period, disappeared, and it became possible for the poorer people to get a little work, or where there was no work to be had to borrow grain in small quantities from ryots who required their services in the coming harvest.

It was at this stage that the Mansion House Fund was most largely drawn upon. A large proportion of the ryots had been so crippled by losses during the famine as to be altogether unable to procure seed-grain to put in a crop. As soon as there appeared to be some prospect of rain arrangements were made to assist all who were in this position by giving them small money grants to purchase seed, and, where they had lost their cattle, to procure cattle for ploughing purposes. This work was entrusted to various local committees, the members of which went from village to village and made out lists of persons requiring such assistance. In most districts the Government officials co-operated most heartily, and as a result all, or nearly all, who were really in need received sufficient to enable them to put in their crops. In one district only, Caddapah, where the collector had been notoriously slack in the organisation of relief measures, there were very grave and numerous complaints as to the administration of the fund. The work of distribution had been entrusted to the local committees by the executive committee in Madras, but the Calcutta central committee set this arrangement aside, and threw the whole responsibility upon the revenue officials of the district. The collector entrusted the work of selection to his subordinates, and distributed the grants in

accordance with their recommendations. As a consequence some received much more than they needed for the purpose for which the grant was intended; while very many persons equally needy and equally deserving were entirely neglected. As the village officials were made responsible for the identification of applicants for grants they were able to secure from 25 to 30 per cent. of the money given in the shape of blackmail. Complaint was useless, as all petitions sent in were referred to the collector, who naturally upheld his own action, and reported that the complaints where genuine were baseless. Maladministration of this kind has happily been altogether exceptional, and even in places where it occurred it has not been able to undo the impression made by the generosity of the British public. The people are undoubtedly grateful for the help they have received from public and private sources, and speak most thankfully of the efforts that have been made to save them from famine. "It is a blessing," an old ryot remarked to me, "that we live under this Government. In the old Mogul times we should have fallen like leaves."

The success which has attended relief administration in South India has proved two things. First, it has shown that owing to the development of the railway system there is no longer any danger of the inhabitants of an affected district starving, as they did in the famine of 1876-77, for want of grain. Grain was freely imported from the very beginning of the distress, and at no time was the supply insufficient to meet the requirements of the population. The people suffered, not because there was no grain available, but because, being out of work, they could not afford to purchase what was offered in the market. Secondly, it has been clearly demonstrated that Government can, by providing employment and establishing a system of village relief, enable even the poorest and most helpless classes of society to obtain a subsistence during a period of famine. One most satisfactory feature of the recent famine administration is the almost entire absence of anything like defalcation or misappropriation in connection with the relief works. The pay given was small, much too small in many cases, but, except in a very few exceptional instances, it reached the coolies intact. In this respect also the recent famine presents a very marked contrast to the famine of 1876-77, when misappropriation was so prevalent that it was the rule, not the exception, for officials to save large sums of money by docking the wages of their coolies. Thorough organisation and careful oversight have made such scandals practically impossible. The Madras Famine Code has stood the test of experience, and has been proved, except as regards its scale of wages, a most admirable compendium of rules for famine administration. Maladministration, and such there undoubtedly has been in some places, is to be attributed to the incapacity or obstinacy of local

officials rather than to any defect in its provisions. Instead of selecting its ablest and most experienced men for the work, Government entrusted the local administration of its relief measures to those who at the time chanced to hold office in the distressed districts, without apparently considering in the least whether or not they were fit to undertake such a responsibility. In most cases this *laissez faire* policy answered well enough, but in one or two districts the results were eminently unsatisfactory, and very grave disaster might have occurred had it not been for the intervention of the Famine Commissioner. Unfortunately this officer, though supposed to be responsible for the whole famine work of the Presidency, was not empowered to deal with recalcitrant officials, and consequently could not get rid of men even when they were clearly unfit for their work. If in future a similar emergency arises it is to be hoped Government will make some attempt to place its district administration in the hands of its best and ablest men. A careful selection of officers is quite as important as prudent forethought in preparing the plan of a campaign.

W. HOWARD CAMPBELL.

## JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU.

### I. HIS LIFE.

JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU, the eighteenth-century apostle of freedom and civil equality, was born at Geneva, June 28, 1712, of a good old French Protestant stock. His ancestors were Huguenots who had taken refuge in Geneva nearly two centuries before. Rousseau inherited from his parents a most eccentric and highly emotional character. In later life this developed into a morbid sensibility which led him to fancy every man his enemy, drove him into unnatural seclusion, and, for a time at least, unhinged his mind. To parental influence and Genevan associations may also be traced his intense love of freedom and impatience of injustice and inequality. His mother died at his birth. "I cost my mother her life," he wrote, "and my birth was the first of my woes." His own young life was lovingly tended by an affectionate aunt, for whom, it is satisfactory to find, he always cherished very tender memories.

At the age of seven we find the youthful Rousseau and his still youthful father indulging a passion for reading romances. Whole nights were passed in this way, father and child reading to each other in turn. When the stock of fiction came to an end the lad fell back on more serious books from his grandfather's library, and became especially interested in *Plutarch's Lives*. Indeed, these fascinating biographies fired his youthful imagination as fiction could never do. He says of himself at this period :

"Incessantly occupied with Rome and Athens, conversing as it were with their illustrious heroes—born, the citizen of a republic, of a father whose ruling passion was the love of his country, I was fired with these examples ; could fancy myself a Greek or Roman ; and, transported by the recital of any notable instance of fortitude or intrepidity, animation flashed from my eyes and gave my voice additional strength and energy" (*Confessions*, Bk. I.).

One day at table, as he related the story of Scævola, his friends were alarmed to see him start from his seat and thrust forth his hand over a hot chafing-dish, "to represent more forcibly the action of that determined Roman."

"These interesting studies," he tells us, "seconded by the conversations they frequently occasioned with my father, produced that republican spirit

VOL. 51.—No. 3. T



and love of liberty which rendered me impatient of restraint or servitude, and became the torment of my life, as I continually found myself in situations incompatible with these sentiments."

Shortly after these Plutarchian dreams—that is, when Jean Jacques was ten years of age—two incidents occurred which serve to illustrate the determined independence so characteristic of both father and son. The father became involved in a quarrel with a citizen whom he believed to have unduly influenced the Great Council of Geneva against him; and, rather than submit to what he considered to be injustice, he resolved to break up his home and quit the republic. This he did, sending his son to school in a neighbouring village. One day, at school, the boy was falsely accused of breaking the teeth of a comb. He naturally resented the accusation, and the most terrible chastisement was unable to extract from him an untrue confession of guilt. The incident left on the child's mind an impression which was never effaced. It enormously strengthened his inherited hatred of violence and injustice. Commenting late in life upon this unpleasant experience, he says:

"My heart is inflamed at the sight or story of any wrongful action, just as much as if its effect fell on my own person. When I read of the cruelties of some ferocious tyrant, or the subtle atrocities of some villain of a priest, I would fain start on the instant to poniard such wretches, though I were to perish a hundred times for the deed" (*Confessions*, Bk. I.).

Another school-day incident reveals a milder side of the lad's character. During a fierce fight with a playfellow he received a blow on his bare head so well directed that, he tells us, "with a stronger arm it would have dashed my brains out." The agitation of the victor at the sight of what he had done moved the lad Rousseau even more than the misunderstanding which had brought about the fight. The two boys eagerly embraced each other, the one weeping tears of gratitude that his opponent was still alive, the other weeping tears of forgiveness "in a state of confused emotion which was not without a kind of sweetness." Then, as handkerchiefs were not enough to stop the flow of blood, the victim was dragged off to his playfellow's mother, who bathed and dressed the wound. "Her tears and those of her son," says he, "went to my very heart, so that I looked upon them for a long while as my mother and my brother."

The next few years of Rousseau's life had a most disastrous and unsettling effect upon his character. Left by his father without disciplinary training or the restraints of home, the poor lad drifted like a ship without a rudder. At the age of eleven he was condemned to the prosaic and to him repellent life of a clerk in a notary's office. This did not prove a success. He was next appren-

ticed to a brutal and violent engraver. This was worse still, and not unnaturally engendered habits of cunning, greed, and untruthfulness. At the age of sixteen he ran away from the brutality of his master to seek his own fortune. His acquired slyness of disposition then revealed itself. After several days of aimless wandering he found himself in Catholic Savoy, where a zealous priest, always on the look-out for young Protestants from Geneva, welcomed and tried to convert him. Under the solid argument of a good dinner Rousseau pretended to be converted. "I was too good a guest," says he with cynical humour, "to be a good theologian." The truth seems to be that he was a stranger in a strange land, and merely changed his religion as a means of getting food and shelter. After nine days' sojourn in a monastery at Turin, this hypocrite of sixteen pretended to be convinced of the heresy of Protestantism, and was publicly received into the bosom of the "true Church." In after life, when he was expressing his honest contempt for the flippancies of Parisian life and extolling the virtues of republican Geneva, he underwent the process of re-conversion to Protestantism.

It is needless to follow the lad through his wanderings in search of shelter and employment. About ten years of his life were spent in Savoy, sometimes with, and always under the influence of, a woman to whom he had been sent to complete his education in Catholic principles, but about whom, perhaps, the less said the better. The influence of Madame de Warens upon Rousseau was both good and bad. During his life with her his mind enjoyed some repose, and there grew within him that passionate love of nature which proved such a sustaining solace in after years. Under her influence he tried also to improve his education, and to some extent revived his early interest in literature, and commenced the study of philosophic problems. Of this period Mr. John Morley says:

"It was in many respects the truly formative portion of his life. He acquired during this time much of his knowledge of books, such as it was, and his principles of judging them. He saw much of the lives of the poor, and of the world's ways with them. Above all, his ideal was revolutionised, and the recent dreams of Plutarchian heroism, of grandeur, of palaces, princesses, and a glorious career full in the world's eye, were replaced by a new conception of blessedness of life, which never afterwards faded from his vision, and which has held a front place in the imagination of literary Europe ever since" (*Rousseau*, vol. i. p. 53).

Like many another writer of books, Rousseau drifted into literature. His attempts to earn a living were many and various. We have seen how he failed in the notary's office, and brought his apprenticeship to the engraver to an abrupt termination. A kinsman of Madame de Warens pronounced him too dull to aspire to any more ambitious post than that of a village priest. Accordingly, he was sent to the seminary at Annecy to learn Latin, but igno-

miniously failed. Perhaps his greatest success was as secretary to the French Ambassador at Venice. In this post, if we may believe his own account, he acquitted himself with credit and dignity, and seemed to have found a vocation suited to his tastes and abilities. Had it not been for the greed and imbecility of this ambassador, which provoked a furious quarrel, the world might never have seen the *Discourses* or the *Social Contract*, and Rousseau might have settled down to the routine of a diplomatic career. On the other hand, he tells us that the defects of the boasted Venetian Government first drew his mind to political speculation. At different periods of his early life he became engaged as a lackey; a clerk on a Government land survey; a tutor; a teacher of music; a writer of comic opera; a cashier in a Government office. None of these callings were quite congenial to him, and after counting well the cost, he threw up the last-named post, which would in time have become lucrative, and sought peace of mind by deliberately resolving that the simplicity of his private life should testify to the strength of his public principles. Henceforth he determined to earn his living by copying music, and this employment remained to the end his principal source of livelihood in an age when successful literary work brought but a scanty reward. This heroic consistency well merits the eulogistic comment of Mr. Morley:

"Anything that heightens the self-respect of the race is good for us to behold, and it is a permanent source of comfort to all who thirst after reality in teachers, whether their teaching happens to be our own or not, to find that the prophet of social equality was not a fine gentleman, nor the teacher of democracy a hanger-on to the silly skirts of fashion" (*Rousseau*, vol. i. p. 199).

His reformed manner of living was even extended to his dress. His sword was laid aside; he left off laced clothes and white stockings, and sold his watch, with the singular remark that he should never more want to know the time. His one weakness for fine linen remained unconquered until, on Christmas Eve, a thief came to the aid of his resolution and relieved him of forty-two shirts, the remains of his Venetian outfit, as they hung up to dry in a garret. From that time the reform was complete.

Rousseau's deliberate choice of poverty is all the more admirable that he was at this time living in Paris, and had just given to the world his famous *Discourse on the Influence of Learning and Art*, which proved such a remarkable success. It was, indeed, this very success—this "first revelation to him of his power"—which impelled Rousseau to renounce worldly ambition, to forego friendships and popular applause, and to set about proclaiming his message to mankind with redoubled zeal and sincerity. This crisis in his life occurred in 1750, when he was thirty-eight years of age. His principal writings were all completed within twelve years from that

date. The one notable exception is, of course, that product of his old age, the *Confessions*, perhaps the most eloquent and fascinating autobiography ever written.

Before glancing at Rousseau's writings, let us briefly follow his career through storm and sunshine to its gloomy close. The twelve years of literary activity were spent partly in Paris and partly at a rural retreat some miles away. We have already seen how his first literary success strengthened his convictions and focussed the purpose of his life. It was entirely consistent with this powerful appeal for simplicity of life that its author should conceive a violent dislike for Parisian society—a society at this time “full of intellectual stir, brilliance, frivolous originality, glittering wastefulness”—a society “dominated by women, from the King's mistress, who helped to ruin France, down to the financier's wife, who gave suppers to flashy men of letters.” Rousseau was delighted to seize, without compromising his independence, an opportunity placed in his way by one of his wealthy patronesses, to leave this “cavern of brigands,” as he called Paris, and take refuge in a cottage in the forest of Montmorency. The remonstrances and sarcasms of his friends, who could not understand this love of solitude, were powerless to shake his resolution. “Only the bad man is alone,” wrote Diderot—words which Rousseau never forgave. And, indeed, an unnatural solitude seems to have brought to the surface some of the worst traits in Rousseau's character. He became morbidly sensitive and suspicious, and shamelessly disloyal in friendship. Before the eighteen months which he spent at his hermitage had passed away, though the fault was not wholly his, he managed to quarrel with three of his most intimate friends. Leaving the hermitage for the village close by, he was fortunate enough to find new friends in the Duke and Duchess of Luxembourg. Here he lived in peace until the publication of *Emile* and the *Social Contract* roused the furious opposition of the Government. One night, as he lay reading his Bible in bed, as was his custom, he was suddenly roused by lights and noises, and informed that his books were ordered to be burnt by the public executioner and their author to be arrested. His exalted friends urged him to flee the country, which he did. Henceforth, Rousseau's real enemies were sufficiently numerous and powerful to render it unnecessary for him to indulge in the pastime of creating imaginary ones. He was ordered to quit the canton of Berne, in which he had taken refuge, within fifteen days. Even the Council of his beloved Geneva ordered his books to be publicly burnt, and issued a warrant for his arrest. This was the severest blow of all, for Rousseau, always proud of his citizenship, had, in the *Social Contract*, held up the free government of Geneva as a model. He took refuge in Neuchâtel, at that time under Prussian rule. “In a characteristic letter to Frederick the Great, this “foe of kings” wrote :

"I have said much ill of you, perhaps I shall still say more ; yet, driven from France, from Geneva, from the canton of Berne, I am come to seek shelter in your States. Perhaps I was wrong in not beginning there ; this is eulogy of which you are worthy. Sire, I have deserved no grace from you, and I seek none, but I thought it my duty to inform your Majesty that I am in your power, and that I am so of set design. Your Majesty will dispose of me as shall seem good to you."

Frederick, we may be sure, was not partial to Rousseau's theories of government ; but for reasons of his own he at once granted him protection, and ordered the governor of the principality to see that he was properly cared for. Rousseau, however, with true dignity, refused all Frederick's gifts, knowing that the King was at this time in great financial straits. The governor was a Scotchman named George Keith, who had taken part in the Jacobite rising of 1715, and on its failure had fled abroad. Keith conceived a warm liking for his eccentric charge, and Rousseau, under his friendly protection, led for some years a tolerably quiet life, only disturbed by the distant thunder of his enemies in Paris and Geneva. He found what solace he could in communion with nature, and took up the congenial study of botany. By degrees, however, Genevan influence and their own superstitions raised the religious bigotry of the populace to fever heat, and again our refugee had to flee for his life.

After various wanderings, and another expulsion from Swiss territory, Rousseau suddenly decided to come to England. One is not surprised to find that he was as little pleased with London as with Paris. He was, perhaps, lionised in the one capital as much as in the other. The young King, George III., was so pleased to give shelter to an exiled genius that he settled a pension on him, which, however, Rousseau could not be induced to accept beyond one year. In society, in literary circles, at the theatre, Rousseau was the object of much curiosity. All this was extremely distasteful to him, and after a few weeks he settled in a country house placed at his disposal in Derbyshire. It is somewhat singular that results followed this step similar to those we noticed on his retreat from Paris. As he had previously quarrelled with his Parisian friends, so now, during his twelve months' residence in Derbyshire, he managed to quarrel with his English friends, especially with Hume, who had rendered him great services, and naturally resented his ingratitude. Perhaps, however, the unhappy man is more to be pitied than blamed. He deeply felt his exclusion from France and Switzerland ; he was depressed by our English weather, which greatly interfered with his favourite pastime ; from his youth, moreover, he had been the victim of tormenting bodily pain. There is thus less cause for wonder that he gave way to unnatural and morbid broodings. While living on good terms with his Derbyshire neighbours, he believed himself to be the victim of all sorts of conspiracies. The end of it was tha

his delusions mastered him; he became, to some extent at least, mentally deranged, and fled from a country which his imagination had peopled with enemies plotting against his life. His English friends could not understand him, and no doubt judged him harshly. "What has become of Rousseau?" wrote Adam Smith in a sympathetic letter to Hume: "has he gone abroad because he cannot contrive to get himself sufficiently persecuted to remain in Great Britain?" (*Vide* Rae's *Life of Adam Smith*, p. 242).

There is little more to tell. For a time the elder Mirabeau gave him shelter. Then the Prince of Conti, one of his old acquaintances at Montmorency, found him a home. After a few months, he fled from this friendly shelter as he had fled from Derbyshire. Finally, he was permitted to settle down in Paris, where he lived for eight years a life of somewhat more composure, spending his mornings at his old occupation of copying music and his afternoons in botanising excursions outside the city. At length poverty and failing health drove him to accept a home some miles from Paris, where, after a few months, the end came suddenly in July 1778.

"By the serene moonrise of a summer night, his body was put under the ground on an island in the midst of a small lake, where poplars throw shadows over the still water, silently figuring the destiny of mortals. Here it remained for sixteen years. Then, amid the roar of cannon, the crash of trumpet and drum, and the wild acclamations of a populace gone mad in exultation, terror, fury, it was ordered that the poor dust should be transported to the national temple of great men" (Morley's *Rousseau*, vol. ii. pp. 327-8).

## II. HIS WRITINGS.

Rousseau's first literary effort was a prize essay. The Academy at Dijon in 1749 invited answers to the problem, "Has the restoration of the sciences contributed to purify or to corrupt manners?" It was while walking from Paris to Vincennes to visit his friend Diderot, then in prison for publishing his *Letter on the Blind*, that Rousseau saw the announcement by the Dijon Academy in a newspaper. Instantly, "as by a sudden inspiration," the solution presented itself to his mind.

"Crowds of vivid ideas," he tells us, "thronged into my mind with a force and confusion that threw me into unspeakable agitation; I felt my head whirling in a giddiness like that of intoxication. . . . Ah! if I could ever have written the quarter of what I then saw and felt . . . with what clearness should I have brought out all the contradictions of our social system; with what simplicity I should have demonstrated that man is good naturally, and that by institutions only is he made bad" (*Letter to Malesherbes*).

He wrote enough of what he then "saw and felt," and wrote it with such fervour and unalloyed sincerity as to carry off the prize and take Paris by storm. "It takes," wrote Diderot, "right above the

clouds ; never was such a success ! " It was, no doubt, the paradoxical nature of the argument, and the discovery that a new writer of the first rank had suddenly appeared in Paris, that made Rousseau's essay so popular. He himself afterwards referred to it as in some respects his weakest production ; for, as he explained, " the art of writing is not learnt all at once " (*Confessions*, Bk. VIII.).

The theory that learning and civilisation had brought evil rather than good to mankind was so utterly opposed to the prevailing teaching, and was, moreover, enforced with so much eloquence, that it at once attracted attention and set men thinking. Though the main argument was based upon untenable assumptions, and wholly one-sided, the essay contained some wholesome truths, and was an eloquent appeal for a simpler life. Rousseau declared that the refinements and artificial gloss of civilisation had taken away the more healthy naturalness of ruder ages, and had sapped the social and moral virtues. He appealed to history to show that intellectual and artistic progress had not saved States from ruin, but rather had contributed to their fall. He even condemned printing as a deadly art which perpetuates the evils of science and literature. In another work, following the same line of argument, he pleaded for

" a reasonable ignorance, which consists in limiting our curiosity to the extent of the faculties we have received ; a modest ignorance, born of a lively love for virtue ; a sweet and precious ignorance, the treasure of a pure soul at peace with itself . . . which feels no need of seeking a warmer and hollow happiness in the opinion of other people as to its enlightenment " (*Rép. au Roi de Pologne*).

Rousseau believed and taught that the well-being of mankind depends more upon virtue than knowledge, a truth which was then, as always, in some danger of being lost sight of. Paradoxes and exaggerations notwithstanding, it was surely a valuable lesson, now again in our own time so ably enforced by Mr. Kidd, that it is the self-denying moral and spiritual qualities of men which make for social happiness and progress, and not mere intellectual power.

Three years after this success Rousseau again entered the literary field, contributing an essay on another theme propounded by the same Academy : " What is the origin of inequality among men, and is it authorised by the natural law ? " On this occasion he did not gain the prize, but his essay was not less striking than the first, and proceeded on the same lines. It consisted primarily of a vigorous exposure of the evils of the existing state of civilised society. Rousseau seems to have taken for granted that in the natural primitive state inequality did not exist. The ideal state, he tells us, was at that period when every man could minister to his own necessities, and no work was undertaken that a single person could not perform. Then men were free and happy, and enjoyed the sweetness of independent intercourse.

"But from the moment that one man had need of the help of another, as soon as it was seen to be useful for one person to have provisions for two, then equality disappeared, property was introduced, labour became necessary, and the vast forests changed into smiling fields, which had to be watered by the sweat of men, and in which they ever saw bondage and misery springing up and growing ripe with the harvests."

Agriculture and the working of metals principally contributed to bring about this change for the worse by leading to the partition of land, and consequent right of property. Then came the cunningly-devised rules of justice and peace, by which all should be guaranteed their possessions; then, naturally, followed rulers to enforce the laws.

"This must have been," he says, "the origin of society and of the laws, which gave new chains to the weak and new strength to the rich, finally destroyed natural liberty, and, for the profit of a few ambitious men, fixed for ever the law of property and of inequality, converted a clever usurpation into an irrevocable right, and subjected the whole human race henceforward to labour, servitude, and misery."

In this way the law of nature gave place to civil law. Then there is that passage so often quoted :

"The first man, who, having enclosed a piece of land, thought of saying, 'This is mine,' and found people simple enough to believe him, was the true founder of civil society. How many crimes, wars, murders, miseries, and horrors would not have been spared the human race by one who, plucking up the stakes, or filling in the trench, should have called out to his fellows: 'Beware of listening to this impostor. You are undone if you forget that the earth belongs to no one, and that its fruits are for all.'"

Rousseau's theories of the comparative equality prevailing in primitive societies are, of course, highly speculative; but that they are not wholly unwarranted assumptions, so far as they go, we may with confidence believe from the references to savage peoples made by such observers as Professor Alfred Russel Wallace and the late Mr. Darwin. Rousseau, moreover, did not remain blind to the compensating advantages of civilisation. And, at least, it may be said that the exaggerations in his two *Discourses* were induced by a sympathetic contemplation of the condition of the mass of the French people, to whom in his day civilisation seemed a very doubtful blessing indeed. Some years after, in the *Social Contract*, he freely admitted the superiority of the civil to his assumed "natural" state.

Seven years elapsed between the publication of the second *Discourse* and the completion of Rousseau's next important work. The "rural delirium" to which he surrendered himself on leaving Paris for the hermitage in the forest prevented for a time all literary work: it ended in the austere Rousseau, who strongly condemned love in literature, himself writing a very fascinating romance, which proved immensely popular. The booksellers were unable to meet



the demand. The book was let out at twelve sous the volume, not to be kept beyond an hour.

"Stories were told of fine ladies dressed for the ball, who took the book up for half an hour until the time should come for starting; they read until midnight, and when informed that the carriage waited, answered not a word, and when reminded by-and-by that it was two o'clock, still read on, and then at four, having ordered the horses to be taken out of the carriage, disrobed, went to bed, and passed the remainder of the night in reading. In Germany the effect was just as astonishing. Kant only once in his life failed to take his afternoon walk, and this unexampled omission was due to the witchery of the *Nouvelle Héloïse*" (Morley's *Rousseau*, vol. ii. pp. 32-33, and *Confessions*).

The work takes the form of a long correspondence, principally between two lovers. It is now, perhaps, chiefly famous for several enchanting descriptions of Swiss scenery, though it also contains many of Rousseau's reflections upon the life of the period in which he lived. The influence of the book was probably good. Its general moral tone was undoubtedly far above much of the literature of the time. Especially is this true of the second half of the work, in which is depicted a simple, healthful, ideal family life—free from all luxury and ostentatious display, and untrammelled by any concern for mere vulgar opinion. This part of *Julie*, at least, is in harmony with Rousseau's more serious works, and serves to remind us that "moral considerations held a paramount place in all his thinking." It is interesting to note Rousseau's own views of romances in one of these letters, where he writes: "Romances are, perhaps, the last vehicle by which instruction can be administered to a corrupt people."

Rousseau rendered valuable service to the cause of music. In addition to writing a comic opera, which was successfully performed at Court, he contributed articles on music to the *Encyclopædia*; and compiled a *Musical Dictionary*. In criticism, the French music then in vogue received very severe treatment at his hands. He tells us somewhere, with how much truth is doubtful, that his essay on French music nearly cost him his life, and by diverting the attention of Paris from political questions, staved off for a time the inevitable Revolution. In this sphere also, Rousseau's striving after simplicity manifested itself in the invention of a new system of notation, which has been developed into the Chevê system, so popular on the Continent, and was probably the germ of our own useful and well-known Tonic Sol-fa method.

Rousseau's two most important works, however, are *Emile* and the *Social Contract*. His earlier work had been in the main destructive. But no man of his time recognised more clearly than he the need for something more than unrestrained, destructive criticism. Referring to some of the current philosophy, he had said: "I hate this

rage to destroy without building up." He had been, perhaps, more vehement than any one else in his attacks on the abuses of the civil State. Now he turned his mind with the same earnest enthusiasm to work of a constructive character. His purpose has been well described by Mr. Morley as a somewhat irregular "attempt to rehabilitate human nature in as much of the supposed freshness of primitive times as the hardened crust of civil institutions and social use might allow." *Julie* was his first effort in this direction. Though primarily a romance, it was a romance with a purpose. In *Emile* and the *Social Contract*, for which he suffered such bitter persecution, he carried his theory of civil reconstruction into the domains of education and political right.

*Emile* was an elaborate attempt to formulate an ideal system of education from infancy to manhood. In the *Discourses*, Rousseau had insisted that man is naturally good. How far education can be made to preserve his original virtue was the problem he set himself to solve in *Emile*. With such a lofty aim, we need not wonder that Rousseau's conception of education was something more than a narrow, mechanical literary training, and was, indeed, a process embracing the whole relations between parents and their children, from earliest infancy to maturity. Mothers were exhorted not to neglect, or delegate to others, their first natural duties to their offspring. In eloquent language Rousseau depicted the joys, the privileges, and the responsibilities of parental duty, and appealed to fathers and mothers to surround their children with all the happiness and healthy attractions of the family circle.

One of the most valuable of Rousseau's principles, and one which is not sufficiently kept in view to-day, is that in all moral and religious education example is infinitely superior to precept. "What do formal lessons avail," asks Rousseau. "when daily example contradicts them? . . . What an absurdity are those guilty of who exhort us to do as they say and not as they act themselves!" The mistress of the ideal home referred to just now was questioned by a visitor as to her method of teaching her boys. "Surely," she was asked, "you have taught them their prayers and their catechism?" "There you are mistaken," replied Julie, who was a good Catholic. "As to the article of prayers, I say mine every morning and evening aloud in the nursery, which is sufficient to *teach* them, without *compelling* them to learn. As to their catechism, they know not what it is." "What! your children never learn their catechism?" "No, my friend, my children do not learn their catechism." "Indeed!" exclaimed the visitor, quite surprised; "so pious a mother! I really do not comprehend you. Pray what is the reason they do not learn it?" "The reason is," said Julie, "that I would have them some day or other believe it."

Rousseau's teaching fell into prepared soil. His insistence on the

importance of home influence did much to break down the monopoly of education by the priesthood. When the book left the publishers' hands France was much agitated by the suppression of the Jesuits, and people were everywhere discussing education. In both France and Germany the longing for a "return to nature" had found varied manifestation, and *Emile* at once became the expression of this craving for naturalism where it concerned the training of the young. Its effect upon the mothers of France was magical. "It is not without good reason," says the French historian Michelet, "that people have noted the children born at this glorious moment as animated by a superior spirit, by a gift of flame and genius. It is the generation of revolutionary Titans" (*Louis XV. and XVI.*, p. 226). Thus the men and women who sternly resolved that, come life, come death, civilisation should be something more than the mockery it had hitherto been, were inspired from their very birth by the eloquence of this remarkable man.

Unlike all previous writers on the subject, Rousseau treated education as a process in which all have a right to participate, and not something which concerns only the rich man's son. It is no disparagement to his work to say that experience proves some of his methods and theories to be false. Notwithstanding its defects, *Emile* may almost be said to have revolutionised the world's ideas about education. Mr. Morley refers to it as "the charter of youthful deliverance," and again as "one of the seminal books in the history of literature."

The *Social Contract* deals with political institutions and the rights and duties of the citizen. The keynote is sounded at the outset: "Man is born free; and everywhere he is in chains." The work asserted the doctrine of the supreme and inalienable sovereignty of the people, and, as the title implies, that the civil State is based on a "social contract" between equal citizens. All political authority resting thus on the voluntary consent of the Sovereign (that is, the People), it follows that the Sovereign People in any given State may resume their original powers at any time; or, in other words, may dissolve the Government and set up one of another kind in its place. We may be sure that teaching of this kind hardly suited the French monarchy of the eighteenth century.

Rousseau's chief errors arose, as we know now, from his unscientific method. No true political science can be evolved apart from the scientific study of history. Political speculation there may be, but not political science. Rousseau did not follow the historical inductive method. He merely indulged in political speculation, and used what little history was known in his day to support his theories by way of illustration. He accepted the prevalent but unsatisfactory classification of States which has come down to us from Aristotle. It is surprising that so many writers beside Rousseau have failed to

see that theories of government which may have been well enough adapted to the circumstances of the ancient city States are quite inadequate in dealing with the more complicated conditions of modern country States. Rousseau's strong partiality and even reverence for the teachings of ancient philosophers may be traced throughout the *Social Contract*. He again and again expresses his preference for small States, though it is due to him to say that he advocated federation as a means of dealing with larger States. The alternative of representation he would not hear of—probably because it was unknown to the ancient world; he said "the English nation thinks that it is free, but it is greatly mistaken, for it is so only during the election of members of Parliament; as soon as they are elected it is enslaved and counts for nothing" (*Social Contract*, Bk. III. ch. 15). This view is all the more strange, since, in the absence of a true democracy, which he truly said the world had never seen, Rousseau favoured government by an elective aristocracy, and this is what the representative system really amounts to. Rousseau's ideal of a true democracy, the immediate government of all by all, or by the majority, might, perhaps, be applicable to local affairs, generally administered by a town council. Indeed, we are told that in the best governed city in the United States the government is entirely in the hands of a town meeting, and municipal corruption is unknown. The general assembly of voters in town meetings is the supreme legislative, judicial, and executive body. As these meetings are said to have been held seven or eight times a year since Washington's day, it is quite possible that the founders of the city were directly influenced by Rousseau's writings.

To examine adequately in detail the principles of government advocated by Rousseau would be the work of a specialist, and is not possible within the compass of the present sketch. Ignoring the lessons of history, and keeping his eye still longingly fixed on his imaginary and ideal "state of nature," Rousseau sought by false logic and delusive sentiment to establish a foundation for political society which should do no violence to man's natural freedom and equality. As has been before remarked, he now conceded that, in relinquishing the natural for the civil state, man gains as much or more than he loses. Law and justice succeed appetite and instinct; physical impulse gives place to the voice of duty. Man's

"faculties are exercised and ennobled; his whole soul is exalted to such a degree that, if the abuses of this new condition did not often degrade him below that from which he has emerged, he ought to bless without ceasing the happy moment that released him from it for ever, and transformed him from a stupid and ignorant animal into an intelligent being and a man" (*Social Contract*, Bk. I. ch. viii.).

Like his "state of nature," Rousseau's civil State is an ideal one. Law is not primarily something to be obeyed, but "the expression of

the general will"—the "condition of civil association." Will, not force, is the basis of the State. The people are free by natural right; the people are politically equal; the people are a fraternity. Hence the famous watchword: "Liberty, equality, fraternity."

The book did not have such an immediate influence as some of Rousseau's other works. But its ultimate and permanent influence was very great indeed. It began to be studied by all classes, and served, in fact, as a sort of political catechism. Taine tell us that, a few years before the Revolution, magistrates' sons might be found taking their first lessons in jurisprudence from its pages. Its explosive power was perceived by Adam Smith, who foretold that the *Social Contract* would one day avenge all the persecutions it brought upon the head of its author. In Mr. Lecky's view, "the *Social Contract* ranks with the *Wealth of Nations*, as one of the two political works of the eighteenth century which have had the greatest influence upon public affairs."

### III. HIS CHARACTER AND INFLUENCE.

To analyse the character of this remarkable man is no easy task. He was a living paradox. If his most intimate friends could not fathom him, we may well fail in the attempt. Many harsh things have been said of Rousseau by those to whom the more repulsive sides of his character have presented material for unfair criticism. We may be forgiven the suspicion that his critics have sometimes been the more willing to condemn a man with the spirit of whose teachings they have found themselves utterly out of sympathy. That a study of his life reveals much that is repulsive is too painfully true. Perhaps the most apparent thing that strikes one is the palpable inconsistency between his written code of conduct and his private life. He fell lamentably short of the ideals which he continually held up to the admiration of the world. The man who could refuse to condone any breach of public morality in others, who in his writings exalted the family, and exhorted every mother to nurture her own children, himself spent the greater part of his life with a woman whom he never married, and deliberately sent his five children, one after the other, to the hospital for foundlings, where they were so completely lost from view that subsequent attempts to trace them were fruitless. It is not enough that he afterwards suffered bitter remorse for this treatment of his offspring—the great crime of his life—though it is probable that his repentance moved him to the production of "the most powerful book by which parental duty has been commended in its full loveliness and nobility."

It is unnecessary to linger over the darker side of Rousseau's character. Let us turn to the more positive side. \* Mr. Morley, to

whom English readers are chiefly indebted for what they know of Rousseau, bears this splendid testimony :

"We may forget much in our story that is grievous and hateful, in reflecting that if any man now deems a day basely passed in which he has given no thought to the hard life of garret and hovel, to the forlorn children and trampled women of wide squalid wildernesses in cities, it was Rousseau who first in our modern time sounded a new trumpet note for one more of the great battles of humanity."

And Carlyle, after some severe but not undeserved criticism of his failings, says : "He has the first and chief characteristic of a hero ; he is heartily in earnest." One or two minor characteristics of the man are worth noticing. A curious phase of his character was the independence which made him almost invariably refuse to accept presents, or even thanks, for any service rendered to a friend. This was his way of proving his own sincerity, and at the same time of protesting against the hollowness of friendships which compromise their victims by placing them under continual obligations. As he refused to accept thanks, so he rarely offered them for services rendered to himself.

From the day when he ran away from his brutal master at Geneva and commenced his journeyings on foot through the beautiful valleys of Savoy and across the Alps to Turin, he never ceased to be attracted by the face of nature. The ever-varying beauties of the landscape moved him as nothing else could. "Seeing country," says he, "is an allurements which hardly any Genevese can ever resist." But it was during his stay at the cottage on the hillside above Chambéry that this passion for nature fixed itself so decisively in his character. And well it might, for a more charming scene than the peaceful valley below, with the mountains beyond outlined against the blue sky, it would surely be difficult to find. Many years after, he left Paris for the cottage in the forest with the keenest delight.

Ideas came to him when he was alone with nature. "Never," he says, "did I think so much, exist so much, be myself so much, as in the journeys which I have made alone and on foot. Walking has something about it that animates and enlivens my ideas" (*Confessions*, Bk. IV.).

If Rousseau had done nothing beyond inspiring in the Frenchmen of his day a love of country life, he would have done much. Arthur Young referred to the growing custom of passing a part of each year in the country as one of the best customs which the French had taken from England ; and added, that its introduction was greatly "assisted by the magic of Rousseau's writings."

During his life at Chambéry, before his literary pursuits had carried him into the world of strife, he cultivated a friendship for the pigeons and bees in his mistress's garden. The pigeons grew fond of him ; as soon as he appeared in the garden, he tells us, two

or three of them would instantly settle on his arms or his head; they followed him about, and permitted him to take them wherever he would. After a time the bees too learned to trust him, until he was able to go amongst them without the slightest fear of molestation. His stay at Chambéry seems to have been the happiest period of his life. He rose every morning with the sun, and proceeded to the high ridge of the sloping ground on which the house was built, there to contemplate the scene before him, and to go through his form of worship. "It did not consist in a vain moving of the lips, but in a sincere elevation of heart to the Author of the tender nature whose beauties lay spread out before my eyes" (*Confessions*, Bk. VI.).

Once, when in London, Hume found great difficulty in persuading him to go to the play, "though Garrick had appointed a special occasion and set apart a special box for him." Rousseau declared that he could not leave his dog behind him. "The first person," he said, "who opens the door, Sultan will run into the streets in search of me and will be lost." Hume told him to lock Sultan up in his room and carry away the key in his pocket. This was done, but as they proceeded downstairs the dog began to howl; his master turned back and avowed he had not resolution to leave him in that condition. Hume, however, caught him in his arms, told him that Mr. Garrick had dismissed another company in order to make room for him, that the King and Queen were expecting to see him, and that without a better reason than Sultan's impatience it would be ridiculous to disappoint them. Thus a little by reason, but more by force, he was carried off. Mr. Morley tells the story, and very justifiably remarks that a man who liked better to keep his dog company at home than to be stared at by a gaping pit was hardly open to such a charge as that of Burke, that "he entertained no principle either to influence his heart or guide his understanding but vanity."

There is another pretty story of Rousseau's love for living things. In the sunset of his days, in Paris, two swallows built a nest in his bedroom and hatched the eggs there. "I was no more than a door-keeper for them," he said, "for I kept opening the window for them every moment. They used to fly with a great stir round my head, until I had fulfilled the duties of the tacit convention between these swallows and me."

• To understand the extraordinary influence of Rousseau's writings in France it is necessary to keep in mind the political, social, and economic condition of that country during the greater part of last century. It is safe to say that in no Western State had political institutions and social usages adapted themselves less to the changing needs of the time. Feudalism was no longer a military power; but the petty feudal tyrannies which pressed so hardly upon the industrial population were enforced with full rigour. Protestant independence

of thought, which might have saved France, had been stamped out by the treacherous massacre of the Huguenots. The spirit of patriotism was almost extinct. All healthy aspirations had been for a century systematically crushed under the iron heel of absolutism. The encroachments upon the liberty of the subject, designed and attempted simultaneously in France and England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, had met with very different results in the two countries. The doctrine of the Divine Right of monarchs had in England received its death-blow from the Long Parliament and Cromwell. It is true the inevitable reaction restored the monarchy, but the old pretensions were never successfully revived. About the time when the Stuarts were being restored to the English throne on sufferance, as it were, the French monarchy was practically despotic. The States-General had not then met for forty-six years, and, indeed, did not again meet till just before the Revolution—an interval of nearly two centuries. In older times the king had been wont to seek the help of the lower classes and the rising towns against the immense power of the feudal nobles. This was now no longer necessary, for the king, having established a strong centralised Government, lorded it over both nobles and people at his own sweet will. The industrial and agricultural classes thus became subject to two tyrannies—that of the king, who taxed them without mercy, enforced an odious military service, and permitted no political liberty; and that of the nobles, who, though politically crushed, still clung tenaciously to their social privileges and feudal rights. Every son of a noble remained noble, and thus was multiplied a privileged class who, as their actual power declined, guarded the more jealously their hereditary rights. Only a noble could rise to high place in the army or the Church. He was exempted from the *corvées* and militia service, specially privileged by the Game Laws, and contributed nothing to the “*taille*,” the most grievous of all the taxes which crushed the poor. He never associated with his neighbours, lost all interest in local affairs, and, if rich enough to do so, spent his time in Paris or Versailles.

The peasantry could hardly, short of actual serfdom, have been in a worse condition. In 1732, when Rousseau was a young man of twenty, and comparatively new to French life, he one day, in the course of a journey on foot from Paris to Savoy, completely lost his way. Tired and half dead with hunger, he sought shelter in the house of a peasant, who offered him no better refreshment than coarse barley-bread and skimmed milk. Presently, divining that Rousseau was an honest young man, and not likely to act the spy, he descended into his cellar by a trap-door, and returned with wholesome bread, a partly-devoured ham, and a bottle of wine, afterwards adding an omelette. He then explained that he hid his wine because of excise duties, and his bread because of the arbitrary “*taille*,” and \*



declared that he would be a ruined man if it were suspected that he was not dying of hunger. This incident will convey some idea of the desperate condition of the French peasantry. The evident state of fear and anxiety in which this peasant lived made an impression on Rousseau's mind which, he tells us, never became effaced.

"Here," he wrote, "was the germ of the inextinguishable hatred which afterwards grew up in my heart against the vexations which harass the common people, and against all their oppressors. This man actually did not dare to eat the bread which he had won by the sweat of his brow, and only avoided ruin by showing the same misery as reigned around him" (*Confessions*, bk. IV.).

Though a considerable portion of the cultivable land of France—variously estimated at from one-fifth to one-third—was in the possession of the peasantry—mostly under a tenure resembling the English copyhold—the conditions of ownership were often so vexatious, and taxation so onerous, as to discourage all improved cultivation and make life a positive burden. On all hands the French farmer felt the curse of feudalism. The seigneur, in addition to his annual dues, claimed a fine whenever property changed hands, took toll on the roads and at the bridges, levied dues at markets and fairs, and sold to the peasant the right to sell the produce of his farm. The peasant was compelled to labour for his seigneur so many days in each year without reward, to grind his corn only at his seigneur's mill, and press grapes only at his press. The seigneur alone could fish in the rivers, or shoot and hunt the game which ruined the peasants' fields and vineyards.

After the seigneur came the agents of the Government, who compelled the peasants to labour without pay so many days in the year to repair the main roads (which they seldom used), and to send horses and cattle whenever required for the transport of military forces. The militia service also bore heavily upon the peasantry, and was greatly detested. The victims, who were chosen by lot, were compelled to serve in person.

The revenue of the country was raised by as vicious and unequal a system of taxation as ever disgraced a civilised State. This alone contributed largely to the discontent which culminated in the upheaval of 1789. The two most obnoxious taxes, the "*gabelle*" and the "*taille*," were heavy burdens on the poorer classes, and collected in the most barbarous manner. The arbitrary tax levied sometimes on property, sometimes on income, and known as the "*taille*," was the most terrible burden of all. Turgot estimated that in the Generality of Limoges this tax absorbed one-half of the net products of the land. It fell "alike on the struggling landowner and on the landless labourer," while the privileged classes paid nothing. The "*gabelle*" compelled all citizens over seven years of age to purchase yearly from the State seven pounds of salt exclusively for cooking

and eating ; if salt was required for preserving meat or fish, or other purposes, it was compulsory to purchase more. Calonne estimated that this one tax produced every year nearly four thousand sentences of imprisonment, flogging, exile, and the galleys.

• The trade of the country, internal and external, was hampered in every conceivable way. Hardly any article of commerce escaped excise duties. The internal custom-houses divided the country into so many foreign States, and greatly impeded the transmission of goods. So strict was the levy of customs duties that artisans crossing the Rhône on their way to their work had to pay on the victuals which they carried in their pockets !

The increasing burdens to meet the cost of constant wars and Court extravagance bore most heavily upon the classes least able to sustain them. It is hardly credible, yet it is true, that the peasant farmers contributed 82 per cent. of their incomes in taxes, tithes, and feudal dues, while the nobles and Church dignitaries practically escaped direct taxation altogether.

Under a despotic monarchy and an extravagant Court ; an oppressive and caste-bound aristocracy ; a corrupt and intolerant hierarchy—in short, with absolutism supreme in Court, castle, and Church ; with declining wealth and population together with increasing and unjust taxation ; with local burdens rigorously enforced but local liberties taken away ; it is no wonder that France, driven to the verge of despair, was ready to listen to an eloquent voice which kindled anew the flame of patriotism, which promised deliverance from social wrongs, and held out a new hope of national emancipation.

It must not, however, be supposed that, because Rousseau is so often referred to as the author of the Revolution, that he indulged in any inflammatory writing, inciting the people to revolt. Nothing could be further from the facts. He had followed Montesquieu in contending that legislation should be adapted to the character of the people, as well as to climate and other conditions. He had warned the Poles that reform needed great circumspection, and in other ways had given ample evidence that he was no revolutionist. What Rousseau really did was to hold up to the gaze of an oppressed people attractive "pictures of a social state in which abuses and cruelty cannot exist, nor any miseries save those which are inseparable from humanity." Apart from its direct influence in France, Rousseau's doctrine of the sovereignty of the people probably to some extent influenced the Puritans of New England in their struggle for independence. "It was from his writings that they took the ideas and the phrases of their great charter" (Morley's *Rousseau*, vol. i. p. 3). The same spirit still lives in the American people. It will be remembered that, after the late Presidential election, Mr. Bryan congratulated his successful opponent

in these words: "We submitted the issue to the American people, and their *will is law*."

Paradoxical as it may seem, there was a splendid unity of purpose and consistency of aim throughout Rousseau's whole life and teaching. Few men who ever lived have given a stronger bent to the thought of the world, or exerted a wider influence upon the destinies of nations.

As we read the story of his life we seem to be in the presence of two men—one weak, petulant, and very human, with a romantic and impulsive temperament, an undisciplined and ill-regulated mind, demoralised by the absence of home restraints and cruel treatment during the most impressionable period of his youth, with no moral ballast to counteract inherited weaknesses, and from the first handicapped by a torturing and incurable malady; the other—Rousseau, the fearless prophet, waging a splendid battle against tyranny and injustice in high places, inspired by a strong sympathy with the oppressed, and a lofty ideal of social and national life; and, withal, a powerful moral and spiritual force, who stemmed the tide of materialism in France and roused the nation from a deadly lethargy and despair.

WALTER EMM.

## LADY MARY WORTLEY MONTAGU AND MARY ASTELL.

FOR lack of a better definition it is necessary to use the somewhat objectionable term "Women's Rights" when speaking of all advocacy that has had for its object justice to women. The phrase is supposed to have been first used by Mary Wolstonecraft, and suggested to her by Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man*; but nearly a quarter of a century before that book appeared in 1791, there had been published an able pamphlet, entitled *Female Rights Vindicated: by a Lady*; therefore the term and, as we have already shown in previous essays, the movement which it represents belong to a much earlier date than is imagined.

It is not easy to assign the precise position which Lady Mary Wortley Montagu should take among eighteenth-century advocates of Women's Rights. From what we know we have every reason to surmise that she felt far more intensely on the subject position of women than she cared for the world in general to know. She tempered her advocacy with a trimming of the sails quite consistent with her practical yet adventurous nature. Of the friendship existing between her and Mary Astell we have but scant particulars. It is a subject which has not evoked the sympathy of Lady Mary's biographers. From childhood an omnivorous reader, she was doubtless early acquainted with Mary Astell's *Serious Proposal to the Ladies*; it is certain when very young she was in sympathy with its objects. From the writings which remain to us of both these women it is evident that, differing as they did in character, their hearts and minds had one tie in common, and that was deep resentment at, and sympathy for, the subordinate position of women. Mary Astell was plain in person and a celibate; circumstances which would in her days have deterred a lesser souled woman from risking the ribaldry sure to assail such a message as she gave to the world. We have an example to what depths that ribaldry could descend in Swift's article on her. She was the Madonella of his paper in the *Tatler* published in 1709. Nor was she the only learned woman who had to run the guantlet of his coarse lampoonery.

Mary Astell regarded Lady Mary with an admiration and affection akin to adoration. Highborn, gifted, and beautiful, Nature had

indeed been bounteous to her. She was to the elder woman a rising star, whose light would shine when death had dimmed her own. She doubtless realised that if Lady Mary (being a woman) could not give the reins to a personal ambition, she was certainly desirous that her husband should attain place and power, and in that way a mark might be made in the history of the times. Mary Astell, earnest and altruistic, had where women were concerned the fire and energy of a declamatory priestess. All biographers agree that Lady Mary had a keen sense of justice, which sense of justice became intensified as the years passed by having herself suffered from that sex injustice which was inseparable from the position of an eighteenth-century woman. That her circumstances fettered her inclinations none can doubt, or that the brilliant and vivacious side of her character was developed at the expense of the earnest and the solid. Over and over again in her recalcitrant moods she gives the cynical advice, burnt into her soul by bitter experience, that women should for their personal happiness carefully conceal their learning from the world. Even the most famous female novelists of this century have had the serpent wisdom to adopt a masculine *nom de plume*. No biographer has given us a date by which we can fix the time when friendship began between these gifted women, but we know that it lasted till Mary Astell's death, and we realise that Lady Mary was for ever under its influence. She says in a letter to her daughter, Lady Bute, that the one good thing in Richardson's *Clarissa* is his proposal for an English monastery :

"It was a favourite scheme of mine when I was fifteen, and had I then been mistress of an independent fortune, I should certainly have executed it and elected myself Lady Abbess. Then would you and your ten children have been lost for ever. Yet such was the disposition of my early youth. So much was I unlike those girls," &c. &c.

At twelve years of age she wrote poetry, and when twenty translated Epictetus (possibly from the Latin), which she sent to Bishop Burnet, who had kindly directed her studies, and for whom she long retained a kind remembrance. Burnet had been credited with having nipped Mary Astell's "proposals" in the bud ; but he must have been to some extent in sympathy with higher education for women, and we know that he honourably gave to his second wife the disposition of her own fortune. When sending him her translation, Lady Mary wrote :

"My sex generally forbid studies of this nature, and folly reckoned so much our proper sphere, we are sooner pardoned any excesses of that than the least pretensions to reading or good sense. We are permitted no books but such as tend to the weakening and effeminating of our mind. Our natural defects are every way indulged, and it is looked upon as in a degree criminal to improve our reason, or fancy we have any. We are taught to place all our art in adorning our outer forms, and permitte

without reproach to carry that custom even to extravagancy, whilst our minds are certainly neglected, and by disuse of reflections, filled with nothing but the trifling objects our eyes are daily entertained with. The custom so long established and industriously upheld makes it even ridiculous to go out of the common road, and forces one to find as many excuses as if it was a thing altogether criminal not to play the fool in common with other women of quality, whose birth and leisure only serve to render them the most useless and most worthless part of the creation. There is hardly a character in the world more despicable, or more liable to universal ridicule, than that of a learned woman; those words imply, according to the received sense, a tattling, vain, impertinent, and conceited creature. I believe nobody will deny that learning may have this effect, but it must be a very superficial degree of it. . . . I am not now arguing for an equality of the sexes. I do not doubt God and Nature have thrown us into an inferior rank; we are a lower part of creation, we owe obedience and submission to the superior sex," &c. &c.;

but the letter still continued to plead for education for women, nor do we ever again find her speaking of women as the inferior sex.

About the same time, in a letter to Mr. Wortley Montagu, before their marriage, she says:

"Mr. Bickerstaff (The Tatler) has very wrong notions of our sex. Ignorance and folly are thought the best foundations for virtue, as if not knowing what a good wife is, were necessary to make one so. Give me leave to say it (I know it sounds vain). I know how to make a man happy, but then that man must resolve to contribute something towards it himself."

These were her feelings before marriage, but alas! it is not possible to read her letters to her husband, written during the early years of their married life, without sympathy for her and the conviction they were ill suited to each other, and that he was not worthy of her. Her quick and passionate affection was kept on the rack waiting for news of him and his doings. Above everything she desires that he should secure a seat in Parliament, but he gives her no particulars of his movements. Such wilful want of consideration was most trying: she tries to be patient, but patience was not easy to such an energetic and loving nature.

Four years after marriage Mr. Wortley Montagu was appointed Ambassador to Turkey; his wife accompanied him, and it was during her residence abroad that she made her chief contribution to literature, *Letters Written during the Embassy*. "Keep my letters," said Lady Mary many years afterwards: "in forty years they will be as famous as Madame de Sévigné's." In her lifetime they were never published, but privately circulated in 1724, most probably at the instigation of Mary Astell, who wrote a preface to them. It is partly from this preface that we realise the affectionate pride which the elder woman took in the younger one.

"'If,' says Mary Astell, 'these letters appear hereafter, when I am in

my grave, let this attend them, in testimony to posterity, that among her contemporaries *one* woman at least was just to her merits. . . . I confess I am malicious enough to desire that the world should see to how much better purpose the ladies travel than their lords, and that whilst it is, surfeited with *male* travels, all in the same tone and stuffed with the same trifles, a lady has the skill to strike out a new path and embellish a worn-out subject with variety of fresh and elegant entertainment."

A second edition, circulated in 1725, included the letter which contained Lady Mary's clever parody of Pope's "Two Lovers struck by Lightning," for which piece of vivacious raillery Mr. Moy Thomas suggests it as not unlikely that she had to pay the dear penalty of Pope's animosity.

"Pope revelled in the vulgar attacks made upon him by small critics and poor authors, and dexterously turned them to his own renown. But to be beaten by a woman was an offence which Pope's sensitive and spiteful nature could not easily forgive."

His sentimentality had been ridiculed by a cold douche of common sense. The quarrel went on for years and became public property. Herself and her husband were held up to ridicule and contempt. It is said that she retorted and joined Lord Harvey, who had also been grossly lampooned, in a "Pop upon Pope." She denied any share in the authorship, and Swift came to the help of his brother poet with his odious "Capon's Tale."

"Such, Lady Mary, are your tricks;  
But, since you hatch, pray own your chicks."

Dallaway, who had seen the original of this poem, says it contained other abominable lines than those printed. Years afterwards, when criticising Lord Orrery's *Remarks on the Life and Writings of Swift*, we feel her hatred of him running through every word.

"Heaven be praised, he" (Lord Orrery) "has given us an example that the most villanous actions, nay, the coarsest nonsense, are only small blemishes in a great genius. I happen to think quite contrary, weak woman as I am."

In 1738 we have the first direct evidence that Lady Mary's mind was reverting to the dreams of her girlhood. She had given to love, marriage, and society the heyday of her existence, with the result that she was tasting the ashes of the Dead Sea fruit.<sup>1</sup> Many waves of remembrance, in times of depression, doubtless came over

<sup>1</sup> It was in 1736 she wrote a dreary poem, given in 1740 to Lady Pomfret, and only published in recent years.

"With toilsome steps I pass through life's dull road  
(No pack-horse half so tired of his load)

\* \* \* \* \*

Or shall this form be once again renewed,  
With all its frailties, all its hopes endued,

her of that old friend who had gone before her, and of her scheme to ensure for women a path of pleasantness and peace. We find that she took up her pen in defence of her sex in a publication called *The Nonsense of Common Sense*. It was a periodical which had been started by General Oglethorpe with the object of contradicting another called *Common Sense*, the chief contributors to which were Lords Chesterfield and Lyttelton. She begins :

" I have always, as I have already declared, professed myself a friend, though I do not aspire to the character of an admirer, of the Fair Sex, and as such I am warmed with indignation at the barbarous treatment they have received from *Common Sense* of January 14, and the false advice he gives them. He either knows them very little, or, like an interested quack, prescribes such medicines as are likely to injure their constitutions."

It would seem that the writer in *Common Sense* had advocated the opera and decried the stage as an entertainment for women ; whereas Lady Mary says of Etherege's *Man of the Mode* : " That very Comedy has given more checks to Ladies in pursuit of present pleasures, so closely attended with shame and sorrow, than all the Sermons they have ever heard in their lives."

The remedies suggested to improve the minds of the fair sex do not meet with her approbation :

" I am for treating them with more dignity, and, as I profess myself a protector of all the oppressed, I shall look upon them as my peculiar care. I expect to be told this is downright Quixotism, and that I am venturing to engage the strongest part of mankind with a paper helmet on my head. I confess to an undertaking where I cannot see any considerable success, and according to an author I have read somewhere :

' The world will still be ruled by knaves  
And fools, contending to be slaves.'

But, however, I keep up the character of a moralist, and shall use my endeavours to relieve the distressed, and defeat vulgar prejudices, whatever the event may be. Amongst the most universal errors, I reckon that of treating the weaker sex with a contempt which has a very bad influence on their conduct. . . . A paper either to ridicule or declaim against the ladies is very welcome to the coffee-houses, where there is hardly one man in ten but fancies he has some reason or other to curse some of the sex most heartily."

Lady Mary then proceeds to deal satirically with many of the imaginary grievances of men, passing on to some of the real grievances of women :

" Things are likely to remain as they are whilst neither birth nor

Acting once more on this detested stage  
Passions of youth, infirmities of age ?

\* \* \* \* \*

Whence this mysterious bearing to exist  
When every joy is lost and every hope dismissed ?  
In chains and darkness wherefore should I stay  
And mourn in prison while I keep the key ?"



education can make any of the sex rational creatures, and they can have no value but what is to be seen in their faces. Are such libellous notions likely to produce any good effect towards reforming the vicious, instructing the weak, or guiding the young? I would not tell my footman (if I kept one) that their whole fraternity were a pack of scoundrels, that lying and stealing were inseparable qualities from their cloth; on the contrary, I would say in their presence, that birth and money were accidents of fortune; that an honest, faithful servant was a character of more value than a corrupt lord. . . . With much greater esteem would I speak of that beautiful half of mankind which are distinguished by petticoats. . . . Men, that have not sense enough to show any superiority in their arguments, hope to be yielded to by a faith that, as they are men, all the reason that has been allotted to human kind had fallen to their share. I am seriously of another opinion. As much greatness of mind may be shown in submission as in command, and some women have suffered a life of hardships with as much philosophy as Cato traversed the deserts of Africa, and without the support the view of glory offered him, which is enough for the human mind that is touched with it, to go through any kind of danger. . . . A lady who has performed her duty as a daughter, a wife, and a mother, raises in me as much veneration as Socrates or Xenophon, much more than I would pay either to Julius Cæsar or Cardinal Mazarin, though the first was the most famous enslaver of his country, and the last the most successful plunderer of his master. A woman really virtuous in the utmost extent of this expression has virtue of a purer kind than any philosopher has ever shown, since she knows—if she has sense, and without it there can be no virtue—that mankind is too much prejudiced against her sex to give her any degree of that fame which is so sharp a spur to their great actions. I have some thoughts of exhibiting a set of pictures of such meritorious ladies, where I shall say nothing of the fire of their eyes, or the pureness of their complexions, but give them such phrases as befit a rational, sensible being, virtues of choice, and not beauties of accident. I beg they would not so far mistake me as to think I am undervaluing their charms: a beautiful mind in a beautiful body is one of the finest objects shown us by Nature. I would not have them place so much value on a quality that can be only useful to one, as to neglect that which may be of benefit to thousands by precept or by example. There will be no occasion of amusing them by trifles, when they consider themselves capable of not only making the most amiable but the most agreeable figures in life. Begin, then, ladies, by paying these authors with scorn and contempt who, with a sneer of affected admiration, would throw you below the dignity of human nature."

In the year which followed the publication of this article, there appeared the remarkable pamphlet, *Woman not Inferior to Man: by Sophia, a Person of Quality*, which pamphlet, according to its author, was also prompted by one defamatory of women which had appeared in *Common Sense*. If Lady Mary were "Sophia," she then rose to an earnestness and height of feeling not usual with her general affectation of worldly cynicism. The pamphlet has all her sprightliness and vivacity of style, and whoever wrote it had, consciously or unconsciously, donned the mantle of Mary Astell. It is her teaching incorporated with the experience of a none too happy marriage. Happy marriages were exceptions in the family of Lady Mary. In her old age she dwelt with astonishment and delight on the know-

ledge that after years of marriage Lord Bute is still in love with her daughter.

"Sophia" was truly a "Person of Quality," and it is difficult to believe that her pen had never shone but in one venture. We seem to hear the flutter of a creature that had received stings and was returning them; nor are any arguments advanced which Lady Mary did not endorse at some time or other. But she had left England before the publication of "Sophia's" pamphlet, or of the article in *Common Sense* which provoked it, and this would seem to weigh against her being its author. It is, however, difficult to assign it to any other writer, though there were other women who felt much as "Sophia" wrote. Mr. Duncombe, in his *Erminoid*, tells us that Lady Mary Irwin (sister to the Earl of Carlisle) "espoused her sex's cause with judgment and spirit, and in a poetical epistle to Mr. Pope has rescued them from the aspersions cast on them by that satirist in his 'Essay on the Character of Women.'" In 1744 Mrs. Hayward and other ladies launched *The Female Spectator*, which had but a brief two years' existence. Whether the author or no, we have from her letters abundant evidence of Lady Mary's deep sympathy with an enlarged sphere of usefulness for women.

In a letter to her daughter, Lady Bute, in 1753, she writes:

"The character of a learned woman is far from being ridiculed in this country" (Italy), "the greatest families being proud of having produced female writers, and a Milanese lady being now Professor of Mathematics in the University of Bologna, invited thither by a most obliging letter from the Pope, who desired her to accept the Chair, not as a recompense for her merit, but to do honour to a town which is under his protection. To say truth, there is no part of the world where our sex is treated with so much contempt as in England. I do not complain of men for having engrossed the government: in excluding us from all degrees of power, they preserve us from many dangers and fatigues, and perhaps many crimes: . . . but I think it the highest injustice to be debarred the entertainment of my closet, and that the same studies which raise the character of a man should hurt that of a woman. We are educated in the grossest ignorance, and no art omitted to stifle our natural reason, and, if some few get above their nurses' instructions, knowledge must rest concealed and be as useless to the world as gold in the mine. I am now speaking according to our English notions, which may wear out some ages hence along with others equally absurd. It appears to me the strongest proof of a clear understanding in Longinus (in every light acknowledged one of the greatest men among the ancients) when I find him so far superior to vulgar prejudices as to choose as his two examples of fine writing one from a Jew (at that time the most despised people on earth) and a woman. Our modern wits would be so far from quoting, they would scarce own they had read the works of such contemptible creatures. . . . The same characters are formed by the same lessons, which inclines me to think (if I dare say it) that nature has not placed us in an inferior rank to men, no more than the females of other animals, where we can see no distinction of capacity. . . . I could add a great deal on this subject, but I am not now attempting to remove the prejudices of mankind; my only design is to point out to my granddaughters the method of being

contented. . . . This subject is apt to run away with me; I will trouble you no more with it."

By this extract we see how far Lady Mary had travelled since the days when she wrote to Burnet.

And again, in a letter to Lady Bute, she says :

"Lady Stafford, who knew me better than anybody else in the world, both from her own just discernment and my heart being as ever open to her as myself, used to tell me my true vocation was a monastery, and I now find by experience more sincere pleasures with my books and garden than all the flutter of a court could give me."

On the birth of a son to Lady Bute, she writes :—

"I am never in pains for any of that sex. If they have any merit there are so many roads for them to meet good fortune that they can no more fail of it, but by not deserving it. We have but one way of establishing ours, and that surrounded by precipices, and perhaps after all better missed than found."

And within four years of her death, alluding to Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors*, she says :

"If he has treated the character of Queen Elizabeth with disrespect, all the women should tear him to pieces for abusing the glory of their sex. Neither is it just to put her among the list of authors, having never published anything, though we have Mr. Camden's authority that she wrote many valuable pieces, chiefly Greek translations. I wish all monarchs would bestow their leisure hours on such studies; perhaps they would not be very useful to mankind, but it may be asserted for a certain truth, their own minds would be more improved than by the amusements of Quadrille or Caragnole."

To Sir James Stuart she expresses her satisfaction that the celebrated physician, Sydenham, has classed vapours in women as the feminine of spleen in men, and continues :

"But you vile usurpers do not merely engross learning, power, and authority to yourselves, but will be our superiors even in constitution of mind, and fancy you are incapable of the human weakness of fear and tenderness. Ignorance! I could produce such examples.

"Show me that man of wit in all your rôle  
Whom some one woman has not made a fool!"

No adequate reason has yet been assigned why, after nearly a quarter of a century of married life, Lady Mary lived abroad and alone for about the same period. Can we not read between the lines that hers was one of those sad unions, where marriage was a failure, not so much owing to incompatibility of temper as to the fact that the abilities of the more gifted partner could find no outlet? By her great natural gifts, her birth and her surroundings, Lady Mary was peculiarly fitted to have helped to shape the destinies of the nation. In our days she would have shone the very Queen of Newspaper Correspondents. If Mr. Wortley Montagu could have become a leading statesman she would have been a happy woman, but her

great powers had to run to waste. Mary Astell realised those powers, and felt that she could equal, nay, surpass most men. The fates were against her. She could not work towards her highest aspirations, either through herself or her husband. Hers was a blighted life, for she could not live through the gratification of her highest gifts. The position of a cultivated woman as a wife is beautifully appreciated in a letter from the late Mrs. Grote to Madame de Tocqueville.

"Both of us have poured our all into the more precious vessel, and have been content, nay, proud, to efface ourselves for the sake of seeing another shine more brightly. It is thus that the higher description of womankind invest their gifts, to draw back such rich reward. We are incorporated with natures worthy of our devotedness, and thus enrich our own without losing our sense of independence."

Such devotion would have admirably suited Lady Mary, and she has our pity that it was not possible for her to live the life for which she was suited, either through herself or another. Something more than the unpleasant notoriety which her witty sallies and Pope's animosity had brought on herself is needed to account for her long and lonely exile. The world will never know all the throbbings of that turbulent spirit ere it settled down to the steady kindliness which characterised her letters to her husband during the last twenty years of their lives, or the possible pain with which she knew that though he twice visited the Continent during those years, he yet did not press on to see her. It was a marriage, to the credit of both, where respect survived the death of love. It would have been one of love had it been possible for Mr. Wortley Mantagu to have lived, like Mr. Somerville, George Lewes, or Robert Browning, largely through the genius of the wife. This seems a reasonable solution of the deep cleavage between them.

Lady Mary possessed a scrap-book, the entries in which were almost all collected before 1730. It contained an "Ode to Friendship," addressed to herself by Mary Astell, of which we will only give two verses :

"Friendship! peculiar gift of Heaven,  
The noble mind's delight and pride  
To Wortley and to angels given,  
To all the lower world denied.

\* \* \* \* \*

When virtues kindred virtues meet,  
And sister-souls together join,  
Thy pleasures, lasting as they're sweet,  
Are all transporting, all divine."

Years afterwards this poem, with slight alterations, was ascribed to Dr. Johnson. Mary Astell died in 1731. Johnson was then a very young man. He did not come to London till years afterwards.

Boswell tells us the poem was first published in 1748. It is doubtful if its authorship will ever be decided. This is certain, some blunder has arisen, for neither Mary Astell nor Dr. Johnson would be guilty of literary theft. It is sufficient for our purpose that the poem was undoubtedly sent by Mary Astell to Lady Mary as typical of her feelings. Lady Mary was not insensible to the plea, for she wrote a poem on "Friendship," which, though dedicated to Clio, has been given to Mary Astell. Its internal evidence is indisputable. The aspirations of Mary Astell are thrown into the verse:

"Methinks I see thee in some calm retreat,  
Far from all guilt, distraction, and deceit;  
Thence pitying view the thoughtless and the gay,  
Who whirl their lives in giddiness away.

\* \* \* \* \*

How com'st thou framed so different from thy sex,  
Whom trifles ravage, and whom trifles vex?

\* \* \* \* \*

Say whence those hints, those bright ideas came  
That warm the breast with friendship's holy flame,  
That close thy heart against the joys of youth,  
That ope thy mind to all the rays of truth,  
That with such sweetness and such grace unite  
The gay, the prudent, virtuous, and polite?  
As Heaven inspires thy sentiments divine,  
May Heaven vouchsafe a friendship worthy thine."

One other anecdote of the friendship between these women must not be omitted. Lady Mary's granddaughter, Lady Louisa Stuart, tells us that

"after a serious discussion on some religious subject, very eagerly pursued on Mistress Astell's side, she paused, and, gazing at Lady Mary with melancholy earnestness, said impressively, 'My days are numbered. I am old; that you know; but I tell you in confidence I have a mortal disease which must soon bring me to the grave. I go hence, I humbly trust in Christ, to a state of happiness: and if departed spirits be permitted to revisit those whom they have loved on earth, remember I make you a solemn promise that mine shall appear to you, and confirm the truth of all I have been saying.' Surely," says Lady Louisa Stuart, "a most affecting proof of true and tender friendship."

Lady Mary said "the awful apparition never came." None the less was Lady Mary ever free from the spiritual influence of Mary Astell. Even so, possibly, when placing her manuscripts in the hands of a comparative stranger, the British Chaplain at Rotterdam, ere she rejoined her relatives in England, was she endeavouring to secure that posthumous fame which Mary Astell had so earnestly coveted for her.

This is not the place to dwell on her statesmanlike abilities, or her kindly good sense, or the brave goodness which in old age and

exile made her keep all gloomy forebodings to herself. Let those be happy who could; she would not trouble their felicity. She tried hard to be stoical, but she never reached the pure mountain calm which environed Mary Astell. The conventionalities of her time bound part of her intellectual nature with bands of iron. Her innate womanliness made her suppress her talents to the domestic marital standard of her age. She was a repressed woman, but she gathered to herself what fragments of happiness she could. She tells us the circumstances of her life forced her to live in masquerade ("Sophia" used the same simile for her sex), but, through all her masquerade and oftentimes sarcastic bitterness, we detect an ever certain vein of noble feeling for women. They were her chief friends and correspondents, and they were almost the sole beneficiaries under her will. She was a woman who loved women.

HARRIETT MCILQUEHAM.

## FEAR AS AN ETHIC FORCE.

"It was fear that first fashioned gods upon the earth"<sup>1</sup> is the aphorism of more than one of the later Latin writers; and certainly every ethical system, past or present, which bases itself upon the cult of a personal deity, bears evidence of the ignoble element of human fear in its origin and composition. In the various ancient civilisations the mysterious Isis, or Brahma, or Zeus, with their coteries of minor divinities, were all represented as requiring and accepting blind reverence and slavish fear on the part of man; and the same unreasoning and servile homage and fear is again demanded as a tribute acceptable to the revised and amended deities—whether of many persons or of one—with which man's yet imperfect intellect has replaced the prior repudiated images. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that the dawning Latin philosophy suffered long eclipse, owing to wide prevalence of the same primitive "fear," adopted and propagated as it has been by successively interested priesthoods. There is not space here to enter fully into the early history or progress of this mental element, which, for want of a fitter word, may be termed "spiritual" fear; a brief compend only may be offered, not from an academic but a work-a-day aspect, for which purpose the simpler the language the better. And the young may claim the first attention.

Every mother or nurse knows the instinctive clinging and fear of falling shown by the infant on the knee. In the newly-born child's habit, and singularly strong power of clutch, some biologists connote a survival of the time when man was an arboreal animal, and when "Rock-a-bye, baby, on the tree top," was an actual experience of our infant life. But whatever be the origin of the instinct, the security bred of motherly care gradually replaces the timidity of the child by a loving confidence. Yet, with a strange perversity, almost before the child has unlearned the clasping of its hands for one visionary fear, we betray its newly-gained trustfulness by teaching it to fold them together again in supplication against a yet more fictitious dread—that of punishment for an implied wrongdoing of the little innocent itself, or, more irrational still, for its heritage of alleged crime from a long-dead ancestor. Of such crime the child has certainly no instinct, nor does it present any surviving indication

<sup>1</sup> "Primus in orbe Deos fecit timor."—Statius (*Thebæd.* lib. iii.).

thereof. It is in the parents or nurses themselves that the biologist here traces a survival, a mental clinging and fear, not native but acquired—the sequence of superstitious theologies invented and wielded by priestcrafts from time immemorial, to obtain and maintain influence over ignorant and childish peoples, and to ensure from them submission to and pecuniary support for a parasitic and unproductive priestly order, legally established or otherwise. The parents were accustomed to the yoke in early youth, and in turn impose it upon the child while its intellect is still unresisting and unquestioning. Or should any pertinent question be suggested by a juvenile thinker, such an effort of the budding intelligence is quickly checked, or even construed into a further ground for fear, as being “wicked.”

Mental fear, then, is factitiously inculcated in childhood, and primarily in two phases—the fear of “God” and of the “devil”; with their miserable concomitants of “hell” and “eternal punishment.” From all these conjointly is further evolved the dread of death—a fear far more degrading and demoralising to human character than that which simply influences the efforts for self-preservation natural to all living creatures. But, indeed, the attitude of fear once initiated, the child’s mind easily yields to the evil influence in many other directions, and life is thus made victim to various and bitter miseries even in its youngest days. An observant sociologist notes, from a recent tabulated inquiry into “the fears of children,” that among a total number of 1701 children there was an average of three or four prominent and defined objects of dread in each child’s mind, and that—

“The leading fears were lightning and thunder, reptiles, strangers, the dark, death, domestic animals, water, ghosts, insects, rats and mice, and high words. Some of the fears were the results of a personal experience; *e.g.*, in a district where a great wind had wrought havoc the children were afraid of the wind. In other cases the analysis showed by what means the parents had worked upon the imagination of their children, in one district sixteen poor little ones were dreading the end of the world. The most gratifying fact of all was that not one child had been frightened into obedience or good conduct by the fear of the devil. A century or two ago that fear would have led all the rest.”

From this latter incident the observer deduces “the pleasing inference that parents now dwell upon affection and love to ensure the goodness of their children, instead of terrorising them with Satan’s wrath.” Thus humanity moves. For not two hundred years have yet elapsed since great approbation was gained by a reverend doctor, Isaac Watts by name, for composing a series of “divine songs for the use of children,” designed to be “a constant furniture for the minds of children, that they may have something to think upon when alone, and sing over to themselves.” To which cheering end



the pious doctor forthwith instructs the awestruck child that—"There is a dreadful hell, and everlasting pains, where sinners must with devils dwell, in darkness, fire, and chains" (Song xi.). Childish peccadilloes will lead to sure incarceration in that dismal den, to which young sinners shall be sent alive, and kept there for ever (Song xiii.). Filial duty is enjoined by threats "to him who breaks his father's law, or mocks his mother's word"—that "The ravens shall pick out his eyes, and eagles eat the same" (Song xxiii.). Meanwhile, "those who worship God, and give their parents honour due, here on this earth they long shall live, and live hereafter too" (*Ib.*). The rhyming divine thus promptly introduces his juvenile auditory to the methods adopted also in adult theologies—the menaces and bribes of both worldly and eternal punishments or rewards. Fear is, however, the incentive predominantly encouraged and appealed to. Thus any youthful infringement of strict fact is discountenanced—"lest I be struck to death and hell, since God a book of reckoning keeps for every lie that children tell" (Song xv.). But while a child's fib is to meet with so ferocious retribution, there is not indicated any condign punishment for reverend doctors who dare to take an equal liberty with the truth.

But in modern years this inhuman frightening of children is, as already said, happily and rapidly disappearing. Charles Kingsley was one of the first to expose the hideous system to the criticism and condemnation of parents, and of children themselves, under the figure of "the pow-wow man with the thunder-box" (*Water Babies*, chap. viii.). Somewhat later, Richard Jefferies, the lover of nature, told his listeners, young and old, in his glorious *Life of the Fields*:

"The soft turtle-doves coo gently, let the lightning be as savage as it will. Nothing has the least fear. Man alone, more senseless than a pigeon, put a god in vapour; and to this day, though the printing-press has set a foot on every threshold, numbers bow the knee when they hear the roar the timid dove does not heed. So trustful are the doves, the squirrels, the birds of the branches, and the creatures of the field. Under their tuition let us rid ourselves of mental terrors, and face death itself as calmly as they do the livid lightning; so trustful and so content with their fate, resting in themselves and unappalled."—"The Pageant of Summer."

Yet again, and quite recently, Mrs. Humphry Ward reports the introduction of an enlightened effort at child-training in the Passmore Edwards Institution (London)—

"in the form of supplementary education, in close touch with the Board schools of the neighbourhood. The children come there after school and on Saturday mornings for physical culture and gymnastics, and for the training of the imagination that can be got from story-telling, from fairy tales, from Scott, and, last but not least, from Rudyard Kipling. Already the effects of it are very evident in the joy and keenness of the children who come."

We may trust that the wondrous "Jungle Books," with their love of animals and plants, are among the Kipling readings; and no teaching can be truer than his noble allegory of *The Children of the Zodiac*, in its crowning lesson that, "Whatever comes, or does not come, we men must not be afraid." It is a lesson consolatory—one to be remembered and reiterated throughout life. For although with the growing years youth learns to smile at childish terrors, there may remain, even in a mature intellect, the debilitating results of the fears of death and of "God" instilled in early childhood. So, while modern intelligence is discarding even for children the fictions of "devil" and "hell" and "eternal damnation," there still lingers in sundry of the recusants a saving clause for a surviving fear of "God" as a salutary and commendable incentive in human motive.

Yet, in face of the advancing reason and humanity, efforts are being made—even by the clerics themselves—to tone down the savagery of the assumption involved in the "fear" of God, and to substitute for it the more genial element of "love." Renan, willing to bridge over the obstacle of the original Hebrew, has suggested the intermediate course of replacing the word "fear" by "respect."<sup>1</sup> But either of the concessions is impracticable: the word in the Hebrew text is irreducible to milder terms. That "fear (*yirah*) of the Lord" which is declared by Job, David, and Solomon<sup>2</sup> as "the beginning of wisdom," is the same *yirah* which the fictioned Adam felt at sight of the angry Jehovah in the Garden of Eden (Gen. iii. 10), and the very human fear which the ill-used Ishbosheth had of the vindictive vengeance of Abner (2 Sam. iii. 11). The word is the same in all the passages quoted, as in also many others, and it is only by an insincere euphuism that any gentler interpretation can be offered.

If, however, the interpretation of the word itself could be altered, the acts and injunctions and threatenings of the figured deity would remain incapable of amelioration. Such passages (innumerable) as 1 Sam. xv. 3, or Deut. xxviii. 15 to end, might indeed appeal to fear in a servile Eastern nature, but could never incite "respect" in any cultured Western mind. Oriental barbarism is uncompromising, not alone in the Christian Bible, but elsewhere; the Moslem Koran contains parallel injunctions as to the "fear" of Allah. It is only natural that theologies which emanate from the slavish East should present the feature of trusting for obedience to threats and fear, rather than to persuasion and love. The abjectness and servility of the enjoined homage and duty stand as a clear testimony to the low conditions of civilisation and of thought under which such deities had their human conception. The Hebrew creed, with its "jealous" yet only God, and the naïve category of curses by which the feat of defection from his sole worship was threatened; the Christian

<sup>1</sup> *Book of Capheth*, part iii.

<sup>2</sup> Job xxviii. 28; Psalm cxi. 10; Prov. ix. 10.

menaces of "outer darkness, with weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth"; the bridge of Zoroaster, reaching Paradise only by a compulsory and precarious path over the abyss of hell; the torments of the Islam hall of Eblis—all these are manifestly the outcome of Eastern character, inured to a cruelty and spirit of vengeance repugnant to modern and higher reason. Even the calm and relatively refined tenets of Buddha still forebode a repulsive series of fanciful re-incarnations to expiate presumed shortcomings; while to similar effect also—

"The devils in the underworlds wear out  
Deeds that were wicked in an age gone by."<sup>1</sup>

The endeavour to mitigate the primitive crudity of the earlier Hebrew sacred script is no new thing; numberless rabbinical alterations have long since been interpolated. Levita, a famous Jewish commentator in the fifteenth century, incidentally throws light on the methods that had been practised by the Rabbis for pruning the incongruities and obscenities of the text, to suit the nicer requirements of the growing intellect and culture. Writing with strictly historic intent, he says:

"Our Rabbis of blessed memory say that all the words which are written in the Scriptures cacophonically must be read euphemically. . . . The rule which obtained is, that every cacophonous expression was changed for an euphemism, so that man might not utter anything indecent." . . . —Ginsburg's translation, p. 194. (Longmans, London, 1867.)

It has indeed been said with truth that the original "holy" writ was so continually obscene, even in its gravest books, and so grotesquely incorrect in matters of physiology or of statistic, that if an authentic translation could now be presented of its primal phraseology, it would be necessarily repudiated as anything other than a heterogeneous collection of traditions and fragments—quaint and interesting survivals of a civilisation scarcely more than emerging from man's animal stage in action and language, and to which no more "authority" can or need attach than to the cognate Vedas, or to the ancient hieroglyphic writings or sculptures in the eastern or the western hemisphere.

The attempted obliteration of the element of "fear" in the Christian doctrines may therefore be classed among usual and parallel incidents in the history of man-made theologies; the trimming of a humanised deity's earlier attributes, when these begin to offend and lose the sanction of a progressing intelligence, is such an example of evolution as suggested to Clifford the apt reversal of a famed line of Pope's:

"An honest God 's the noblest work of man."

<sup>1</sup> Sir Edwin Arnold, *The Light of Asia*, book viii.

Mere appellative emendations to the earlier Hebrew text might be accepted as venial concessions to the developing perceptions of the race; but quite apart from these, and most keenly censurable, are the baneful malversations by translators or commentators with a sinister purpose—the altering of the actual meaning of words, the strainings of mood and tense, the elisions or additions—to distort previous episodes or narratives into “prophetic” confirmation of a long posterior incident or fabrication.<sup>1</sup> Of the verbal crudities, however, some remain too deeply imbedded in the very foundation of the language to be capable of removal or mutation;<sup>2</sup> and the same remark will also apply to the dogma of “fear,” both in the Jewish religion and in its Christian scion. The phase of imperfect intelligence which recognised no incongruity in the story of herbage and fruit-trees bearing seed or fruit before the existence of a sun, and saw nothing uncouth in a deity waiting till the cool of the day to walk in a garden, might well be able to suppose the same deity gratified by the “fear” of the helpless creatures whom he had made. But a considerable proportion of modern civilisation has outrun that stage of barbarism; and if it picture deity and human attendants at all, the latter are at least not serfs, but manly souls who “rise to their feet as He moves by, *gentlemen unafraid*.” For no rabbinic manipulations, no revision committees, no paltering with language or logic can enable fear based upon ignorance or fiction to retain approbation as an ethic force in a truly intelligent community. It is not pleasing to profit by it, even from a savage. The poet may temporarily concede the inhuman thesis that—

“The fear o’ hell’s a hangman’s whip  
To hand the wretch in order,”

yet he does so only to point instantly the nobler precept—

“But where ye feel your honour grip,  
Let that aye be your border.”<sup>3</sup>

The instigation or adoption of mental fear as an instrument in the pretended interests of morality is but a further item to be added to the scathing impeachment brought against Religion and her methods by Robert Browning:

<sup>1</sup> For a notable instance of these actions see the garbled rendering of the passage Isaiah vii. 14 in the Greek of the Septuagint, and reproduced from thence in the Latin Vulgate and the English “authorised” version. Some part, however, of the truer translation is now restored by the “revised” version, though only in a marginal note.

<sup>2</sup> Compare (as useful types in the general process of language-building) the radical significations of such words as *zachar*, *nkebah*, and *racham*, still extant in the Hebrew text, and rendered in the English versions by “male,” “female,” and “woman,” &c. It may be remarked that Hebrew itself is but an offshoot from a prior language, of which Arabic is the more direct and fuller branch.

<sup>3</sup> Rudyard Kipling, *Songs*, &c.

<sup>4</sup> Burns, “Epistle to a Young Friend.”

" . . . They were wont to tease the truth  
 Out of loath witness (toying, trifling time)  
 By torture . . .  
 Religion used to tell Humanity  
 She gave him warrant or denied him course.  
 And since the course was much to his own mind  
 Of pinching flesh and pulling bone from bone . . .  
 He, in their joint behalf, the burly slave,  
 Bestirred him, mauled and maimed all recusants,  
 While, prim in place, Religion overlooked ;  
 And so had done till doomsday, never a sign  
 Nor sound of interference from her mouth,  
 But that at last the burly slave wiped brow,  
 Let eye give notice as if soul were there,  
 Muttered ' 'Tis a vile trick, foolish more than vile,  
 Should have been counted sin : I make it so :  
 At any rate no more of it for me  
 Nay, for I break the torture engine thus !'  
 Then did Religion start up, stare amain,  
 Look round for help and see none, smile and say  
 'What, broken is the rack.' 'Well done of thee !  
 Did I forget to abrogate its use ?  
 Be the mistake in common with us both '  
 One more fault this blind age shall answer for,  
 Down in my book denounced though it must be  
 Somewhere. Hence forth find truth by milder means !'  
 Ah but, Religion, did we wait for thee  
 To open the book that serves to sit upon,  
 And pick such place out, we should wait indeed.  
 That is all history.

*The Ring and the Book, i. 981 et seq.*

Even so ; and Religion that was erowhile compelled to abandon the savage instruments of bodily torture is now being further driven to relinquish—shall we say "revise"—her equally inexcusable implements of agony of the mind. For the attempt of the modern revision is, in effect, still to uphold the tottering fabric of religion on the old evil bases of threats and terror. So long as the revisers retain the hideous fallacy of a "wrath to come," so long will feeling hearts be thrilled with pain, even when not for themselves. Humanity cannot contemplate without emotion and indignation the subject victims of the biblical regimen of "obedience with fear and trembling" (Phil. ii. 12). For the result—if not the purpose—of the religious discipline of fear is to debilitate the mind ; to overrule reason by "authority" ; to substitute the enervating indolence of credulity for the strengthening exercise of intellect ;—until the adult years become dominated by a lethargic aversion and incapacity for any contrary effort. This is the pervading atmosphere in which we are born and bred, and it is thus not easy to make palpable to the enslaved ones their inherited or acquired defectiveness. The victim's instilled fear of what may attend his efforts for freedom continually unmans him, so that in some cases he is reduced to a sickly satis-

faction at his comatose condition, and may even find a fakir-like pride in parading his own mental asthénia and timidity :

“ I will lie still—  
I will not stir, lest I forsake Thine arm,  
And break the *charm*  
Which *lulls* me . . . ”<sup>1</sup>

Piteous is the total amount of loss to mankind from such **crushing-out** of individual thought and energy and potential mental growth. The career of the race at large is impeded, and it owes its real advance solely to the few who are not afraid to seek and to gain fresh elements of truth. Not in the ranks of those whose nature is cramped and withered by the narrow self-aims of spiritual fear shall we find the souls which are continually discovering for human existence happier and higher conditions, both material and mental. Wide knowledge and intellectual fear are incompatible, irreconcilable, antagonistic. Hypatia's bravery unto death, the intrepidity of the tortured Galileo, are no solitary or extinct types of the spirit which has worsted priestly ignorance, and eventuated in presenting new worlds to all humanity.

Yet the ban of the priest still exists. He goes on seeing the varied miseries around us, and condoning them as “providential dispensations”; he forbids under penalty of eternal punishment the seeking of any remedy not at one with the books and dogmas of his effete scheme of divinity. Any grain of suspicion that it is those divine doctrines that are themselves inefficient—or even the very provocative of the maladies—is to be officially anathematised and also self-damned, as a “sceptical doubt.” So we may note a potentially earnest soul, of a bare generation ago, “lulling” his waking conscience to renewed slumber by soliloquising, in orthodox formula, that—

“All speculations of this kind” (sceptical doubts) “are to be repressed by the will, and if they haunt us notwithstanding the efforts of our will, then they are to be prayed against, and silently endured as a trial. Many persons, I am inclined to think, endure some of these disturbances to their dying day, well aware of their nature, but unable to shake them off, and enduring them as a real thorn in the flesh, as they would endure the far lighter trials of sickness and outward affliction. But they should be kept to ourselves, and *not talked of, even to our nearest friends.* We should *act, and speak, and try to feel as if they had no existence; and then in most cases they do cease to exist after a time.*”<sup>2</sup>

That is—the murmuring conscience will, by dint of continuous self-suppression, at last cease to present any symptom of life! Herein is shown how almost impossible it is for the early enslaved mind to realise its own defection from the manly courage of freedom untainted by factitious fears. For it is, after all, but the crack of

<sup>1</sup> Keble, *Christian Fear*, “Wednesday before Easter.”

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Thomas Arnold, letter to a friend.

the "hangman's whip" that induces such mental poltroonery, and thwarts the onward and upward flight of souls which might otherwise have become the able pioneers of progressive humanity. This has been and still is the case with men and women innumerable; the throb of a struggling world prompts them to reflection and activity and liberty; the voice of their instilled dread whispers them to a miserable and slothful acquiescence in slavery, with hypocrisy to veil it.

Such is the "intellectual" end of Religion's doctrines of fear. And yet there are persons who avow themselves timorous of the "moral" consequences of the obliteration of the phantoms! Let this one more fear also perish. Even in our present inchoate mental conditions we find humane law prove more efficient than brutality. The abrogation of the cat-o'-nine-tails in our army and navy has not been attended by dereliction from duty, but notably the contrary. For there is in every sane man an inherited element of common sense, responding and developing as it is relied upon.<sup>2</sup> And even so in humanity's greater concerns, the one sure appeal is to a worthier attribute than supine fear, whether of things temporal or to come—to the sovereign faculty of reason, which Religion strives to crush rather than to cultivate—a faculty which already secures to those who use it happier personal lives, and more beneficial to their fellows, than are the outcome of all the intrinsic schooling of Religion. For, in stern fact, it is reason itself that has already accomplished—in Religion's despite—the measures of human progress for which Religion arrogantly usurps the credit—tardily adopting them herself in so far as more widely growing opinion compels. But where that influence is not yet sufficiently pronounced the methods of Religion remain as evil as before. Thus she yet insults the figure of a supreme deity by picturing in him a wrath appeasable only by excruciating tortures inflicted upon a son; she still, under pretext of an abominable and ridiculous fable, initiates and fosters the bodily

<sup>1</sup> That the Arnoldian theory of "silence even to our nearest friends" was in vogue at Harrow in common with Rugby, is shown by some words in a letter of Mr. Lionel A. Tollemache to *The Spectator* of Nov. 5, 1894: "I left Harrow barely three years before the publication of the *Origin of Species*; yet, during all the six years that I spent there, no doubt was ever whispered to me as to the accuracy of Archbishop Usher's Chronology. . . . It was before I left Harrow that poor Hugh Miller began to wear out his strength by the truly Sisyphean labour of reconciling geology with Genesis. In doing so he frankly admitted—and the admission then required both moral and intellectual courage—that, long before the date commonly assigned to the Fall of Adam, animals were constructed with organs designed for the infliction of death, if not of death by torture. Wisely or unwisely, Dr. Vaughan took a different line. He often spoke in my presence on religious subjects, both in school and privately, but never once did he touch on any such difficulties as those which perplexed Hugh Miller."

<sup>2</sup> A further exemplification more recently comes to light: a leading article in *The Times* of Dec. 27, 1898, declares that "the Fellahs, formerly the most utterly downtrodden and spiritless race to be found in the Turkish Empire, have risen to a consciousness of manhood under the abolition of the lash, the *corvée*, and the general extortion of native or Turkish rulers. . . . the Sudan expedition testifies to the transformation of the abject race of slaves, who would as soon have thought of fighting a sandstorm as of standing up to a Dervish attack."

subjection and social debasement of woman, thus polluting with injustice and slavery the deepest sanctities of life, poisoning all true amity between the sexes, and entailing grievous wrongs and deficiencies, psychic and physical, upon our progeny. In all which matters the usual course of events may be presaged—viz., that as soon as Religion finds man's riper intellect and truer human feeling too widely prevalent to be profitably flouted, she will calmly admit the specified ameliorations into her tenets; again boasting the amendment as of her own inspiration, and basing thereon an assumption of her solicitude for our spiritual welfare—with a continued plea for her own temporal recompense.

That science, then, in its modern strides should cast to the ground the fictions and fears of failing creeds need cause no trepidation to the honest thinker. Nor has he any misgivings for the future of ethics. Reflection convinces him that his kindest impulses are of no doctrinal origin, but are an inheritance from the long result of man's experiences and efforts. He sees that human sympathy increases with knowledge; that truth is the inmost soul of science; and that from these combined sources is evolving a fuller morality than has ever yet appeared upon the earth. He realises, in fine, that truth, justice, good-will are no ecclesiastical birth—that they do not come and go with religion; but that it is by opposition to fear and serfdom in body and in mind that these nobler attributes have been attained, and that a like conduct will continue to ensure a higher and ever-advancing humanity. For no Church nor creed may assign finality to the progress or the future of man.

ELLIS ETHELMER.



## A NEW VIEW OF THE GOOD REGENT.

SIR THOMAS GRAINGER STEWART'S CHRONICLE PLAY.

FOR the past three hundred years the most varied estimates have been taken of that impressive but wonderfully complex character—James Stewart, Earl of Moray, natural son of James V., and Regent of Scotland. Some writers have considered him as little less than a demigod, as a man whose virtues were unsullied by a single speck of vice or self-seeking, but, who chivalrously lived and as chivalrously died in defence of what he considered the best interests of his king and of his country. Others, again, have regarded him as a sort of Scots Cæsar Borgia—one who would brook no rival near himself, and who removed by the dagger, the bowl, or the headsmen's axe inconveniently clever opponents whom he could not suppress; as one who had his hand on the Crown of Scotland, and who, if he had not been removed by the bullet of Bothwellhaugh, would have found means to "cause fall on sleep," that frail infant who stood between him and the coveted dignity. Between these two extremes other theories found a place, some of them inclining to the one side and some to the other. The trial of his half-sister, "Mary"—for trial it must be called when the Commissioners of the three parties concerned examined the "casket letters," and returned a virtual if not an actual verdict against her—excited strong feelings of hostility towards him, as one who in place of defending a helpless woman, had, at a crucial moment, produced the most deadly evidence of her guilt. But they did not take into account that in the estimation of Lord James Stewart fraternal affection counted for very little when weighed in the balance against loyalty and patriotic devotion to the individual who was then his monarch not only *de facto*, but, since the abdication of the mother in favour of the son, his monarch *de jure* as well.

The bulk of the testimony, however, and the most reliable part of it all goes to prove that Lord James Stewart, from his boyhood until his lamented death in his thirty-eighth year, had exhibited a nobility and purity of personal aim, a patient sagacity, a faculty of political prevision as rare as it was unerring, and a tenacity of purpose so unbending as in some cases to be characterised as

obstinacy. Only dire necessity, as Burton points out, drew from him the admission of his belief in his sister's complicity in the murder of Darnley. Yet truth was dearer to him than even the fair fame of his royal relative. This attribute of human nature it is which appears to have been quite lost sight of in any recent analysis of the character of the "Good Regent."

We live in an age of intellectual and historical adjustments. The verdicts of the past centuries are all being reconsidered, and in some cases the new view is curiously at variance with the old. To some extent this is the case with the Earl of Moray. For centuries he has lain under the imputation of being a gloomy, bigoted, repellent fanatic, whose slavish subserviency to Knox stamped on his nature the qualities that were conspicuous in the great Reformer. To Sir Thomas Grainger Stewart is due the honour of throwing new light on the character of the "Good Regent." He has written a drama, or rather a "chronicle play"—to borrow Professor Saintsbury's expressive term—in which the chief events in the life of the Earl of Moray are recounted with a graphic power of reproduction and a historic fidelity that are worthy of praise. Sir Thomas has long been known as one of the most deeply read and profoundly cultured of Edinburgh physicians. As the bent of the late Sir J. Y. Simpson was towards antiquarian research, so that of Sir Thomas is towards historical studies.

This fact appears in his "chronicle play." The whole Reformation period is laid under contribution, and is made to live again. Nor does he do this after the manner of the dry-as-dust annalist who overloads his pages with tediously abstruse references. He bears his weight of learning like a flower, and rather suggests than parades the vast stores of information that lie behind the seemingly simple allusions. The play in its technical aspects, which we shall criticise before we pass on to consider the historical, is a most meritorious piece of work. In some quarters fault has been found with Sir Thomas's monotonously smooth and accurate rhythm and versification. Surely the critics in question cannot have read deeply in the volume, for the author's weakness in scansion was one of the points I had marked out for notice. Not that the fault is a glaring one, but in one or two places a little transposition would have converted a halting line into one that went trippingly both on the tongue and to the ear. The characters are well drawn, and while the relative proportions of each are fittingly maintained, individual differentiation is preserved in a most marked manner. Sir Thomas appears to have studied the idiosyncrasies of each historic personage with the utmost care. The dialogue is bright, crisp, and never flags, while the qualities of humour, pathos, melody, strength and robustness of thought are well in evidence. The scenes between the

Régent and Knox are especially powerful, while the character of the beautiful Queen of Scots is delineated with an artistic skill, a loving tenderness, and a subtle sympathy with her sufferings that evinces how strong is the glamour her personality has cast over the \*imagination of the author. Lethington also is a character of surpassing force and vigorous conception. All his tortuous diplomacy, his Macchiavelian subtlety, his restless ambition are vividly portrayed. His double-dealing forms an admirable foil to Moray's straightforwardness and singleness of purpose. In a word, then, the drama is a powerful and impressive piece of literary work. Though it exhibits but few of what may be called the graces of composition, its rugged strength and massive thought indicate that its author possesses a mind of no ordinary calibre. Only in one beautiful lyric in the second act does Sir Thomas evince what he could have done had he at an earlier age wooed the Muse.

But it is with the conception of the character of Moray taken by Sir Thomas Grainger Stewart that we have at present to do. To my mind he shows us Moray at his greatest, grandest, and best, because he had reached that stage in his career when self had been laid on the altar of public duty and patriotism. Earlier in life, when he was Lord James, he had shown that the Old Adam of ambition was still rampant in him. But Knox's influence had killed the demon of "Self." He lived now for his country, for his Church and for his God. The contrast between the Lord James of the first act of the drama and the Earl of Moray of the last is admirably brought out. The former says with regard to the Crown of Scotland, on which his longing gaze had been cast—

"Is the son born in wedlock always best?  
Is not the braver, truer, manlier boy  
Not seldom son of her who is not wife?  
It is a perverse task to prove a pure descent;  
Could I but overleap this hateful bar  
Myself might rule the lands from end to end.  
My father was the King of Scots, and he  
Was grandson to the King of England. So  
The blood of both the royal houses meets  
Within my veins. Why should not I be King?  
The work were good, for I should turn to friends  
Those who for ages have been deadly foes.  
Both lands should rest—no more relentless wars,  
No fierce invasions, ruthless harryings,  
No wild and desperate resistances.  
Perpetual peace with plenty crowned were ours.  
But why, once more, this treason dream of youth?—  
It must be quelled for ever and forgot."

With this ambitious outburst compare the noble soliloquy where-  
with, when lying on his deathbed, he takes farewell of the world and  
of life :

"O my poor country, now beset with new  
 And fearful troubles. Grant me that my death  
 May help thy cause.  
 I once had hoped to hold the reins of State  
 And guide to peace our long sore-troubled land—  
 To peace with England.  
 Some good seed I have sown others may reap,  
 Others *shall* reap with joy, and glad will be  
 The harvest.  
 I still am young and might have lived for years,  
 I always hoped to live, yet now I find  
 That Thou hast satisfied my soul with days  
 I am content, my God, for Thou dost show  
 Me Thy salvation." [*Dies.*]

Sir Thomas Grainger Stewart, therefore, considers Moray's splendid unselfishness at the close of life as the result of the profound and solemn realisation he had experienced of the utter worthlessness of everything in life compared with the one thing needful—faith in the finished mediatorial work of the Son of God. This is the key-note to his character as portrayed by Sir Thomas. He represents Moray as a thorough Presbyterian, or—shall I say it?—a thorough "Knoxian." His reliance upon the theological creed and system of belief formulated by the great Reformer is implicit. In a word he is a staunch Calvinist. For this fact we have no direct historic evidence, but the presumption is that such was the case. Knox's own words are clear on the subject, and we know that Moray followed Knox as regards the main principles of his faith, though he did not go quite so far in some of the subordinate details.

For example, in the first scene of the first act no one but a sincere Calvinist could have made such a remark:

"Though good it were to wear a monarch's crown,  
 Could it compare with that full tide of joy!  
 Which welled up in my heart when first I knew  
 I was at peace with God?"

Now this noble sentiment was uttered in Paris in 1552 when Lord James had gone across to see his sister. He was then a lad of nineteen, and the question might be asked, Would his religious experiences at that age have been as definitely marked as they are represented in the play? Certainly the statement is in harmony with the Regent's character in after life, but at nineteen one's ideas generally differ from what they become at seven-and-thirty. Sir Thomas, however, contends that Lord James's character altered only in degree, not in principle, and that as a lad he was imbued with the same convictions as he entertained as a man.

Lord James was born in 1533, and died in 1570, but into that brief existence were crowded the most varied and diverse experiences of a churchman, a soldier, a reformer, a politician, a diplomatist, an

envoy, a Minister of State, and finally a Regent. All of these characters left their impress upon his sensitive nature. From each he drew some quality that went to adorn and strengthen his wonderfully eclectic mind. These experiences enabled him, in a word, to influence others as saliently as he did by becoming all things to all men. This phase of his character Sir Thomas strongly emphasises in Act i. Scene 6, in Act ii. Scene 4, and Scene 8, also in Act iii. Scene 8, in Act iv. Scene 13, and in the last three scenes of the play. In these Lord James's wonderful versatility is thrown into bold relief against the stolid nature and narrow sympathies of the majority of those with whom he was brought in contact.

Again, Sir Thomas lays special stress on a trait in the Regent's character never before noticed to my knowledge—viz., the freedom from superstition which distinguished him all through life. The age was one of gross, almost debased belief in witchcraft, spirit manifestations, ghostly appearances, and in all those means of communicating with the unseen world which the age implicitly credited. Even Knox, the bold and fearless reformer, firmly believed in the material presence of the enemy of mankind on certain occasions, and related an instance where the devil in the form of a "Will o' the Wisp" led him into a bog one night when he was riding to a preaching engagement, and from which he could not extricate himself until the hour of service was long past. But Moray was wonderfully free from all such tincture of superstition. He was far ahead of his age. Probably this is the reason why he was regarded with such dislike by many of his fellows. They could not understand him, and even hinted that a lack of belief in God was the cause of this unwonted scepticism regarding the materiality of the devil. Moray's noble reply to the warnings given him about plots against his life and dangers said to have been revealed by portents and dreams, shows Sir Thomas Grainger Stewart at his best, and gives us at the same time a fresh insight into the Regent's motives of action. Speaking of these plots he says :

" They cannot harm me till  
My work is done. Then I would gladly rest.  
From earliest years, at home here and abroad,  
I have known danger, looked it i' the face  
Till now its visage fails to frighten me.

\* \* \* \* \*

The air I breathe seems laden with intrigues,  
Old foes grow more relentless day by day,  
And some old friends familiar and beloved  
Have grown lukewarm or icy cold to me.  
Like a strong woodman in my northern lands  
Through thickening obstacles I hew my way,  
With scarce a friendly word or kindly look

To cheer me on. Yet I will do the right.  
 The power is mine conferred by God and man  
 And I will wield it while I draw my breath,  
 Trusting in God's approval and my own."

The first act may be said to present Lord James Stewart (not yet created Earl of Moray) during his youthful years, as the friend and adviser of his beautiful half-sister and sovereign, Mary of Scots. The first scene shows us the meeting between the child and the youth in 1552; the last scene of the act represents him consoling her after the death of Francis her husband, and advising her to return to Scotland.

"Dear Sister, Scotland mourns with you and longs  
 For your returning to your native throne.  
 I speak as their ambassador and plead  
 That you come home and show to all the world  
 How wisely and how well a queen may rule."

This interview is historically accurate. Sir Thomas has chosen the correct reading of Lord James's character when he represents him as doing all he could to induce the Queen to repair to Scotland in place of remaining in France. His calumniators aver that he dissuaded her from coming over, as thereby his schemes to seize the throne would be interfered with by her popularity.

The second act is largely taken up with the famous interviews between Queen Mary and Knox, and also the equally historic but not so well known passages at controversial arms between the great Reformer and the Earl of Moray. The latter was offended with the freedom wherewith Knox talked to the Queen, and checked him for it. But the latter could not brook such a reproof, and retorted so bitterly that for many months a breach existed between the two. Again in all this part of the subject Sir Thomas's treatment of the subject, though not in accordance with the popular view, is nevertheless historically accurate.

The third act may be styled the "Darnley Tragedy." It is wholly occupied with the love of the Queen for the handsome lad, and her determination to marry him despite the Earl of Moray's remonstrances and warnings; her gradual dislike and hatred towards him, and the awakening from the daydream. In this act also we have presented the quarrel between Mary and Moray over the marriage, and the flight of the latter to England, where he obtains his celebrated interview with Queen Elizabeth. Again the author still keeps throughout the correctly historical in preference to the popular and picturesque, but entirely erroneous, view of Moray's conspiracy to dethrone his half-sister and seize the kingdom.

The fourth act is devoted to the murders of Rizzio and of Darnley, which are described, the one by Ruthven, the latter by

Knox. Then Bothwell comes on the scene. Here Sir Thomas has again diverged from the popular view of the subject, and has made Moray's exile in France in 1567 not self-chosen, but to escape the machinations of the new "favourite" of the fickle Queen. A very strong scene represents his anguish while in France :

"Exiled from country, wife and child, from all  
That most I cherish, uselessly alone  
I whirl in eddy far out from the stream  
Of active life—my hopes in ruin laid."

But Nemesis is swiftly following the hapless Queen and her dissolute lover. The surrender at Carberry, the flight of Bothwell are merely referred to, and then we reach the recall of Moray to assume the Regency, with that profoundly pathetic and sublime scene in the interview between the brother and sister. Here Sir Thomas shows remarkable strength in working out an effective situation to its legitimate conclusion. The fourth act proceeds almost entirely on new lines, and yet for all there is sufficient historic warrant. The character of the Queen also is wrought out to its final issue with much skill, and the last glimpse we obtain of her—for now she disappears from the play—is entreating her brother to accept the Regency :

"Your shoulder fits the burden, let none say  
That you have failed for lack of bravery  
'To do the work your Queen and country needs.  
For my sake, for my child's, and for the land's  
Give your consent."

The concluding act deals with Moray the Regent. In this portion of the play Sir Thomas again moves on new lines, in showing Moray so solicitous to conclude a good understanding with England; in his action at the York Conference, and finally in his relations towards Lethington and Kirkcaldy of Grange. This act exhibits the great Regent at his grandest and best. Though deserted by almost every one of the nobles, he never wavers in his determination to do the right and leave the rest to God, and he dies like a hero, a patriot, and a martyr, at the post of duty.

Sir Thomas's portrait of the Earl is consistent throughout. The ideal is high, but it has historic support, and we owe a debt of gratitude to him for cutting away the dense undergrowth of error, misapprehension, and misrepresentation which had gathered round the name and the character of one of Scotland's noblest sons. While I do not maintain that James Stewart, Earl of Moray, was faultless, I contend that foibles have in too many cases been magnified into vices under the fierce light of publicity that beats on those around a throne, that mistakes in judgment have been distorted into political crimes, and that the natural and worthy ambition of a young and

talented lad of the blood-royal to distinguish himself in the eyes of the world has been regarded as a deep-laid plot to seize the Crown and to do deadly wrong to his half-sister. Though the evidence to support those errors has been of the slightest, they have been persistently repeated until now they are credited in many quarters as historically correct. Did Sir Thomas do no more than vindicate the character of the "Good Regent" from such vile imputations, he would have achieved a noble work.

OLIPHANT SMEATON.



## THE INDUSTRIAL POSITION OF WOMEN.

"We have been taught a religion of pure mercy, which we must either now finally betray, or learn to defend by fulfilling."—  
JOHN RUSKIN.

LORD MACAULAY, in one of his noted essays, depicts the British public as taking periodical fits of morality. And he goes on to show that we wake up once in six or seven years to realise the gravity and importance of certain questions, and after a great deal of noise and fuss we fix on one particular scapegoat, who, we consider, should suffer for the sins of the whole country, and this business satisfactorily settled our virtue goes quietly to sleep again for seven years more. These words give a very true description of the general attitude of the public in regard to most of our industrial questions, and particularly so in reference to what is commonly known as the sweating system. The country has had several periodical fits of righteous indignation over the abominations which have been exposed from time to time. We have had royal commissions and select committees, but so far nothing of a practical nature has been done to ameliorate the condition of those most concerned, the poor victims of the sweating system.

Mr. John A. Hobson, in his book, *Problems of Poverty*, devotes one chapter entirely to discussing the industrial condition of women workers, and he says that "The evils of 'sweating' press more heavily on women workers than on men. It is not merely that women as 'the weaker sex' suffer more under the same burden, but that their industrial burden is absolutely heavier than that of men." Of late years it has seemed to be gradually dawning upon us that industrial questions may possibly be at the bottom of many of the moral problems we have been trying so hard to solve in other directions; and it is just probable that the contemplation of the evils caused by the sweating system may be of as much real importance to the nation at large as the temperance and social purity questions. And now, in this year of grace 1898, just glance at the deplorable state of those worst paid of our women, the home-workers.

The final report of the conference called by the Women's Industrial Council last November is now published, and shows a very lamentable condition of affairs. It is of no use detailing all the hardships and miseries with which these women are surrounded: such a course generally has the effect of making sensitive people think that the only way of doing any practical work in lessening the sum of human misery is by committing suicide, but, happily, the mood passes, and then we are full of pity for those whose condition in life compels them to look upon this world as being nothing better than a "world of massacre, murder, and wrong." The report in question furnishes facts which show that about 400 home-workers were personally visited, and these followed thirty-five different trades. It would do a great deal of good to women in general if it could only be realised that each of these recorded cases, in a few bare words, gives the life history of a woman and those dependent on her. As regards wages, the following statement speaks for itself. Out of 389, 249 earn under, and 140 over, 1s. 6d. per day. The hours worked are frequently over ten, and very often go up to fifteen or sixteen. Perhaps it may be as well to make the fact plain, that these hours represent only a part of the woman's working day, for she is usually cook and housekeeper besides, and, in most cases, has also to take her work to and from the factory or workshop. The sweating system is mainly carried on in what is commonly known as the unprotected trades—that is, where no law enforces proper sanitary arrangements or limits the hours of labour. Under this heading come dressmaking, millinery, mantle-making, upholstery, rope-making, box-making, shirt-making, umbrella-making, brush-making, bookbinding, fur-sewing, and corset-making. These trades are carried on either entirely at home, or partly at home and partly at a small factory. And, of course, the Factory Acts do not touch them. In the same category of unprotected trades may be included laundry-work, shop-assistants, and the waiters in restaurants and public-houses. With such hard work and low pay, can we wonder that the conditions of the so-called homes are untidy and dirty, and that the workers so often suffer in health and spirits? Can we reasonably expect them to show any interest or energy for anything beyond the dreary round of their daily tasks? The more the horrors of the sweating system are ventilated, the more firmly is the truth of Dean Swift's remark driven home, that, considering our religion is based on the union of divinity with humanity, it is wonderful how little of either there is in it. What a bitter libel on our boasted Christianity it is to find that even the production of our Bibles is the work of the sweater. It appears that some of our missionary Bible societies purchase their Bibles from firms who work on the sweating system. According to one account, the latest disclosure comes from Glasgow, where women produce Bibles at

wages ranging from 4s. to 10s. a week. They secure a "living wage" for the privilege of spreading among the heathen the knowledge of the "living truth." The charges usually thrown by ultra-refined people at the poor souls who labour under the claws of the sweating system are lack of cleanliness in house and person, intemperance, thriftlessness, and immorality. It is no use denying the fact that in the main those charges are true. Indeed, it would be very strange if they were not. Surely it must be an easy matter to keep clean when everything is close at hand to encourage cleanliness of home and person, where there are plenty of spare hours to spend in company with soap and water, and, moreover, when the day's work is nothing more serious than giving and receiving calls. But it throws a totally different light on the subject when people have no time even for necessary ablutions, and when the miserable earnings are needed for food and fuel. If some of the fine ladies who shudder in disgust at the dirty habits of the poor were obliged to carry pails of water up three or four flights of stairs after working twelve or fourteen hours, perhaps their ideas of personal cleanliness would be greatly modified. They would not be so fond of quoting the proverb that cleanliness is next to godliness, their toilettes would not be so dainty, nor their hands so white. Then, again, when a young woman has been working all day at trades like matchbox-making, fur-sewing, or dressmaking, it is not altogether an unnatural feeling that she should find it more congenial to go out in search of fun and amusement rather than stay at home to indulge in further drudgery in the shape of house-work. The charges of thriftlessness and intemperance are not so easy to fathom. In the first place, it is cruel mockery to talk about thrift to women who cannot earn a wage to keep themselves respectable, much less save out of it. And, in the second place, they have no time to spend, nor money to waste, in drunkenness—all their energies are needed to gain a bare livelihood. As for the charges of immorality, those who work under the sweating system are not generally troubled about the respectabilities and conventionalities of life. They sin mostly through sheer ignorance, and it is only repeating a truism to say that as much dense ignorance can be found in civilised England to-day as in India or China. The industrial position of women in our large towns is well summed up by Robert Blatchford, the author of *Morrie England* :

"Some sell their lives for bread ;  
 Some sell their souls for gold ;  
 Some seek the river bed ;  
 Some seek the workhouse mould.

Such is proud England's sway,  
 Where wealth may work its will ;  
 White flesh is cheap to-day,  
 White souls are cheaper still."

We live in a world of glaring contrasts. There are millionaires at one end of the social scale and women literally starving at the other. It may be asked, What remedy can be suggested, and how can the condition of things be altered for the better? Something practical is sorely needed, and until the physical cravings are satisfied there can be no real hope of effecting any solid improvement in the morals. To again quote the words of Mr. Hobson: "We cannot go to the lowest of our slum population and teach them to be clean, thrifty, industrious, steady, moral, intellectual, and religious until we have first taught them how to secure for themselves the industrial conditions of healthy physical life. Our poorest classes have neither the time, the energy, or the desire to be clean, thrifty, intellectual, moral, or religious." What they do need is better food and plenty of it, regular wages, shorter hours of labour, more amusements and recreations—in short, more humane treatment. And until these lower desires are satisfied, it will be in vain that ministers of religion and other well-meaning people appeal to the higher. This has been proved over and over again. According to Mr. Gibbins, in his *English Social Reformers*, when Robert Owen went to the New Lanark Mills he soon found that his efforts to improve the minds and morals of his workpeople were quite unavailing until the conditions of work were arranged in a more humane manner. The physical wants needed as much improvement and attention as the mental and moral. The only reasonable hope that can be held out to those who suffer most under our modern sweating system is that the Government may be induced to interfere. No help can be expected from the employers. As a rule employers of labour show a marked tendency to employ those who are willing to accept the lowest price for their labour. This being the case, it stands to reason that the industrial position of women will never be changed for the better unless some outside agency steps in. Right and justice for women should be demanded for their own sakes, independent of sex. They are a sufficient plea. The resolute suppression of sweating is, I believe, only possible by insisting on an Act of Parliament fixing a minimum wage and a maximum working week for all classes of adult woman labour. The organisation of the lower class of women workers will, no doubt, be a most difficult and uphill task, even with the protection afforded by Government. Of societies for women there is no end, but the poor victim of the sweater is not regarded as being of sufficient importance in either the political, economic, or religious world to rivet the attention of our modern Mrs. Jellabys. In the old days the Mrs. Jellabys of that period could find plenty of pity for the hardships of adult slaves in the West Indian plantations, and they did not so much as know anything about the child slavery that was going on year after year in their own country. And to-day the descendants of Dickens's

noted character have plenty of compassion for their unfortunate sisters in India, China, Africa, or any other place which is far enough away, while their unfortunate sisters toiling day after day in loathsome slums are passed over with comparative indifference. And then, too, what is to be the future of the children of these over-worked and badly-paid women? Are we to go on generation after generation producing that creature whose very appearance is a mockery to our much-vaunted civilisation, the gutter-child of our city streets?

“Is it right that while we range with Science glorying in the time,  
City children soak and blacken soul and sense in city slime?”

Of course people will say that these are the words of a poet, and that, like poetry in general, they are more or less visionary; but it often happens that those who are onlookers at the battle of life see far more than those who are engaged in the strife. Then occurs another view of the question. Women's industrial position seems to be getting lower even outside the sweating trades. Somehow it has come to pass that 10s. a week is looked upon as a respectable and altogether ample wage for a woman. Now, for the sake of argument, what can a woman do with only 10s. a week, especially, as often happens, when she is obliged to live in lodgings and keep herself healthy and comfortably clad? Why should there be such a marked difference in the treatment of boy apprentices and girl apprentices? Just put the cases side by side and compare them. A boy goes to his trade, and, as a rule, commences at once to receive a salary. He generally gets an advance each year until the end of his apprenticeship. When he is a fully-fledged artisan he will receive from thirty to forty shillings a week of fifty-four hours. And now mark the difference. A girl goes to her trade, say dressmaking, millinery, or confectionery, works the first eighteen months for nothing. Then she goes for another twelve months as an improver, at half-a-crown a week, and when she is “out of her time” receives from eight to ten shillings a week for from sixty to eighty hours. Why should there be this distinction in the payment of the sexes for the same services rendered to the community? If an employer pays a young woman ten shillings for the same amount and quality of work for which he would pay a man twenty shillings, he is clearly defrauding the woman of ten shillings a week. All the excuses an employer can bring forward fail to show the practice in any other light, and this is being done every day by so-called Christian men. In considering the glaring evils of women's present industrial position there may be found plenty of scope for all that education and legislation can do, and it is to be hoped that now the question has once again been brought prominently before the public, it will not be allowed to sink into oblivion without anything practical being done in the way of

remedy. Surely there is not a man who need be ashamed of helping to better the condition of those who labour under the sweating system! The sooner that men as a class realise the truth of Tennyson's words, that—

“ The woman's cause is man's :  
They rise or sink together,  
Dwarfed or god-like, bond or free ”—

the sooner will be brought about that “ betterment of society ” which all true lovers of humanity desire to see.

PRISCILLA E. MOULDER.

## OPEN DOORS WANTED FOR TRADE.

THERE is a great deal said and written just now about making and keeping "open doors" in foreign countries for the entrance of British goods into new markets. It is urged that our Government should strive by every means in their power to find free entrance into all the markets of the world. But it is not less important that all obstructions which hinder the development and expansion of trade at home should be first removed out of the way. It is wonderful to see how many obstacles obstruct free trade in our own country even before goods leave our shores. Too little is done upon our side to open the foreign markets as far as possible by our own policy. We stand stupidly, and allow foreigners to get the better of us in international exchange, when we could easily turn the foreign trade to our own advantage by independent legislation, and at the same time deal quite fairly with our foreign friends and customers.

In looking back to the history and progress of trade in this country we see that it was at one time comparatively *free*; and what is most remarkable is that the monetary and banking business (especially in Scotland) was very freely given to aid, encourage, and facilitate trade as required. The Bank of England was first established for that purpose, and opened up trade in England. The Bank of Scotland was started two years later, and set the example of introducing the use of *one-pound notes* to take the place of coin, and these notes formed a cheap medium of circulation for ready money and served the people well. These notes gave the banks the means wherewith they could encourage trade by giving credit to agriculturists, manufacturers, and the industrious classes. The Scottish banking system did much to give Scotland the good standing it attained to, as Sir Walter Scott said. The Bank of England adopted the same system nearly, but on a more conservative scale; it only issued five-pound notes. Other banks were soon afterwards taken up all over the three kingdoms, and they did a great deal to promote the prosperity of the people for many years.

Passing on to the time of the French Revolution, when the great Napoleon came on the stage in France, and the great finance Minister, William Pitt, came to be Prime Minister in England. After the life-or-death struggle between the two nations, the great

financier conquered the great general. "Pitt was the pilot who weathered the storm," but it was at a dreadful cost. Pitt had studied political economy and finance under the best masters. He was familiar with Adam Smith and his *Wealth of Nations*; he saw that Free Trade was the best policy for Britain, and at first he tried to live at peace and trade with all countries, but was driven into the war by the aristocratic party in England. The great war on the Continent and the fearful amount of subsidies given to Continental Powers, with the expenses Britain had to pay during the war, drained all the available gold away to the Continent, so that the gold guinea coins for twenty-one shillings were sold for twenty-four shillings to export. In these circumstances the Bank of England could not continue to pay its notes in gold coin. The Bank applied to Mr. Pitt to get Government's assistance. Mr. Pitt knew the cause and the only remedy, so he promptly, but with the sanction of the other Ministers and Parliament, authorised the Bank to continue to issue bank-notes to be issued for the circulating medium in place of gold coins as far as required. Therefore these notes were made *legal tenders*, and served all the purposes of *ready money*, as well or perhaps better than coin, from 1797 till 1821, when specie payment was resumed. The suspension of specie payments during that twenty-three years was not such a bad thing as some writers assert. The suspension of gold payments actually saved this country from bankruptcy, and was a great advantage to Britain, for it caused all the greater demand for *British goods* to be sent to the Continent to sell there, and with the proceeds thereof to pay the debts which Britain had to pay abroad. In that way the expenses of the war were paid for by the export of British manufactures, and so the demand for British manufactures was increased thereby. In fact, the manufacturers paid for the war.

When the war was over, the landlords and money lords, with Lord King at their head, demanded that they should get their rents and interests paid in *gold* at the old rate of £3 17s. 10½*d.* per ounce, although the fact was gold at that time was worth about £4 10s. per ounce. The cry was also raised by them to call upon the Bank of England to resume gold payments at the old rate, but the Bank could not do so. However, influenced by the aristocracy, it commenced to contract the currency and restrict the credit to its customers, that caused the awful distress which ensued in the country between 1816 and 1821. Had the Bank of England been allowed to circulate its notes and give credit as it had been doing, until the price of gold came back to its old level naturally, trade might have gone on pretty prosperously (as was the case in America, where it was twelve years after their war was over before gold payments were resumed in 1878). Gold payments were resumed in this country in 1821, but it was not long before the banks ran



short of gold. In 1825 and 1826 gold payments were nearly suspended again, but the issue of some old one-pound notes saved the Bank. After that there was a constant fear that the Bank would run short of gold again and cause another money panic.

To pass on to the "forties." A strong agitation began for Free Trade and the repeal of the Corn Laws. The Tory party then got into Parliament, with Sir Robert Peel at their head, to keep out the Free Traders. However, Peel no sooner got into office than he took advantage of his great majority to get his "banking hobby" carried, which was to give the Bank of England a monopoly of banking in London and the control of the currency; also the reduction of the country bank-note issues. That Act of 1844 was condemned strongly by leading economists and commercial men in England, Scotland, and Ireland, but Sir Robert Peel pressed it through Parliament. It handicaps British trade to the present day. J. W. Gilbert, the first manager of the London and Westminster Bank, and a great authority on banking, wrote strongly in favour of Free Banking, and the issuing of bank-notes in England, Scotland, and Ireland as required by banks for carrying on trade.

It was not long after Peel's Bank Act of 1844 was passed until it was made evident that it was an egregious mistake. It prevented the Bank of England from giving the necessary assistance to the Government and the corn merchants to buy and pay for the corn which was wanted to supply the Irish people with food during the famine. It was foreseen that about £10,000,000 of money would be wanted to pay for that corn, &c., but the Bank failed to provide for it in time, and caused the great monetary crisis of 1847, because the Bank did not finance the transaction in a businesslike manner. It raised the rate of discount on business people at home to 10 per cent. for its own selfish interests and to prevent the export of so much gold. It should have been able to finance the transaction without hurting the home trade at all. If it had not been for Peel's Act of 1844 the transaction could have been managed easily by Pitt's plan of allowing gold bullion to rise to a premium in the market when there was an extra demand for it, and so let goods or other commodities be exported, instead of gold, to balance the exchanges and pay for the corn imported.

The raising of the Bank rate at that time to 10 per cent. caused the awful monetary panic of 1847. The credit of financial houses in the city of London was shaken to their foundations, merchants, manufacturers, and business men in the country were dreadfully alarmed, and many of them were brought down by the tightness of the money market.

"That day a child might understand  
The De'il had business on his hand!"

The city financiers and commercial men rose unanimously and

demanded the suspension of the Bank Act of 1844, which was generally considered to have been the main cause of the crisis. The Government saw it was necessary to give in to that demand, and the Act was no sooner suspended than the panic ceased and trade began to revive! But infatuation still held sway at headquarters, the base Act was put into force again, which kept commercial people in continual fear of further panics. Another monetary crisis was brought on in 1857 in the same manner as the previous one of 1847, just because of the Bank running short of gold. The same severe monetary pressure took place as before, and the same remedy was applied. Yet, again, another Bank panic took place in 1866. At that time Mr. Gladstone was in power, when it is said he plainly told the Governor of the Bank of England that these suspensions of the Bank Act would have to be put an end to, therefore the directors must adopt some means to sustain their credit by a more regular system of banking, or the Bank Act and the banking system would have to be altered, so as to give better stability to trade and commerce. The monopolist bankers have not applied to the Treasury again; but panics have not been averted.

So long as the Bank of England is upheld by Government with all its present exclusive privileges and monopolies and the control of the money market, Free Trade cannot get fair play either at home or abroad. Why should that one Bank domineer over all other banks, and get the sole privilege of issuing bank-notes in London and within sixty-five miles of the City? The privilege of issuing bank-notes has been admitted by one of the largest bank managers to be worth about 5 per cent. per annum. Why should not all banks which would give sufficient securities for its note issues not be allowed to use the same kind of money as well as the Bank of England? If all good banks were allowed to issue their own notes that would be a great benefit to them and to the public also, as they could with these notes give better facilities and accommodation to their customers. It is full time for our Government to see to it that our merchants should get as good and serviceable a system of banking and currency as there is in any other country or in our own colonies, Canada for instance; or in the United States, where they have £75,000,000 of Treasury notes continually out in circulation, which cost the States nothing, but gives the Government a great gain. The national banks there have also the privilege of a note issue. Mr. Gage, the Secretary of the United States Treasury, in his last report, holds out some prospect of increasing the issue of "greenbacks." The people there prefer notes or "bills," as they call them, to carrying a pocketful of metal. The age of metal money is nearly past with civilised nations. We must think of that, and adopt the better system.

There has been a great mystification of monetary and banking

questions in this country by those bankers who have special privileges, and are therefore the bitter opponents of free banking and cheaper money. They are like the old protectionists who opposed the repeal of the Corn Laws and cheap bread, but these narrow-minded views will not do nowadays. Bankers must now open their doors to fair competition, just as their customers do in their shops, warehouses, and offices. It must be quite evident to those who have read the previous articles on Banking in this REVIEW that banking reform is one of the most important and necessary measures which ought to be brought forward at the present time.

#### THE COBDEN CLUB IN A FOUL.

The Cobden Club has issued an address calling upon parties to endeavour by all means to carry out the principles of Free Trade which Mr. Cobden so clearly advocated and desired. But that address appears to fall short of what is wanted in not showing how to deal with the *metal gold* which now bulks so largely in our imports and exports. The quantity of gold now produced is changing the old equilibrium of international exchange. It is now stated that the quantity of gold now brought into the markets of the world is *double* what it was five years ago. Therefore, if *gold* would be dealt with like other metals, or even like silver, it would be much cheaper this year than it was five years ago. But here is the rub! There is a nation which has no gold mines of its own; nevertheless, it undertakes to buy all the gold that is brought to its Bank at 77s. 9d. per ounce, and to sell it out again at only 1½d. per ounce more. Thus it keeps up the price of that metal. That looks like a bad business, does it not? So, if gold continues to increase in quantity as it is doing, that nation may, perhaps, think of ceasing to buy so much at the old price. Or it may adopt a different system of currency, and dispense with gold coin altogether, or nearly so. Other nations are likewise laying up many millions of pounds' worth of gold bullion in their stores, and not using it. Then what will be the use of so much surplus gold? It may fall to a very low price, as silver has done. It was never a wise plan to make a *certain weight of gold* to be the standard of value in this country. There was no fixed price for gold till after Waterloo, so Mr. Pitt had no difficulty with it, but let it be bought and sold according to supply and demand, while Bank of England notes were the legal currency of this country; and that suited well, for the notes were sure and steadfast, while the gold guineas were exported, and gold rose to a premium; but it did not follow that notes fell in value. In fact, they did not do so. But in 1821 a certain weight of gold was made *the standard* for the pound sterling. That was the mistake which has caused all the money panics, for gold cannot be kept in this

country when it is dearer in other countries, and we are, on the other hand, rather foolish to buy gold from the miners at too dear a price.

As to the Cobden Club, Sir Louis Mallet (who was Mr. Cobden's right-hand man when he negotiated the French treaty) wrote an excellent pamphlet for that club, and pointed out that the chief cause of Cobden's plan of Free Trade not being carried out as far as he designed was that Peel's Bank Act of 1844 quite counteracted Free Trade abroad, as it allowed foreigners to get our gold away at a fixed price, generally *lower* than the price of our *goods*; consequently they took our cheaper gold and refused to take our *goods* at our regular price, so that foreigners got the option of taking away our gold in exchange for their corn and produce at a loss to us by our having a fixed price for gold. They could also levy a heavier import duty upon our goods, while we let their produce come into our markets *free*. In that way they get the advantage of us most effectually. The corn-growers have regularly sent their produce to Britain and got gold for it, which they get home without paying any duty upon it. \*This is where Peel's Bank Act cuts the feet from our Free Trade. We could easily stop this unfair trade if we would resort to Pitt's plan, and allow *gold* bullion to be charged such a price when exported as to make up for the duty levied on our goods. That would force foreigners to adopt *free* trade and fair trade with us. The system we have adopted of allowing foreigners to get our gold too cheap has allowed the United States and other protectionist nations not only to shut us out of their markets, but to insist upon being paid *in gold* for all they sell to us. Thus they have gone on accumulating an enormous amount of gold, which really is so much taken out of our pockets, for, if it had not been for that base Bank Act which fixed the selling price of gold too low, we could have raised the price of that metal so high that foreigners would not have got it any cheaper than our goods. If that had been our law, as it ought to be, then the foreigners would not have got so much gold, and we would have sold more goods. It is surely time to alter the present system of selling gold too cheap, thereby shutting ourselves out of foreign markets by our way of dealing with *gold*.

"Say not Free Trade is a blunder!  
If free trade in gold is made,  
Doors will open without number,  
To allow complete Free Trade."

#### FREE TRADE IN BUNKUM.

This is the principle upon which it appears banking and currency ought to be conducted at the present day in this country, in order to give Free Trade fair play, and make our monetary system

most conducive to the prosperity and progress of the people. It is not essentially necessary to raise up and keep up a great monopolist bank or banks. The most essential thing is to establish banks which will give the fullest banking accommodation to the industries, trade, and commerce of Britain, to suit the circumstances of all classes, so that the resources and raw materials and productions of our people and our machinery may be kept working up to the mark, and that our goods may find a ready market as soon as produced. Hence the necessity for having an abundant supply of "ready money" as the medium of exchange, to let the productions pass quickly from the hands of the producers into the hands of the users or consumers. Good and liberal banking is the beginning of good trade, and the best distributor of the wealth of the nation. Banking ought therefore to be pretty free.

The first thing necessary, as leading economists have been saying, is that the Government should establish a national Treasury or bank to supply *legal money* for circulation in the nation, or to authorise sound and proper banks to issue their own notes based on sufficient securities, so that these Treasury and bank notes will readily pass throughout the country for "ready money," just as Bank of England notes and Scotch bank-notes do now. This proposal is nothing new. Remember what Mr. Pitt said to the House of Commons in 1797, when moving the resolution to suspend gold payments. His speech applies now :

"As so much has been said on the matter of a circulating medium, he thought it necessary to notice that he did not, for his own part, take it to be of that empirical kind which has been generally described. It appeared to him to consist in anything that answered the great *purposes of trade and commerce, whether in specie, paper, or any other terms that might be used.*"

On Pitt's principle "the legal pound" was not a certain weight of gold, but a perfectly understood *unit of value* represented by the *legal pound-note*, which by the British Treasury can always be maintained at the same standard of value, while, as Adam Smith said, gold and every other metal fluctuates in value ; therefore it is not a proper "standard" ; and now, when the new mines are sending so much gold here, we are really *paying too dear for it, and selling it too cheap* to anti-free-trade countries, whereby we wrong ourselves, and overpay them, and fill their banks too full to our loss. We must get free trade in gold, and then foreign ports will fly open to us, and foreigners will be glad to trade with us fairly.

We must also have free trade in banking ; all bank monopolies must be done away with, so that far more banks, large and small ones, may get established in all the towns of this country, to take in deposits of spare cash, and give a fair interest for the same, and lend out that money again in discount of business bills or on cash

credit accounts to industrious and trustworthy customers; and these new banks will give so great a stimulus to trade that it will increase immensely at home. The home trade is even better for this country than any foreign trade. By both trades the condition of the people will be improved all round, as "cheap money is the life of trade!"

There is evidence just now that banking can be carried on upon a more liberal system than is done at present. For instance, the *Financial Times* of January 23 said that its Glasgow correspondent wrote:

"I am disclosing a secret when I mention that the Scotch banks are likely to regret their high-handed policy in keeping their rates of discount so high as they do. The Finance Committee of the Glasgow Town Council has authorised the signature of corporate promissory notes at six months' date last week to the value of £170,000, which it has been arranged to discount in London at the low rate of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. (the Scotch bank rate for the same at that time was  $4\frac{1}{2}$  or 5 per cent.). The Scotch banks have been able to secure most tempting rates on whisky and tea in bond, but now that channel of investment has proved dangerous, they may expect to look in vain for the usual custom obtained from Scotch corporations and customers, when they can obtain all their wants on better terms in London."

But the truth is that, both in London and in Scotland, the big banks are too restrictive, and, sitting upon their millions of "reserved money" like dogs in their mangers, they will neither use the money themselves nor let others use it who could do so for the benefit of the public.

However, times and trade are changing, and it may be that, by breaking up the "Bank monopoly," and bringing a sufficient number of new banks into the field, the public will be better served, and modern bankers will succeed better than the old ones, so that banking reform will be a double blessing!

Is it not full time for the Government to give the statutory notice of twelve months to the Bank of England that the Bank Charter will be reconsidered, so that this session, if Parliament should so decide, the Bank monopoly may be abolished or altered at the end of the year ensuing, and other banks allowed to do business on the same platform and with the same privileges as the old Bank? Then there will be glorious trade!

ROBERT EWEN.

## INDEPENDENT SECTION.

*[Under the above title a limited portion of THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW is occasionally set apart for the reception of Articles which contain opinions at variance with the particular ideas or measures it advocates. The object is to facilitate the expression of opinion by writers of high mental power and culture, who, while they are zealous friends of freedom and progress, yet differ widely on special points of great practical concern, both from the Editor and from each other.]*

### HOW TO RE-UNITE THE LIBERAL PARTY :

#### “THE FUTURE LIBERALISM OF ENGLAND.”

THE present state of the once great Liberal party in this country is simply deplorable and most demoralising to the Liberalism of England. Not only is there no longer any united and responsible Opposition to keep the Government of the day up to the mark, but neither is there any recognised party with a popular mandate which can be entrusted to take the place of the Government now in power when that Government shall be overthrown.

Nor is the absence of any recognised Leader in the Liberal ranks the only thing we have to deplore to-day, for a still greater misfortune lies in the fact that the people themselves do not appear to know what they themselves want, nor whom they wish to lead them.

Such a state of things is a most disastrous one for any country, as no Government can be called a strong one, or considered to be in a healthy state, when there is no regular and properly organised Opposition to criticise its actions and prevent legislation in the interests of one particular class. And it cannot be otherwise than deeply interesting to inquire into this matter and see for ourselves why these things are so, and how they are to be remedied.

Now, it may be taken for granted at the outset that the old party division of Conservatives and Liberals (as formerly understood) are things of the past, which have had their use, done their work well, and departed, leaving the way clear for a further and more far-reaching evolution of State parties.

For a long time it has been apparent that there existed among parties of every shade of opinion on both sides of the House a

tendency to range themselves into two main but very distinct and very opposite parties, quite independent of the old party divisions of Conservative, Liberal, or Radical. And the present crisis in the Liberal ranks would doubtless have developed itself long ago had not the old party divisions been held together by the extraordinary magnetic influence which Mr. Gladstone retained over his followers up to the very end. For the old Liberalism, as represented by that great statesman, once it allied its fate with a policy of Home Rule for Ireland, was foredoomed to extinction; though this fact was not apparent so long as he himself was able personally to direct and control the party. But even during the last few years of Mr. Gladstone's life the fatal policy of Home Rule had visibly become the thin end of the wedge of destruction, which at his death was to disintegrate, cut up, and finally destroy the old Liberal party.

And History appears to show that this is the usual fate of all political parties, which have their day, do their appointed work, and become in their turn extinct, but only to give birth to another and a further-reaching policy based on and built up of the experiences of the older one.

And so the old Liberal party may now be said to be undergoing this process of extinction, out of which will shortly be evolved something higher and better; and once the party has discovered this fact for itself, and commenced to act up to it, there will no longer be an absence of good men to lead them.

But everything tends to show that the old division of State parties is gradually evolving itself into two very distinct and separate classes, and into which the old divisions of Conservative, Liberal, and Radical will shortly become merged. On the one side will be ranged the Conservatives and their allies, the so-called Liberal-Unionists (who appear to differ from them in name only), who will represent a strong "Jingo-at-any-price" party, and be supported by the whole weight of the commercial and wealthy classes; while on the other side will be found the great masses who possess the vote, and who have learnt to realise by bitter experience that wars and rumours of wars are not things to be specially desired by those who are scarcely able to live in even the most prosperous times, and who know that these things mean to them the direst poverty, if not total ruin. And so he who would lead the new Liberalism must realise this fact at the start.

On the Continent this division of political parties into two distinct groups is even more marked still, where it has resolved itself into "Militarism" on the one hand and "Socialism" on the other. Here in England, however, this division is not quite so marked, though events would appear to be fast carrying us towards the same solution. For on the one hand are grouping themselves all those who clamour for large armies and still larger navies to be kept up at any price, in



conjunction with an expansive Jingo foreign policy (and one that takes no account whatever of the rights and feelings of other countries); while on the other hand are coming together all those who, while recognising that the Empire will and must expand, yet at the same time realise the vast importance and necessity which exists for immediately grappling and dealing with the vast amount of arrears of pressing social questions at home, and which have now been waiting so long for solution.

And it is this last-mentioned group or division which undoubtedly contains the nucleus of the coming true Liberal party which is about to rise from the expiring throes of the old Liberalism.

This party is destined to become a distinct entity once more; nor, once formed, will it have long to wait for a leader. But the statesman who aspires to lead it must be prepared to lay down at the outset a plain and straightforward policy; he must have, moreover, the courage of his convictions and remain absolutely independent of all party wire-pullers and party exigencies. And in the forefront of his programme must be placed the vital and pressing question of the amendment of the House of Lords, which it is agreed on all sides must be brought into closer touch with the will of the people as expressed at the polls, and be brought into greater sympathy with the majority in the House of Commons, whatever party that majority may represent. For at present it is in touch and sympathy with one of the great State parties only—viz, the one that represents the interests of the wealthy and commercial classes alone. Next he must give a prominent place to the great question of International Peace as contained in the recently published rescript of the Emperor of All the Russias, and which it is high time was discussed in a practical and sympathetic spirit. Such questions, too, as the Nationalisation of Railways and what may be called the "common necessities of existence," and which are now for the most part under the control of irresponsible private companies and landowners, must also be given a prominent place in the new programme, together with such things as the taxation of ground-rents and State control of hospitals, &c., and all of which questions must be placed in the forefront of the new Liberal programme, not in a half-hearted way, but as questions that press for an immediate solution. Were this done, there can be little doubt that the great Liberal party would remain a cipher no longer, but regain its old place in the favour of the country.

In order to succeed, however, it is first essential that the party shall know its own mind, be absolutely sincere, and allow nothing to postpone these vital questions, which have all been relegated to the dim and distant future by successive Liberal Governments, who have been accustomed to think more of party than of principles. But blink it how we may, the question of the House of Lords must first

be taken up and pressed to an immediate solution; for, until this second Chamber shall have been brought more in touch with the Liberal policy of England (when that policy represents the wish of the country as expressed at the polls), such measures will not have the remotest chance of passing into law. And although it is pretty well agreed to-day that there should be a second Chamber to check the House of Commons, yet, on the other hand, it is equally clear that the present second Chamber stands urgently in need of amendment. Whether this be accomplished by the creation of life peers, or by the principle of election of members, it is not our business here to discuss, but that the question must be boldly taken in hand at once and solved one way or the other can admit of no doubt whatever. It is all very well for Lord Salisbury to say that the House of Lords never overrides the expressed will of the people; but then, neither would a second Chamber (call it House of Lords or what you will), *elected on a more popular basis*. As at present constituted, the House of Lords represents the wealthy classes and the monopolists of this country only, nor can the principle of an hereditary Chamber, based on the accident of birth alone, ever be an acceptable one to true Liberal statesmen. For we do not appoint our gamekeepers and our stewards, or any of our servants, to positions of trust *simply because* and for no other reason than that their fathers were good at that particular kind of service before them, but we choose them for their *merit* alone. And it is by *merit* and not by *mere accident of birth* that we should choose our legislators to-day. Lord Coleridge recently said at the Conference of the National Club, and with great truth: "Any Liberal Prime Minister of the future must be charged with the task of *making the will of the people pass into law*, and on this must depend the future of Liberalism." Then, again, the new Liberalism must know how to link the *old* Liberalism with the *new* one—that is, the old ideas as represented by Mr. Gladstone with the wider policy demanded of an ever-increasing colonial England, and the new and ever-increasing responsibilities which that fact entails. It must possess the courage born of great ideas, which will ensure for it the sympathy and support of the masses and the poorer classes of this country.

Such a party would be expected to treat Ireland with a sound moral education for the young, thus getting at the coming generation of Irishmen, and giving them the inestimable privilege in later life of being able to think out things for themselves, while emancipating them at the same time from the thralldom and tyranny of the priesthood. All old sores must be forgotten, and everything done to give that country the fullest powers of self-government outside actual independence of England.

One thing seems to be quite certain to-day—viz., that the wage-earning classes and the masses of this country are dead against a

policy of pure Jingoism for its own sake—a policy which is ready at all times to place a high tax on the necessities of life sooner than not pose as an “expansive Imperialist party at any price”; for there can be no doubt that these men are more concerned to see that they have fair play at home than they are of going out of their way to attack imaginative enemies abroad.

So the new Liberal Leader must be capable of bringing together the old ideas and linking them with the new, and also of leading the great masses who form the majority of the people of England, and he must be prepared at the same time to encounter the full opposition and hostility of the whole commercial and moneyed classes of the kingdom. His Foreign policy will not be one of “peace at any price,” but one based on a peace gained through avoiding all vague and useless speculations, and from the refusal to take over all unnecessary responsibilities, while upholding at the same time the rights of England and those of all other weaker countries beside.

Here it may be interesting to inquire how it has come about that, with no lack of able men in the Liberal ranks to-day, there is yet apparently no one capable of leading the party and forming and carrying out such a programme as sketched above—no one, that is, who can lead the masses of this country? And the reason undoubtedly comes from the fact that the old Liberal party has ceased to work on great principles and degenerated into mere fighters for place and power. This was not the way the former Liberalism of England worked when it was verily and truly a power in the land. Such men as John Bright and Richard Cobden, men who have left their mark on Liberal politics to-day, never permitted themselves to be creatures of circumstance. Above all else sincere, and having the courage of their convictions, they stuck to certain well-defined principles, from which no clamour or considerations of party were ever found strong enough to divorce them, nor were they ever to be turned from their purpose by the desertion of either friend or foe. We remember, for instance, how John Bright stuck to his principles during the Crimean War, when even his own friends opposed his policy of peace and turned against him. And these are just the kind of men the Liberal party stand so sorely in need of to-day to lead them to victory. And it is not their policy so much that is required as it is their high principles and courage.

Why is it that able men like Sir William Harcourt and Mr. John Morley have no real following to-day? The former is a tried and trusted lieutenant of Mr. Gladstone, and the latter, one would have supposed, well capable of taking up the reins of leadership. In the case of Sir William Harcourt is it not possible that there exists a faint suspicion in the mind of the public that he may possibly be more devoted to party considerations than he is of sticking to well-defined principles? And though Mr. John Morley's

sincerity is beyond question, there is an undoubtedly strong feeling against that so-called "little England" policy abroad which, rightly or wrongly, he is supposed to favour. Take another instance, that of Lord Rosebery, than whom the old Liberal party possesses no more able man. How is it that he, too, is apparently unable to claim any real following to-day? Is it because he, too, has never yet succeeded in convincing the world of his faithfulness to principles in face of party difficulties, or is it, on the other hand, that an idea prevails that he has renounced the old ideal of a sane and sober policy in favour of an aggressive Jingo policy abroad, one lately described by Mr. Asquith as a policy that "struts with a challenging front through all the highways and byways of the earth"? Whatever the reason may be, there cannot be two doubts about this—viz., that what the Liberal party requires to-day is a policy based on the mean between these two great ideas of policy as represented by these men. For it is evident that the English people of to-day will neither favour a party whose policy is best described as a "little England" policy (and which they believe places this country at a disadvantage with its foreign rivals, who can apparently only judge of us by the size of our armies and navies, and of the consequent use they can make of us for their own offensive and defensive alliances); nor, on the other hand, will they favour an "aggressive Jingo Foreign policy," which takes no thought of the rights and feelings of other nations and ignores or postpones all pressing social questions at home.

And so it is perfectly clear that what is wanted to-day is a *new Party* and a *new Leader* who, above all else, have the courage of their convictions, who know well their own minds and what they do want, and *who will stick to their principles at all costs*. Such a party has triumphed all through History in the end, and why? Simply because it had *principles* behind it and the irresistible force of social necessity, and because, moreover, it was determined at all costs, and in spite of rebuff of friend and foe alike, to carry these principles through to triumph.

These, then, are some of the things the new Liberalism must keep in mind if it is once more to be a power in the land. But further, if it is to be a success and regain its old place in the esteem of the democracy of this country, it must never lose sight of the fact that there still exists in this England of ours to-day, as there did when John Bright spoke the words, "a vast weight of poverty and ignorance lying at the bottom of the social scale, and that no country can be called either prosperous or happy, or in a satisfactory condition, while such a state of things exists"; and they must bear in mind that now, as then, it is possible to have "an historical monarchy decked out in all the splendour of royalty, and an ecclesiastical hierarchy hiding with its worldly pomp that religion whose first

virtue is humility, but that notwithstanding all this the whole fabric may be rotten and doomed ultimately to fall, if the great mass of the people on whom it is supported is poor and degraded." And again (to use that great and wise statesman's own words), that "it is to raise up these same people who are ready to perish that the future Liberal party must strive."

And these sentiments are as true and as necessary to-day as they were when the words were spoken. Patriotism, as generally understood to-day by the Jingo party, is but another name for a low and selfish policy of "grab at any price" and at any cost to our neighbours; whereas patriotism should really mean "a love for that country that has for its object the establishment in the world of the great principles of 'justice, freedom, and equal laws and rights for all.'" For it must never be lost sight of that a country may possess the grandest armies and the most magnificent navies that the world has ever seen or ever will see, and the most powerful Empire that dreams have ever pictured, and yet, with all these things, cannot be said to be truly great nor honestly respected abroad unless its policy is based on sound moral principles and rests on sound moral truths. For all these things—military greatness, naval display and supremacy, and might of Empire—sink into insignificance compared with the condition of the people as a whole. And it is no disparagement to the Crown of England to say, in the words of John Bright, to-day (and which are as appropriate at the present time as when he spoke them) that "crowns, coronets, and mitres, military display and pomp of war, wide-world colonies and huge empires, are trifles light as air, and not worthy of comparison with the contentment and happiness of the people." For "neither palaces, nor baronial halls, nor the stately mansions of the rich, can be said to make a nation, for the nation does not reside in palaces but in the cottage." And it is the perfect freedom, happiness, and contentment of the individual (and which wars and rumours of wars shake to their very foundation) which alone can be said to make a truly happy and contented people.

Again, too, the new Liberalism must never lose sight of the fact that there still exists amongst us, as there did then, "a population plunged in mines who have almost forgotten that the sun was ever meant to shine on them, and that these are the men who bring up for us the elements of our greatness and riches," and that these men are entitled to our respect and help in trying to make their condition of existence more endurable.

It may be taken for granted that the new Liberalism will meet with the most strenuous opposition and hostility on such questions as the Czar's Rescript and to any efforts that it may make on behalf of universal peace, and that at the best it will meet with but a very half-hearted support from its political opponents; for,

as long as our wealthy families rely, as they do now, almost entirely on the army and navy for the support of younger members of their families (and which now provides their sons with a welcome profession and employment, and which an universal peace would greatly interfere with) these things must be so. And it is a regrettable fact (though one that few will deny to be true) that so many parents to-day appear to regard war as a part of the business of the world, nor would they know what to do with their younger children were the Czar's humane efforts for the peace of the world successful. And to this class the idea of an universal peace is undoubtedly regarded as somewhat of a real calamity, and though not openly praying for war, yet they undoubtedly often secretly desire it. And it is an unfortunate fact that the dependence of our middle and upper classes on war gives a powerful inducement to desire it. It is given to but few people to realise that the so-called "glory of war" is in reality the most selfish thing there is; but, as Gibbon has aptly said, "As long as mankind shall continue to bestow more applause on their destroyers than on their benefactors, the thirst of 'military glory' will ever be the vice of the most exalted characters." They cannot indeed realise, as some do, that nearly all our taxes are the result of *needless wars*; that in Queen Anne's reign alone, for example, about £70,000,000 were spent on wars alone, and for which they are now paying; neither does it occur to them that at the present time Europe pays for an *armed peace alone* the colossal sum of over £209,000,000 per annum. And where is the equivalent gain for this enormous expenditure? Let those who advocate the "glory of wars" so lightly, answer the question.

And so, to sum up, what is wanted to-day to retrieve the Liberalism of this country and make the Liberal Party a power in the country once more, is the recognition first of all of the fact that it must be a party of well-defined principles once more, from which neither exigencies of party nor bribe of office and rank can ever divorce it. And further, they must recognise the fact that these principles and this policy must be boldly given out to the world as *their policy*, to whom it must be made perfectly clear that they are neither "little Englanders" on the one hand, nor, on the other hand, do they favour an aggressive and defiant foreign policy to the total disregard of the rights of other nations. Further, they must boldly own that the question of Home Rule for Ireland is out of the range of practical politics so long as the House of Lords reflects one only of the representative parties of the House of Commons, as it does at present, pointing out that the placing of Home Rule in the forefront of any programme simply means the putting back for perhaps a generation all useful and pressing reforms for this country. They must declare their home and social policy to be one that embraces "a new era of freedom and justice for all alike both at home and

abroad," and must make it clear that their religious sympathies are not on the side of sacerdotalism, but on the side of a religion of Humanity which embraces all religions alike.

And again, with regard to their Foreign policy, it is of the highest importance that they should blazon out to the world that, though they do not favour the expansion of the Empire as a thing to be desired for itself alone, in defiance of the rights and feelings of all other countries, yet nevertheless they recognise the fact that the Empire must and will expand in a natural and healthy way, and indeed should so expand, and that their policy therefore will be one in favour of "*a reasonable Imperialism, based on a sense of duty which we owe to the new peoples coming under our sway and protection*," while at the same time respecting the rights of all other weaker nations.

And thus a strong and just foreign policy will be linked with a policy of social reform at home, of which the question of the House of Lords and the Disestablishment of the State Church (in the interests of a pure religion) will be the most prominent features, and in which such questions as the "taxation of ground-rents," and the taking over by the State of railways and what may be called for want of a better word "all other necessities of life," will form the leading features of their programme.

Such a policy as described above, if placed in the forefront of the new Liberal programme, would undoubtedly secure the respect of all, for it would represent once again a Liberalism which had the courage of great ideas and principles once more, and it would consequently possess the confidence and sympathy of the whole world both at home and abroad. But this new Liberalism and this new Leader must never lose sight of the fact that there are such things still to be reckoned with as unchangeable and eternal truths and principles of the moral law, and by which they must be guided; and that only as we as a nation remain permanently guided by these can we remain a truly great or a truly happy people. And to the new leader neither personal rank nor royal favour must count for much, being regarded as more likely to hamper him than be of any real service to him. And let such a man and party once convince the country that they are in earnest in their convictions and possess the moral courage to take up these questions and solve them, and no bad or vicious policy of their opponents would ever have much chance of success.

Lord Chatham is reported to have once said, "I have known men of great ambition and power, many whose characters were tarnished with glaring defects, some with many vices, who nevertheless could be prevailed upon to join in the best public measures; but the moment I found any man had got himself put down for a peerage I despaired of his being a friend of his country."

And who can doubt but that the coming Century will demand and require more than was found necessary to satisfy the old one? For old opinions, practices, and ideas are fast passing away together with the old methods of thought and feeling, and the new Age will require something more in touch with and in harmony with its newer requirements.

And there is good reason to suppose that a leader who goes to the country at the next general election on a Foreign and Home Policy as depicted above, and provided at the same time that he is a strong champion of Protestantism and boldly declares against sacerdotalism, and the anomaly (at this time of the Century) of the establishment and endowment by the State of one small sect of Protestantism at the expense of all the other sects; and provided that he boldly declares in favour of a religion of Humanity which shall have the moral support of the whole power of the State (and which question must in any case be settled in the very near future)—there is very good reason to suppose that such a leader would take the country by storm, re-unite the once great Liberal Party once more, and, by assuring the world that the new Liberalism of England intended once more as of old to fight for great causes and no longer for pride of place and power alone, it would gain a real and lasting strength and have the entire sympathy of the whole world both at home and abroad.

DUDLEY S. A. COSBY.



## CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

### SCIENCE.

BEFORE another generation shall have passed away it will probably be impossible to study any aboriginal tribes that have not had their customs modified by contact with the rapidly spreading civilisation of the West. Steam and electricity are grinding humanity down to one uniform level, and intercourse with white races is almost invariably the commencement of the extinction of savage tribes. Under these circumstances it is of the greatest importance that the customs of such children of nature as still remain with us should be recorded before it is too late. This has been done in a most thorough manner with regard to the native tribes of Central Australia by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen,<sup>1</sup> who have produced a work which will undoubtedly remain the standard book on the subject. Those who know the extremely suspicious nature of the Australian blacks will wonder how it has been possible to obtain so complete a series of excellent photographs, illustrating even the most sacred ceremonies. Only a long residence among these tribes could have gained their confidence as the authors appear to have done. Not only are the actual customs portrayed and described in the greatest detail, but ancestral traditions have been carefully collected, and throw much light upon the migrations of the tribes across the arid districts of the continent. The Arunta and adjoining tribes inhabiting the district surrounding Alice Springs are those with whom the authors appear to have come into contact most frequently. Although there are some variations in the customs of these tribes, as compared with their Queensland neighbours, for instance, yet it is evident that all are derived from the same stock. From birth until death every action of these blacks is regulated by traditional custom and gross superstition. In their eyes there is no such thing as natural death; to them it is quite clear that every death is caused by magic, and the medicine-men are always ready to point out a culprit. All diseases and pains are similarly caused by witchcraft, and can only be cured by elaborate exorcisms. Perhaps the most curious customs are those relating to marriage, which is only

<sup>1</sup> *The Native Tribes of Central Australia.* By B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1899.

permitted between individuals of certain groups. Between other groups which, according to our views, are in no way related to each other, marriage is forbidden under penalty of death. Messrs. Spencer and Gillen have done much to clear up some points that were hitherto obscure, and have compiled some very interesting tables of relationships within which marriage is forbidden. Some of the customs appear to point to the former existence of group marriages. Almost as confusing to Europeans as the marriage arrangements are the totems. Every individual has a totem; but these totems are not hereditary, nor are they necessarily confined to one tribe. A witchetty grub man may marry a wild-cat woman; one of the children may be a kangaroo; another an emu. Space will not permit us to refer to the elaborate ceremonies described by the authors; some of these last for weeks, and the decorations of the natives are extremely *bizarre*. We can recommend this book to all ethnologists, and congratulate the authors on having brought the labours of so many years to so successful a termination.

Until quite recent years there has been a tendency among geologists to assume that the main features of the earth's surface, as we now find them, have been produced by forces which, even if still active, are no longer capable of producing results on so gigantic a scale as in the past. Modern geologists, however, have come to the conclusion that causes very similar to those still existing may have sufficed to produce effects of almost any magnitude, provided that time enough be given. One of the most able exponents of this modern school is Mr. J. Geikie, whose work on *Earth Sculpture*<sup>1</sup> is an epitome of the most modern theories on this subject. The author treats very fully of the various changes which the different formations have undergone since their deposition, and shows how the present features of the earth's surface have been gradually built up. Especially clear are the chapters on faults and vertical displacements and the erosion of mountain chains. We think that perhaps too much importance is attributed to the action of ice as an eroding agent; but Mr. Geikie is an authority upon this subject, and adduces many interesting cases from his own observation. The illustrations are in most cases good; but on page 102, Cornet and Briart's reconstruction of the denuded portion of the Ardennes appears rather fanciful. This book is not only of value to the geologist, but also to all who take an interest in the features of the country they live in or travel through.

Another useful contribution to geological science is Mr. J. E. Marr's *Principles of Stratigraphical Geology*,<sup>2</sup> in which a good summary of the present state of our knowledge of stratified rocks is given.

<sup>1</sup> *Earth Sculpture; or, the Origin of Land Forms.* By J. Geikie. London: J. Murray. 1898.

<sup>2</sup> *The Principles of Stratigraphical Geology.* By J. E. Marr. London: C. J. Clay and Sons, Cambridge University Press. 1898.

There are, no doubt, bulkier volumes which contain a greater mass of detail; but we know of none that places the main features of stratigraphical geology so clearly before the student. Much of the conciseness of the volume is due to the omission of the minute details of each formation with which most text-books of geology are encumbered. The author gives numerous references where such details are to be found, and where a fact appears to possess special significance due prominence is given to it. For instance, the exceedingly spinose character of the trilobites in the Devonian strata, while the same genera were smooth in Silurian times, is referred to as awaiting an explanation. We are glad to find that the author does not commit himself to any statement or theory with regard to the duration of geological time, which our present knowledge is undoubtedly insufficient to estimate. When we have a high authority like Lord Kelvin assigning 100,000,000 years as the maximum duration of geological time, and an equally high authority, Sir A. Geikie, giving 680,000,000 years as the maximum, the ordinary geologist cannot avoid looking upon both figures with considerable suspicion.

There are some original ideas in Mr. J. W. Powell's *Truth and Error*,<sup>1</sup> and the best of them are geological ones, showing that the author has had an extensive experience in that science. Most of these ideas, however, are clothed in a language coined for the occasion and extremely perplexing to the reader who has only ordinary scientific works to refer to. Sometimes the explanations given do not help us much, for instance: "Ideation is the act of making judgments about judgments which, when verified, are cognitions." The reader has to be careful with a book of this kind not to assign any particular meaning to a word even if it may appear familiar to him. For instance, when we read that "Rest is only the absence of molar motion," we detected an allusion to the well-known weakness of the human race for post-prandial repose. A little later, however, we find that "Molar bodies are those in which primitive man first discovers relations, and with which he first consciously and purposely associates, and they become the type of the others." Is this a reference to the origin of cannibalism, or totemism, or both? Some of the propositions advanced are rather startling, such as "every particle of matter has consciousness," and "the senses are vicarious feelings"; but, as we have remarked, it is not safe to trust to the ordinary meaning of language in this case. We can recommend this book as a perfect mine of verbal gems such as "Corrasion," "negotility," "metageneses," "intellections," "missionation of audition," "pentalogic elements." The last expression appears to refer to the five senses. When we approach the end of

<sup>1</sup> *Truth and Error*. By J. W. Powell. London: Keegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co. 1898.

the work we find an expression, "awareness of self," which looks extremely like a translation from the German, and frequent references to Kaut and Hegel confirm us in the belief that many of the curious expressions in this book may be of Teutonic origin. We prefer them in the original; the English tongue is not poor in graphic words, and need not borrow wholesale.

In Mr. G. F. Stout's *Manual of Psychology*<sup>1</sup> we have a compact statement of the main features of that science looked at from the standpoint of the successive stages of mental development. After reading it carefully it has left the impression on our mind that all our senses are extremely untrustworthy, and most of the mental processes we are in the habit of carrying out are based on mistaken assumptions. We therefore conclude that it is a good manual of psychology and worthy of recommendation to the student in search of mental gymnastics.

*A Text-Book of Botany*,<sup>2</sup> prepared by Mr. J. M. Lawson, M.A., B.Sc., with great care and thoroughness for the University Tutorial Series will be found exceedingly useful by students. The first portion of the work is devoted to the general facts of structure and physiology, and will, no doubt, prove rather hard for beginners to master. The illustrations have been specially drawn, and pains have been taken to make them as clear as possible.

Dr. George Bailey's *Advanced Inorganic Chemistry*<sup>3</sup> will prove exceedingly useful for those who desire to make progress with the study of that important branch of science. All the information required by the student will be found in the volume.

The *Elements of Mathematics*,<sup>4</sup> by Joseph Louis Lagrange, is a work which will be appreciated by students of science. As Mr. McCormack puts it, the life of Lagrange was "the incarnation of the scientific spirit." The book may be regarded as an example of his clearness of view and thoroughness in dealing with that subject.

*A Study of the Difficulties of Mathematics*,<sup>5</sup> by Augustus De Morgan, is a work which will interest those who love to compare the relative value as a system of intellectual training of the exact and the speculative sciences. Sir William Hamilton, in his bias towards metaphysics, decried mathematics. Augustus De Morgan takes an opposite view. He regards mathematics as one of the most effectual means of developing the strongest faculties of the mind. In some respects this view is correct. The study of mathematics sharpens the intellect. At the same time, it narrows our mental horizon.

<sup>1</sup> *A Manual of Psychology*. By G. F. Stout. Vol. i. London: W. B. Clive. 1898.

<sup>2</sup> *A Text-Book of Botany*. By J. M. Lawson, M.A., B.Sc. London: W. R. Clive.

<sup>3</sup> *Advanced Inorganic Chemistry*. (Organised Science Series.) By Geo. Bailey, D.Sc. London: P. D. Heilenberg.

<sup>4</sup> *The Elements of Mathematics*. By Joseph Louis Lagrange. Translated by Thomas J. McCormack. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co.

<sup>5</sup> *A Study of the Difficulties of Mathematics*. By Augustus De Morgan. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co.

## PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY.

JOHN ALASCO was one of the lesser lights of the Reformation, but being in touch with greater men his history is not without importance. Born in 1499 and bred a Catholic, he came under the influence of Zwingli and adopted his principles. Not finding sufficient freedom at home in Poland, he made his way to East Friesland and was pastor to a Protestant congregation at Embden in 1542.<sup>1</sup> Not feeling safe from persecution even there, on the invitation of Cranmer about nine years later he went to London and was appointed principal minister of a congregation of exiled foreign Protestants who had found refuge in that city. On the accession of Mary these exiles with their pastor were all banished, and Alasco returned to Poland and died there in 1560.

John Alasco is the subject of the third volume of Dr. Herman Dalton's contributions to the History of the Evangelical Church in Russia—(*Beiträge zur Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche in Russland*)—in which he has gathered together a large quantity of documents illustrating the life of the Polish reformer. In a well-arranged introduction Dr. Dalton presents a sketch of the life and progress of Alasco. This is followed by some of Alasco's theological notes, and these notes lead up to the most important section, a collection of upwards of one hundred letters by Alasco, some of them addressed to the distinguished reformers Erasmus, Melancthon, and Calvin. The third section of the collection is composed of documents relating to the Synods of the Evangelical Church in little Poland from 1554 to 1561. The volume is an important contribution to the history of the period, and does credit to Dr. Dalton's industry and research. It is scarcely necessary to add that these documents and letters are given in the original Latin.

At the present time the Nonconformists appear to be taking a fresh interest in doctrinal statements of religious belief, as witness the new Evangelical Free Church Catechism. Dr. Samuel Green's book on the *Creeeds of Christendom*,<sup>2</sup> therefore appears somewhat timely. Dr. Green is no believer in religion without doctrine, and argues in favour of a well-grounded belief. We are not much interested in Dr. Green's opinion upon this debatable point, but we can commend his lectures for the able review he gives of the various creeds which have been considered of importance in different sections of the

<sup>1</sup> *Lasciana nebst den ältesten evang. Synodalprotokollen Polens 1555-1561*. Herausgegeben und erläutert von D. Hermann Dalton. Berlin: Reuther & Reichard. 1898.

<sup>2</sup> *The Christian Creed and the Creeeds of Christendom*. Seven Lectures delivered in 1898 at Regent's Park College, London. By Samuel G. Green, B.A., D.D. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1898.

Christian Church. Useful information will be found relating to some professions of faith which have in recent years been adopted by some English dissenters.

Though Dr. Hastie treats of theology in its broader sense in his lectures<sup>1</sup> in the University of Glasgow, the main purpose of them appears to be to justify the theology—*i.e.*, the Calvinism of the Reformed—*i.e.*, the Presbyterian Church. Dr. Hastie as a disciple of the late Principal Caird deals with his subject in a thoughtful and philosophic spirit, but we cannot say he carries us with him.

<sup>1</sup> *Theology as Science and its present Position and Prospects in the Reformed Church.*  
By W. Hastie, D.D. Glasgow : James MacLehose & Sons. 1899.

---

## SOCIOLOGY, POLITICS AND JURISPRUDENCE.

THE third volume of the second series of *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*<sup>1</sup> for the year 1897 is of greater bulk than ever, due in a large measure to the Cabot celebrations, which took place in Bristol and Halifax respectively. At the latter city the Presidential Address, by Archbishop O'Brien, was on Cabot's Landfall, upon which there has been considerable controversy. This was followed by interesting papers on "Modern Bristol," by Mr. W. H. Davies; and on "Bristol in the Days of the Cabots," by Mr. W. R. Barker, both delegates from Bristol in the old country. These are followed by a lengthy paper entitled "The Voyages of the Cabots," dealing with the latest phases of this controversy, copiously illustrated with maps and plans. Another interesting paper called "The Cabotian Discovery," by Mr. John Boyd Thacker, who makes us live again in those spacious Tudor times, as he shows us John Cabot, the British admiral, walking through the busy throng in Thames Street in the year of our Lord 1497, the great man of the day, so soon to be forgotten, and whose name is only now after four centuries receiving its due recognition.

We have often in the pages of this REVIEW drawn attention to the valuable lessons to be derived from the study of Canadian history, and especially from the constitution, politics, and local institutions of the great Dominion. "Canada during the Victorian Era: a Historical Review," is the title of Sir John Beurinot's contribution, a singularly appropriate one in the Jubilee Year, and one breathing loyalty to our common Empire in every line. The comparison between the rebellious and dependent provinces at the time of the Queen's accession to the throne and the loyal and self-governing Dominion at the Diamond Jubilee, at which it was represented by its Premier, a French-Canadian, cannot be brought too often home to the minds of those Englishmen who still think national aspirations can be snuffed out, and that Ireland will remain contented with a system of local self-government to which she was entitled half a century ago. Under this admirable constitution, French-Canadians have retained their national aspirations, language, and customs, and yet they are amongst the most loyal citizens of the Empire.

In the scientific section, the paper to arouse the greatest curiosity is that by Dr. W. F. Ganong upon the "Raised Peat-Bogs in the Province of New Brunswick." Sir J. William Dawson's paper on the "Genus *Lepidophloios*, as illustrated by specimens from the Coal Formation of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick," will prove

<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*. Second Series. Vol. iii. Meeting of June 1897. Ottawa: John Durie & Son. Toronto: The Copp-Clarke Co. London: Bernard Quaritch.

especially valuable to geologists in this country, illustrated as it is by a series of cuts and beautiful plates.

We have received the first volume of an English translation by Mr. B. R. Tucker of Proudhon's famous work *What is Property?*<sup>1</sup>

• Whether we agree with this great writer's views or not, the history of this question cannot be understood without reference to this work, which in its present dress will be especially welcome to many students of sociology.

That hardy annual, *Every Man's Own Lawyer*,<sup>2</sup> now makes its thirty-sixth appearance, and is as well up to date as ever. Although it is one of those books which should be used with caution, it deserves a place in every household. Many of those small points of domestic law which are constantly cropping up over such questions as the relations of master and servant, landlord and tenant, may be safely gleaned from its pages. Within certain limits, its practical value is incontestable.

<sup>1</sup> *What is Property?* An Inquiry into the Principle of Right and of Government. By P. J. Proudhon. Translated from the French by Benj. R. Tucker. In two vols. Vol. i. London: William Reeves.

<sup>2</sup> *Every Man's Own Lawyer.* A Handy Book of the Principles of Law and Equity, By a Barrister. Thirty-sixth Edition. Carefully Revised. Including the Legislation of 1898. To which is added a concise Dictionary of Legal Terms. London: Crosby Lockwood & Son. 1899.



## HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

MR EDWIN S. WALLACE has, in *Jerusalem the Holy*,<sup>1</sup> given us a very readable and picturesque book on the celebrated city of the Canaanites. The name of the city was a puzzle to students of archaeology till light was thrown on the subject by the cuneiform documents. The meaning of "Jerusalem" is "the city of the God of Peace," from "Uru," a city, in the early language of Canaan, and "Salim," peace. The account of the city as Christ saw it exhibits much research. In another portion of the work Mr. Wallace gives us an account of Jerusalem as it is to-day. The book collects nearly all the facts ascertainable as to "the Holy City" and presents them with as much brevity as is consistent with completeness. A special chapter is devoted to "Some Places of Special Interest," including the tomb of David, the Pool of Bethesda, and Solomon's Quarry.

The name of Faraday will always be remembered as that of one of the greatest pioneers of modern science. The life of so eminent a man will be interesting to thousands, even though it may appear uneventful to those who desire to read of thrilling adventures and "hairbreadth escapes." The life of Faraday<sup>2</sup> just published by Messrs. Cassell & Co. gives a very full account of his career. The son of a blacksmith, Faraday by sheer grit won his way to the highest position in the scientific world. For forty years he was connected with the Royal Institution. As a discoverer he achieved rare distinction, and his natural modesty and nobility of character gained for him as much respect as his intellectual gifts. The volume contains much information as to the work done by Faraday and his claims to recognition and gratitude as one who contributed as much as, if not more than, any of his contemporaries to the cause of progress.

<sup>1</sup> *Jerusalem the Holy*. By Edwin Sherman Wallace. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier.

<sup>2</sup> *Michael Faraday His Life and Work*. By Sir Henry Sylvanus P. Thomson, D.Sc., F.R.S. London: Cassell & Co.

## BELLES LETTRES.

• THE third volume of Messrs. George Bell & Sons' edition of *The Works of Berkeley*<sup>1</sup> contains "The Analyst," "A Defence of Free Thinking in Mathematics," "The Querist," "A Discourse Addressed to Magistrates," and "Siris: A Chain of Philosophical Reflections and Inquiries," "Maxims concerning Patriotism," and other miscellaneous writings of the great Bishop of Cloyne. "The Analyst" is a very ingenious argument against the tendency to draw from mathematical science conclusions hostile to religious belief. The discourse is addressed to an infidel mathematician, and is full of quaint learning. Some of the questions put in "The Querist" appear to have a special applicability to the Ireland of Berkeley's day. For instance: "Whether our gentry understand or have a notion of magnificence, and whether for want thereof they do not affect very wretched distinctions?" And again, "What right an eldest son hath to the worst education?"

In "A Word to the Wise, or an Exhortation to the Roman Catholic Clergy of Ireland," Berkeley showed his large-mindedness and absence of bigotry in an age when the Irish Protestant clergy were only too ready to hate and despise the Catholic priests.

*Zur Modernen Dramaturgie*,<sup>2</sup> by Eugen Jabel, is an interesting contribution to that class of literature of which the work of Gervinus on Shakespeare is so splendid an example. The author proves himself an original and able critic of the dramatic literature of other countries than his own. He appreciates the genius of Shakespeare, whose "Richard II." he analyses with much ingenuity. His essay on Alexandre Dumas Fils scarcely does full justice to that gifted Frenchman, but still it is intelligent and careful criticism. Ibsen's "John Gabriel Borkman" forms the subject of a keen analysis. The modern English drama is severely but not unjustly handled. The volume is, on the whole, most creditable to Herr Jabel as a critic.

*The Masqueraders*<sup>3</sup> is, perhaps, the best of Mr. Henry Arthur Jones's dramas of modern society. The plot is very well constructed. A young lady, Dulcie Larondie, finding that she is left in poor circumstances, becomes a barmaid. A dissipated baronet, who is the associate of betting-men and blackguards of the worst description, asks her to marry him. She does so, though she is in love with

<sup>1</sup> *The Works of George Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne*. Vol. iii. London: George Bell & Sons.

<sup>2</sup> *Zur Modernen Dramaturgie*. Studien und Kritiken über das Ausländische Theatre. Von Eugen Jabel. Oldenburg und Leipzig: Schulztesche Hof-Buchhandlung und Hof-Buchdruckerei. 1899.

<sup>3</sup> *The Masqueraders*. A Play in Four Acts. By Henry Arthur Jones. London: Macmillan & Co.

another man—an astronomer named David Remon. The marriage proves an unhappy one, and, after the birth of a child, when her husband is financially ruined, her old lover offers to help her. Eventually the lover and husband play a game of cards, in which the stakes are all Remon has in the world against Sir Brice Skene's wife and child. Remon wins, and Dulcie goes away with him, but, after a struggle, honour and duty triumph over passion, and the lover starts for the West Coast of Africa, where he has arranged to make astronomical observations. The dialogue is light and at the same time natural—sometimes it is positively slangy. The character of Dulcie and that of her sister Helen have been forcibly drawn. Remon is rather unreal, and the same remark applies to the baronet. Mr. Jones should never try very ambitious flights. He should confine himself to the superficial aspects of modern English life.

Volume V. (Heel-Hod), the latest portion of the Oxford English Dictionary issued, is a double section containing 2439 main words, 374 combinations explained under these, and 714 subordinate entries. One interesting feature of the section is that it deals with the numerous pronominal words derived from and connected with *He*. Only eight of these are now in general use. The word "heir" forms the subject of numerous illustrations, as also does "hero."

Mr. A. Gallenga has in *Thekla's Vow*<sup>2</sup> given us a very exciting, though highly improbable, story of Italian life. The heroine in consequence of a dispute with her husband vows that she will never speak again. She is one of those ladies never met with outside the cover of a book. She has an inordinate tendency towards fainting fits. However, the narrative has a certain interest for readers who are indifferent to the question of vraisemblance. Mr. Gallenga's style is rather unusual, not to say grotesque. In one place he writes: "He sank down with the whole armful of her in his clasp." The novel will scarcely rank beside the masterpieces of fiction.

The *Pensées* of Joubert have been presented to English readers in a good translation by Katharine Lyttleton. The title of the work is *Joubert: Selected Thoughts*.<sup>3</sup> There is a certain delicacy of sentiment in everything said by Joubert, but it must be acknowledged that his mind was a thin soil, which possessed very little originality or boldness of conception. The introductory essay by Mrs. Humphry Ward rather overrates Joubert, both as a man and as an author. He was one of those men who are so prone to cling to women of a fascinating type that they become effeminate. Joubert's platonic friendship for Pauline de Beaumont does not excite in the minds of outsiders any feeling of admiration. Some of his aphorisms are

<sup>1</sup> *A New English Dictionary*. Edited by Dr. James A. Murray. HEEL HOD. Vol. v. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

<sup>2</sup> *Thekla's Vow*. By A. Gallenga. London: Smith, Elder & Co.

<sup>3</sup> *Joubert: Selected Thoughts*. Translated by Katharine Lyttleton. With a Preface by Mrs. Humphry Ward. London: Duckworth & Co.

silly, if not meaningless. For example: "Whither go our ideas? Into the memory of God." "The mind is the atmosphere of the soul." Here is a saying which indicates the commonplaceness of Joubert's intellect: "The faults that make a man ridiculous hardly make him odious; so by being ridiculous we avoid being odious." And again, how poor is the philosophy of the following: "What in youth is passion, in old age is vice. Let us die good-tempered if we can." Sometimes he expresses truths that have been better put by other men. He says of politeness that it is "the blossom of our Christianity." This is not so felicitous as Oliver Wendell Holmes's saying: "Good manners are surface Christianity."

*The Pleasures of Literature and the Solace of Books*<sup>1</sup> is an agreeable volume. There is nothing in it with which well-read persons are not already familiar, but it will recall many beautiful passages from Addison, Steele, Goldsmith, Charles Lamb, Carlyle, and other well-known authors.

*The Tutorial Greek Reader*,<sup>2</sup> by Mr. Alexander Waugh Young, is an admirable handbook from a purely educational point of view. The student of Greek will find it very useful. Selected passages are given from Xenophon, Herodotus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes.

Messrs. Cassell & Co. are issuing a popular edition of *Picturesque Europe*<sup>3</sup> in two volumes, at a very modest price. The first volume contains descriptions of the British Isles, rendered most interesting and vivid by thirteen beautiful full-page plates and numerous illustrations in the text. For those who cannot travel much it is an invaluable work, and for those who can travel it will prepare them for the beauties which are to be seen.

*Sartor Resartus*<sup>4</sup> is given to us for the first time illustrated. To Mr. E. J. Sullivan the work has been one of love, and it is needless to say the drawings are extremely well done. The illustrator tells us in his preface that the German accent of the book is mimicked more or less in the drawings.

Herbart's *Letters and Lectures on Education*<sup>5</sup> are valuable, though a hundred years have passed since they were written. Herbart must be classed as an educationist with Locke, Rousseau, and Pestalozzi. To compare him with Herbert Spencer, however—with all respect to Mr. Oscar Browning—seems absurd. Mr. H. M. Felkin and his wife deserve great credit for having given us Herbart's writings in

<sup>1</sup> *The Pleasures of Literature and the Solace of Books*. Compiled by Joseph Shaylor. With an Introduction by Andrew Lang. London: Duckworth & Co.

<sup>2</sup> *The Tutorial Greek Reader*. With Notes and Vocabularies. By Alex. Waugh Young, M.A. London: W. B. Clive.

<sup>3</sup> *Picturesque Europe*. Popular Edition. London: Cassell & Co.

<sup>4</sup> *Sartor Resartus*. By Thomas Carlyle. Illustrated by Edmund J. Sullivan. London: G. Bell & Sons.

<sup>5</sup> *Letters and Lectures on Education*. By Johann Friedrich Herbart. Translated from the German and Edited, with an Introduction, by Henry M. and Emmie Felkin. With a Preface by Oscar Browning. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.

an English form. Of the lectures, perhaps the best is that on "The Sources of Moral Imperfection." The psychological element in these discourses is too abstruse for young readers, and not satisfactory to persons who rely more on experience than on any theories, no matter how plausible. The entire effect, however, of the book is to present a comprehensive, though not exhaustive, analysis of the matters with which the philosophy of education is concerned.

A beautiful edition of Jane Austen's incomparable work, *Emma*,<sup>1</sup> has been issued by Mr. George Allen. The Introduction, by Mr. Joseph Jacobs, does full justice to Miss Austen's genius, and we need not quarrel with him for representing her—as he does, though not directly—as the greatest artist in English fiction. The illustrations by Chris Hammond are quaint and delightful. It is unnecessary to dwell on the merits of the novel, which are acknowledged by all persons of genuine literary taste. We may say, however, that this edition of *Emma* is a tribute to the gifted woman who wrote it.

---

<sup>1</sup> *Emma*. By Jane Austen. With an Introduction by Joseph Jacobs, and illustrated by Chris Hammond. London : George Allen.

## POETRY:

*Rifts in the Reek*<sup>1</sup> is a volume of dramatic poetry, which shows imaginative power and a rare capacity for divining the true character of historic personages. The authoress, Jeanie Morison, is specially felicitous in "Nae Outgait," in which she portrays for us in a dramatic form two personalities so different as John Knox and Mary Stuart.

*On Oaten Flute*,<sup>2</sup> by William Toynbee, contains some charming verses. Mr. Toynbee's sonnets have a note of distinction. "The Relenting of Winter" is quite Wordsworthian; "Imogen" smacks slightly of Rossetti:

"Her luminous face, her delicate form,  
Her hair's fine-threaded gold,  
Her colouring, jessamine-white, rose-warm,  
Her mouth's sweet mobile mould."

There are some good translations from Heine and others in the volume.

## ART.

FOR several years *The Portfolio* has issued periodically important monographs on artistic subjects, with copious illustrations. The number for December 1898—the thirty-ninth of the series—is devoted to an English artist, who died at the beginning of the century, and now, a hundred years later, is becoming known for what he really was—a master that made definite advances in the art of painting and design. This was George Morland,<sup>3</sup> a ne'er-do-weel, for ever outside of the pale of respectability, whose shrewdest suspicion would never have ranked him among the masters; and his life and painting need the thoroughly modern commentary of Mr. J. T. Nettlehip to persuade Englishmen to give heed to one of their national glories.

Gainsborough, Sir Joshua Reynolds, George Romney, and others of his time recognised the genius that was in him in the midst of his youthful lawlessness; and, stranger yet, the French of his later

<sup>1</sup> *Rifts in the Reek*. By Jeanie Morison. Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood and Son.

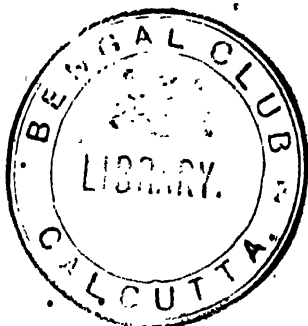
<sup>2</sup> *On Oaten Flute and Other Vernicles*. By William Toynbee. London: H. J. Glaser.

<sup>3</sup> *George Morland*. By J. T. Nettlehip. (*Portfolio Monograph*.) London: Seeley and Co. 1898.

years learned to appreciate him. His subjects appeal to the English temper, even of respectability; and his methods anticipated those of the more recent French schools which have renewed the art of painting. All this is agreeably told by Mr. Nettleship in chapters on the life, painting, and various examples of the work of Morland. The remarks on the tendencies of his time and bringing up are of especial interest, as well as the description of the evolution from his art through Millet and Lepage to some later English painters. There are thirty-eight illustrations, of which six are copper-plates. There is a single example of his work—and in each case a good one—in the National and South Kensington Galleries and in the Louvre.

In Bell's "Cathedral Series," which we have several times had occasion to praise, there has now appeared Mr. Massé's volume on *Gloucester*.<sup>1</sup> The text is all that could be desired by the readers of this series, which appeals to those who wish to have in small compass explanations of the buildings they love, part by part. The forty-seven illustrations and plan are unusually good and clear. The fourth chapter, "The Precincts and Monastic Buildings," lends additional interest to the book, which is as far removed as possible from the talkative guide-books that say much and inform little. Here legends and associations have their share, equally with a painstaking, clear, and interesting description of the buildings, inside and out, as they now stand and as they were. The architectural notes are particularly full, and well-nigh everything of interest seems to have been gathered, such as the details of the colours applied to the capitals of the columns before whitewash came in. The fan vaulting of the cloisters, the west front, and the use of Early Perpendicular work come in their places, and help to the understanding of a human work still so living and so rich in survivals of another era of humanity.

<sup>1</sup> *Gloucester. The Cathedral and See.* By H. J. L. J. Massé. (Bell's Cathedral Series.) London: George Bell & Sons. 1898.



THE  
WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

---

VOL. CLI. No. 1.—APRIL 1899.

---

TOWARDS UNIVERSAL PEACE.  
HOW ENGLAND MAY SAFELY LEAD THE WAY.

DESPITE the world-wide discussion aroused by the Czar's Rescript, but little attention has been paid to the economic aspect of the peace movement. The various peace societies, the clergy, and other advocates of universal peace, too often deal solely with the religious and sentimental side of the question, and even when reference is made to its economic bearings the subject is, as a rule, treated in a most superficial and unenlightened manner.

This is greatly to be regretted, for apart from one or two matters such as the retention by Germany of Alsace-Lorraine and the atrocities committed by "the unspeakable Turk," the sole causes of disagreement between the Great Powers are to be found in their industrial and commercial rivalries and their frantic efforts in the direction of colonial expansion; and these, upon examination, are found to arise from one primary cause—internal economic pressure. On the one hand the nations are confronted by the necessity for finding employment for their people, and on the other by the necessity for finding markets for their goods; and protectionism and colonial expansion, both fruitful of international jealousies and dangers, are apparently the only answers to the Sphinx-riddle that nineteenth-century statesmanship can suggest.

If we fail to solve that riddle our modern civilisation, like so many other civilisations dead and gone, must perish miserably; and if the oft-prophesied Armageddon should set its seal of blood upon the final page of the present era, the cause will be found in our failure to recognise and to act upon, nationally and internationally, vital principles of economic justice.

In the WESTMINSTER REVIEW of February last there appeared  
VOL. 151.—No. 4.



three articles bearing upon the peace question—an unsigned article entitled “The Peace Movement,” which gives the history of the mid-century movement towards universal peace, and emphasises the fact that “though a great deal has been said about peace, little or nothing has been said about that international justice, with its complement of international arbitration, from which peace naturally springs”; an article headed “A Pseudo-Millennium,” which breathes distrust of the Muscovite; and a third article, “The Effects of England’s War: a Retrospect of the Twentieth Century,” in which Mr. John Foreman maintains that the English fleet should not only be equal to the combined fleets of any two foreign Powers, but should be “in a position to inflict a decisive blow on the combined fleets,” and which he concludes as follows:

“At the close of the twentieth century our population will probably be doubled, and, if it be the duty of our Legislature to provide for the increase, the ‘Forward Policy’ should be that of opening up new fields of labour. In such laudable enterprises our sailors have been the chief pioneers in the past, and our soldiers the consolidating factor.”

With the first of these articles I have no quarrel. I but seek to enforce the necessity for international justice, and to show that it must needs be based upon justice between man and man at home. As regards the second, whether Russia acts in good faith or no, our obligation to act justly and fairly in both our domestic and our foreign relations remains. As for the third, Mr. Foreman practically attempts to justify and calls for an extension of our present policy: it is the folly and the danger of this policy that I seek in the present article to demonstrate. I seek to show that the proper development of our home resources will provide ample employment and an ample market for two or three times our present population, and that there is in the nature of things no necessity whatever for “such laudable enterprises” as the land-stealing expeditions in which our sailors and our soldiers have too often been engaged—that, in short, it is not land-grabbing abroad that is needed, but land reform at home.

The folly and the danger of piling up huge armaments as a guarantee for peace are obvious enough. The burdens on the workers steadily increase in weight, but the relative strength of the nations remains the same. Already national bankruptcy stares the weaker Powers in the face; and it is manifestly to the interest of any Power that finds that it cannot longer stand the strain, to provoke immediate hostilities, for the longer the inevitable outbreak—is inevitable, that is to say, so long as the present mad race continues—is delayed, the more hopelessly will the bankrupt nation be left behind.

But how is the mad race to be stopped? How are the vast armaments to be reduced?

An International Peace Conference is to be held to consider the Czar's proposals; but, in spite of the fact that Mr. Goschen in submitting the Navy Estimates to the House of Commons—estimates which, by the way, provided for an increase of some three millions sterling—pledged the Government that if the great Naval Powers were prepared to diminish their programmes for shipbuilding, her Majesty's Government would be prepared to modify theirs, it is, I fear, hopeless to expect any immediate practical result from the deliberations of such a Conference. It is an attempt to deal with effects while leaving the causes untouched. The difficulties in the way of securing united action are very obvious; and it is equally manifest that no one nation can afford to set an example to the rest in the direction of disarmament.

In the present article, however, I propose to show how England—or, *mutatis mutandis*, any other Power, even the weakest of them all—may, by initiating certain economic reforms which inevitably tend in that direction, safely lead the way towards universal peace; and that the introduction of such reforms, while removing from the backs of her own people the great and ever-growing burdens arising from present conditions, will, so far from weakening, materially strengthen her position as compared with other nations; and, instead of compelling them to compete with her in suicidal war expenditure, will by the logic of events constrain them to emulate her in the arts of peace.

Each nation has "natural enemies," but they are the common enemies of all nations—hunger, thirst, and nakedness. In combating these the nations can fight best side by side, and each step gained by one nation is a gain to all the rest. The protectionist idea that the industrial and commercial interests of one country are necessarily opposed to the industrial and commercial interests of the rest is a "damnable heresy." Antonio, merchant, of Venice, sent out rich argosies laden with the products of his own country. These his agents sold in far-off climes, and, buying spices and other merchandise in many ports, returned once more to Venice to give account of their stewardship. Thus in those days did Antonio by selling to advantage in distant parts what Venice could produce best and cheapest, and by buying in the cheapest market what would fetch a good price in Venice, seek to better his fortunes. The excess of his imports over his exports represented Antonio's profit; an excess of exports over imports meant to him a dead loss; and it was the realisation of the protectionist ideal—all exports and no imports—that brought him in peril of Shylock's knife. And in these days, though on the surface trade appears to be a much more complicated matter than it was then, it is at bottom, as in the very earliest days, simply barter.

Did the nations, now such jealous rivals, realise this, they would

see that for every pound's worth of wealth imported into a country a pound's worth of wealth must be produced within that country to export in exchange for it. So that, for instance, the more German labour we employ by importing goods made in Germany the more British labour we must employ in producing goods to pay for them. It would, in short, be best for each nation and for all nations to have absolute freedom of trade between each and all.

That this principle of the "open door" applied to all the Great Powers and their several dependencies would remove many, if not most, of the causes of international friction is at once apparent. It would, for example, at once abate the fever for colonial expansion. Ridicule would do the rest; for how utterly absurd is this expansion madness, this craze for annexing swamps in mid-Africa in order to secure the trade of a lot of naked savages, or for forcing our goods on the Chinese with their low standard of living, when at home we have hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children in want, to supply whose needs would absorb more than all our "surplus products"!

Protection and colonial expansion are but quack nostrums, and the diagnosis of the quacks who prescribe them is utterly wrong. The nations are not suffering from "over-production" and "over-population." These do not produce the internal economic pressure that leads to so much unrest. The cause of that pressure is unjust social and industrial conditions.

That our industrial and social conditions in this country are anything but just is clearly shown by a striking table in this year's *Financial Reform Almanack*—a publication that is a mine of information for all Progressives:

"The table," says its compiler in an explanatory note, "shows the total net capital value of all real and personal property in the United Kingdom 'for the year ended March 31, 1897,' and the sections of the population who hold property and those who do not. It is based on pages 62-3-4 of the *Fortieth Report of the Inland Revenue Department* (1897) relating to Death Duties; and on the *Statistical Abstract* (1897)."

From the table it appears that *one two-hundredth part of the population*—200,115 persons in all—own £8,879,169,527, or 70 per cent. of the total property of the United Kingdom (£12,672,846,988); while 36,463,517 persons—92·4 per cent. of the population—own between them only £39,039,478, or *between one four-hundredth and one two-hundredth part of the total wealth*—"proof positive that 'the few have profited at the cost of the many.'"

And how and why have they thus profited?

To the following figures our Socialist friends, who fail to realise the vital importance of the land question, should pay special heed:

"Of the 14,751 persons with property worth £100,000 and over," says the writer, "only 3272 are in trade and professions; according to the latest official returns on land ownership, the wealthy classes have their money very largely locked up in land, thus—out of a total of 72,119,311 acres in the United Kingdom, no less than 51,885,118 acres are owned by 10,868 persons; while 71·7 per cent. of our population are driven into towns or urban districts on account of this hard monopoly in land,"

with results that the slum-dwellers, the underpaid workers, and the unemployed of our towns and cities know to their great cost, and the palace-dwellers, the overpaid shirkers, the land-"owners" of our towns and cities know to their great gain.

The article on "Local Taxation" in the same *Almanack* demonstrates how our present system of local rating squeezes the workers for the benefit of the land-"owners." It shows that great public improvements are being made year by year by our local authorities, that these improvements are paid for by the occupiers first of all in the shape of rates; and that, since the improvements enormously enhance the value of the land, they are practically paid for by the occupiers *a second time*, in the shape of higher rents to land-"owners" who have done nothing and paid nothing towards the improvements. The article on "Mining Royalties" shows how in royalties, dead-rents, way-leaves, &c., the "owners" of mineral land levy a huge tax on the mining industry, and, through it, on all other industries. For instance:

"Take the shipping industry. The *Campania* or *Lucania*, two of the Cunard American liners, use 500 tons of coal a day. In the stoke-holds of these ships there are three classes of men—greasers, or first-class firemen, who receive as wages 3s. 8d.; firemen, who get 3s. 4d.; and trimmers, who get 3s. a day. Taking the royalty at practically the minimum amount, 6d. a ton, we see that the landowner, living at ease, gets as much for doing nothing as *seventy-five* of these men get for the most arduous labour."

The article on the "Death Duties" sets forth the tardy instalment of justice meted out by Sir William Harcourt's Budget of 1894; that on the Agricultural Rating Act shows how the present "Land-lord Government" used the surplus so obtained, not to reduce the burdensome taxes on the necessities of life—taxes most unjust to the workers—but to give, in the guise of relief to agriculture, some £2,000,000 a year to the shirkers; and the article on "The Land Tax" shows that while "the people of this country pay the land-owners some couple of hundred millions of pounds a year for permission to live upon the land of their birth," out of this huge sum the land-"owners" "contribute to the people, in the shape of Land Tax or State rent, about a million a year"!

The fact that the land-"owners" of the United Kingdom levy upon

the labour and capital of the United Kingdom an annual tribute of £200,000,000 is a 'monstrous iniquity, and taken in conjunction with the unjust incidence of taxation, both local and Imperial, it goes far to explain the relative positions of the Haves and the Have Nots in this country. The conditions are, indeed, so iniquitous\*that it is difficult to believe that many of the land-"owners" themselves do not perceive it and marvel in their inmost hearts that the people have not long ago made use of their power at the ballot-box to put an end to such gross injustice.

The labour and capital of the country produce each year so many hundreds of millions of pounds' worth of wealth; and out of this the land-"owner" claims as his share £200,000,000. For what? As land-"owner" he has not done a single stroke of work, he has not added so much as one farthing's worth to the annual output of wealth, yet he demands this huge share! The mere owning of the land will not make crops grow or raise stock, build houses and shops, or make other improvements; the mere owning of land will not develop the mineral wealth or any other latent capabilities of the soil; yet for merely owning the land the people of this country pay one two-hundredth part of their number £200,000,000 each year! Confronted by such facts a visitor from Mars would scarce know whether he were more astounded at the impudence of the shirkers in making such a demand or at the stupidity of the workers who without demur go on paying it year in and year out.

Such unjust economic conditions prevail to a greater or a less extent in every "civilised" country, and it is to these that the internal economic pressure from which they all suffer is due.

But how are these conditions to be remedied? And in what way will their removal tend to the realisation of the ideal set forth in the Czar's Rescript?

The simple yet sovereign remedy that I suggest is the gradual substitution of a tax on land values for all the robber rates and taxes now levied upon trade and industry.

In this country the natural first step in that direction would be to impose upon present values the Land Tax of 4s. in the £ now levied, thanks to landlord-made law, on the values of 1692. The Land Tax should then be gradually increased, say by an additional shilling in the £ each year; and step by step the present ~~lenges~~ <sup>levies</sup> and taxes on labour and capital should be repealed, till at land ~~val~~ <sup>when</sup> all other forms of taxation were abolished and the tax on ~~Even~~ <sup>values</sup> (Henry George's single tax) reached 20s. in the £.

change for ~~its~~ <sup>its</sup> purely fiscal aspect such a reform would mean a great ~~The annu~~ <sup>the better</sup>.

may be roughly burdens on labour and capital under present conditions stated as follows:

Rent paid as tribute to idle landlords . . . . .	£200,000,000
Robber rates and taxes on labour and capital, about . . . . .	130,000,000
Total . . . . .	£330,000,000

Under the proposed system the account would stand :

Tribute to idle land-“ owners ” . . . . .	Nil.
Rent paid to the State in form of a tax on land values . . . . .	£200,000,000
Robber rates and taxes on labour and capital . . . . .	Nil.
Total . . . . .	£200,000,000

—a clear gain of £130,000,000 a year, even without taking into account the fact that the abolition of land monopoly would considerably reduce rents.

It is obvious that the removal of such a huge deadweight of taxation from the backs of labour and capital and the abolition of all trammels upon our commerce would give a tremendous stimulus to trade and industry, that our annual output of wealth would be enormously increased, and that there would be a great development of our trade with other nations. The abolition of land monopoly, moreover, would result in a great movement of the “surplus labour” of our towns and cities back to the country districts, where 26,000,000 acres, 12,000,000 of which are good cultivable land capable of supporting a family to every five or ten acres, are now held idle. As Adam Smith said years ago, the greatest burden on the land is the landlord. The rent tribute levied on agriculture alone is some £57,000,000 a year. Once relieved of that burden British agriculture could readily support on home-grown food the whole of our present population, and find employment in doing so for the whole of our unemployed; for, according to Prince Krapotkin, the late Lord Derby, Alderman Mechi, and other authorities, this country could readily support from two to three times its present population. Production would also be further stimulated by the relief of the mining industry from the present oppressive dead-rents, royalties, &c.; and the internal economic pressure, the apparent “glut of labour” and “glut of goods” from which we are now suffering, would quickly be a thing of the past.

This in itself would be a great object lesson to the other Powers. They would, moreover, see that this country, owing to the great growth in the annual output of wealth, had vastly increased her staying power in case of war, and that the fact that British agriculture could supply British needs would make her strong where she is now most vulnerable.

There can be no doubt that our colonies and the United States of America would sooner or later follow suit. In fact, in Canada, New Zealand, New South Wales, Queensland, South Australia, and

Tasmania, the thin end of the wedge of land value taxation has already been inserted ; in Victoria a Land Tax Bill has been passed by the Popular Chamber but rejected by the Non-representative House ; and in Western Australia, our South African colonies, and in the United States there exists a strong and ever-strengthening agitation in favour of the reform.

Absolute freedom of trade between England, her colonies, and the United States would pave the way for the federation of the English-speaking races ; and with England enjoying the blessings and advantages resulting from the breaking down of the barriers of land monopoly and the removal of the rates and taxes that now hamper and discourage trade and industry, the continental nations could not long afford to retain, did they even desire to do so, their present crushing burdens—their top-heavy armaments and their grievous rates and taxes. The Anglo-American Federation could guarantee the peace of the world, and the then useless armaments could be dispensed with, and all customs tariffs and other imposts that now trammel trade and industry and set nation against nation could be abolished.

Of course this could not be brought about all at once. It takes time to reform hoary abuses whose roots lie buried in the centuries. But a beginning could be made, and the sooner that beginning is made the sooner will these reforms be accomplished.

The first step, the imposition upon present values of the Land Tax of 4s in the £, now levied on the values of 200 years ago, though it would not give full fiscal freedom, would force the dogs-in-the-manger to let go their grip of the millions of acres now held idle and thus solve the unemployed difficulty ; while the revenue derived from the tax—£40,000,000 a year—would enable the Chancellor of the Exchequer to introduce in his Budget such reforms as Payment of Members and of Election Expenses, the Abolition of the Breakfast Table Duties, and Old Age Pensions. Each further step in this direction would mean a corresponding relief to labour and capital, a corresponding growth of the annual output of wealth, and a corresponding increase in the "staying power" of the country ; and long before the Land Tax reached 20s. in the £ the peace-making effects of this policy would begin to be felt.

It is, I am convinced, on the lines suggested above, rather than by direct action in the way of international conferences, that we may best advance the cause of universal peace.

The method I advocate goes to the root of the matter, and, by removing the cause of international jealousies and rivalries, would secure the reduction and finally the abolition of those monster armaments which are but the natural effect of such jealousies and rivalries.

On the other hand, even supposing that the Great Powers in their present frame of mind could be persuaded to agree to an all-round

and proportionate reduction of armaments, it is a great mistake to suppose that such a reduction, unaccompanied by the taxation of land values, would result in any lessening of the burdens under which the nations are now staggering. Land monopoly enables the landowners to compel the workers to hand over to them the whole of the produce of their labour above and beyond a bare subsistence, and, as Henry George clearly shows in chapter xxv. of his *Protection or Free Trade*, headed "The Robber that Takes All that is Left," all reforms of whatever character, short of the abolition of land monopoly, can be of no avail to relieve the economic pressure that is at the root of modern unrest.

Whatever reduction in taxation, therefore, might follow the diminution of armaments would inevitably be swallowed up in the rise of rents; and, so far from the condition of the people being bettered, it would be made even worse than it is now by reason of the discharged soldiers and sailors, and the discharged workers now employed in our arsenals and our dockyards, being compelled to compete for wages in the general labour market. The economic pressure in each country would thus become even more acute than it is now, and, unless wiser counsels than those in vogue to-day should then prevail, protectionist ideas would soon be more rampant, the mad rush for colonial expansion madder, and international complications even more embittered than they are to-day.

In fact, this bull-at-a-gate method of dealing with the problem would probably only serve to precipitate a crisis.

The able leading article in this year's *Financial Reform Almanack*, "The Social and Economic Effects of Disarmament," approaching this question from a very different standpoint, reaches the very same conclusion as that arrived at above. It deals most ably with the bogies of "over-production" and "over-population," and shows that land monopoly is "the kernel of the whole labour problem."

"Here," says the writer, "we find the reason for the necessity for constantly opening up new markets. Here is the reply to those who assert that the disbanding of the huge armies would throw too many more men upon the already crowded labour market: Give access to the material and forces of nature. . . . Wherever we find the phenomena of want and poverty existing side by side with seeming over-production we may rest assured that somewhere or other the circle of production and exchange has been broken, and labour denied access to land. . . . This land monopoly must be broken down; and the best method of doing this is by the taxation of land values. . . . The breakdown of the land monopoly would give an immense impetus to trade in this country; it would abolish involuntary pauperism, allow the people to be housed in comfortable dwellings, raise the whole standard of comfort, and elevate the condition of the people. The revenue derived from the tax could be usefully spent for the benefit of the people, instead of being—like the receipts from Sir William Harcourt's 'Death Duties'—frittered away in war armaments. Many of the millions now spent on the army and navy could



be used to reduce and pay off the National Debt. Taxation would then become no burden at all, but the payment for services rendered. We would be a well-fed, well-housed, well-to-do, lightly-taxed nation."

Dealing with the growth of militarism, the writer shows that between 1870 and 1898 the expenditure on armaments in Europe has practically doubled (from £106,000,000 to £209,000,000), and that an amount that would keep 20,000,000 in comfort is expended in war preparations. It is shown that the war system is ruinous to India and Italy; that every nation is over-taxed; and that in the United Kingdom

"the national expenditure in 1896-97 (net issues) was £88,619,762, of which no less than £66,333,914 went in payment of war debt or military expenditure. Fifteen shillings out of every pound going for war debt or war preparations, and only five shillings for civil expenditure, including education and maintenance of law and order!"

Small wonder that the stern logic of events is forcing statesmen in every country to cast around for fresh sources of revenue, and that in this country there has been during the past year a great ripening of public opinion with regard to the taxation of land values.

The increase in Imperial taxation necessitated by this year's deficit must needs tend, like the steady increase in local taxation, to turn the attention of the people more and more to land values as a source of revenue; and that public opinion is now practically ripe for the taxation of land values, both for Imperial and local purposes, is becoming day by day more manifest. The reduction of the Conservative majority to 34 in the division on Mr. E. J. C. Morton's amendment to the Address, calling attention to the housing problem as a matter of urgency and suggesting as the remedy the taxation of land values, is only one sign among many of the trend of public opinion. Representative conferences up and down the country have demanded the reform in no uncertain tones; the National Liberal Conference, at its meeting at Hull on March 8, passed unanimously amid cheers a resolution calling for the taxation of land values; and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, Sir William Harcourt, Mr. John Morley, Mr. Asquith, Lord Rosebery, and other leading Liberals, have committed themselves more than once to the principle. But what is wanted is that the Liberal Party as a whole should come together, and that a hard-and-fast pledge should be given that, if the Liberals are returned to power at the next General Election, the Chancellor of the Exchequer will introduce in his very first Budget the four great financial reforms already enumerated.

The late William Saunders, M.P., always maintained and the London County Council on one occasion affirmed by a large majority that the resolution of 1687, by which the House of Lords is rendered powerless so far as financial measures are concerned, should apply to a Bill to empower local bodies to tax land values.

Here, then, are no less than five reforms of the utmost importance, all of which the Liberals *can if they will* carry in the teeth of the House of Lords :

1. Payment of Members and of Election Expenses.
2. Abolition of the Breakfast Table Duties.
3. Old Age Pensions.
4. Taxation of Land Values for Imperial purposes.
5. An Act empowering Local Bodies to Tax Land Values.

With five vital and practicable measures of reform such as these emblazoned on their banners, the Liberal Party would assuredly win "hands down" when next an appeal is made to the country. But the official Whig element are slow to move. More than three and a half years of valuable time have been lost, the fight on these lines should have been begun immediately after the elections of 1895 ; and if anything worth the doing is to be done no time must be lost, for he would be a rash man indeed who would give the present Parliament a longer lease of life than two and a half years at furthest.

If even a dozen or half-a-dozen members of Parliament—and there are many times that number pledged to these reforms—were to meet and issue an earnest, businesslike manifesto on the lines suggested, I am convinced that the response from the country at large would be so hearty that the whole Liberal Party, with the possible exception of a few belated Whigs, would quickly swing into line and would sweep the country from end to end at the next General Election.

Are there none of the Liberal Forward stalwarts, none of those who stand so staunchly for right dealing between nation and nation, none of those who oppose so firmly the slightest encroachment upon the liberty of the negro—are there none of those to stand up boldly for right dealing between man and man in this England of ours ? none of these to right the wrongs of the rent-slaves of their own land ? none who dare take the lead in this far-reaching, world-compelling movement for economic justice, and give the Whig "leaders" of the party distinctly and definitely to understand that, with or without them, this and no other is the way that they mean to go ?

## THE PRIMATE, THE PRESS, AND THE PEOPLE.

THOSE shallow observers who, two or three months ago, prophesied that the disturbances taking place in ecclesiastical circles would soon be put away in the limbo of forgotten things were doomed to disappointment. The controversy not only rages still, but that with increased vigour. No sign of abatement has yet shown itself. Authority, slow to move and of sceptical pose, has at length spoken. Certain of the erstwhile recalcitrants have given in their allegiance; others have openly breathed defiance against their diocesans. Meetings are held, resolutions are passed, episcopal charges are delivered. But there is no indication on the part of at least one section of the laity to withdraw from the position they have taken up. This section, numerically compared with its opponents, is overwhelming. It comprises, there is little doubt, the greater portion of loyal Churchmen, and beyond all shadow of surmise what is practically the whole body of Nonconformity. It includes, furthermore, several bishops who are a more or less uncertain quantity, and at least three or four who have championed the movement from the beginning. In addition, the Prime Minister has openly impeached the rulers of the Church for the prevailing chaos, and has expressed his deep sympathy with the Evangelical party. The fact of the head of the Government being in conjunction with the leader of the Opposition bodes ominously for the Ritualists, Mr. Balfour's proposal for an Irish Roman Catholic University notwithstanding. Whatever plea may be put forward by the First Lord of the Treasury and his apologists, they will find it hard at the present moment to dissociate Romanism and Ritualism in the minds of the English people.

These things are matter of common knowledge. But what seems to have escaped general notice are certain other aspects of the question. The most curious and significant of these is the way in which the entire controversy has been treated by the daily and weekly secular Press, as distinguished from religious journals. I have no hesitation in asserting that the prevailing tone has been that of want of information, from which have sprung, naturally enough, prejudice and scepticism.

This, I am aware, is a serious and sweeping indictment of a

department of modern English life of which the ability and usefulness in purely secular questions is beyond cavil. I propose, therefore, to support my contention by quotations from various newspapers in illustration, merely premising that the extracts are culled at random from London and provincial organs of acknowledged standing and influence. I shall try also to point out the fallacy and weakness underlying such quotations as I give them. The order is not necessarily chronological, but internal evidence will prove them of recent extraction.

Speaking of the Primate's visitation charge, one paper says:

"We read it as indicating how much of what is usually described as 'extreme' doctrine it is lawful for an Anglican clergyman to believe on certain very sacred subjects, and still remain a loyal son of the English Church. No doubt the Archbishop's charge will give offence to a certain number of persons who could only be satisfied by seeing the Church confined within the limits prescribed by one school of thought. But its breadth and toleration will do credit to the Primate, and will certainly obtain the hearty approval of all those who desire that the Church should be really national and comprehensive."

The doctrine here referred to is that of the Real Presence. The Archbishop's teaching, as expressed in the charge, amounts to this: that as the English Church does not expressly forbid belief in the Objective Presence of Jesus Christ in some mysterious way in connection with the bread and wine of the Lord's Supper, therefore any member of that Church may believe in such Presence without disloyalty to his communion. To every fair-minded reasoner a quibble is apparent here. To maintain that a creed may be held because it is not in so many words forbidden by the acknowledged formularies in which the Church's belief is laid down is in effect to open a door for any and every creed not so prohibited. Thus, as has been pointed out by one Church dignitary already, an English Churchman by such reasoning is justified in believing in the superstitions of Mohammed or Brahma equally with that of Consubstantiation, the particular avenue opened up by Archbishop Temple. In the case of the first-named, no citizen of this country, whatever his creed, would be debarred from indulgence in an unlimited supply of scent, provided he could minister to his luxurious taste without defrauding his neighbours. But should he wish to carry out another Mohammedan liberty in the matter of plurality of wives, the civil law would promptly repress his generous affections.

It will at once be argued that, although Mohammedanism is not expressly forbidden by the Articles, yet it is plainly opposed by the whole spirit of the Christian faith, not to mention sundry texts bearing on the marriage question. But Consubstantiation is just as contrary to the Christian spirit as Mohammedanism. The New Testament, from which all the rules of the Church of England are

deduced, and on the teaching of which the whole Church is founded, affords no basis for a belief in an Objective Presence in the Holy Communion, or, indeed, anywhere else upon earth. On the other hand, the Christian creed is filled to overflowing with the necessity of realising a Subjective Presence, and the post-Communion Rubric (known commonly as the Black) expressly states that Christ's natural Body and Blood are in heaven, and not here, it being against the truth of that Body to be at one time in more places than one. Granting, as some assert, that "natural Body" is a mistake for "resurrection Body," the reasoning still holds good, and is as efficacious against Consubstantiation, the Lutheran doctrine taught by the Primate, as it is against the Roman error of Transubstantiation which it was written to confute. If the Church, then, is to be, in the words of the quotation, "really national and comprehensive," it must take up a position contiguous to that of Rome, with only a very narrow line of demarcation. It must, in fact, be within a hand's breadth of that communion. For if, when a priest consecrates the elements, Christ, by virtue of that consecration, is to be brought down into intimate, though invisible, objective touch with those same elements, it is obvious that but a slight stretch of this miraculous power will convert Him into them, "body and bones, blood and nerves, soul and divinity"—the foundation dogma of Rome as laid down by the Council of Trent three centuries ago. I have no desire to accuse the paper quoted of Romish proclivities, but it is evident that the other horn of the dilemma is highly undesirable.

Another journal, in an otherwise able article, insists at the outset upon the common sense which the Primate "possesses in abundant degree." It then dwells upon his anxiety to steer clear of definite pronouncements upon controverted points, which, it remarks, "deprives his utterances of their value." Surely this is lack of either common sense or of something more valuable on the Primate's part, since it is clearly his duty to lay down, at least as an authoritative opinion, what is right and what is wrong according to the teaching of the Church. Instead of this, however, he not only refrains from so doing, but adds to the difficulties of an already complex situation by reviving a mystic doctrine unknown to the primitive Church, and unheard of until promulgated by the schoolmen of the Middle Ages.

Another says, "as the Primate now explains, the doctrine may be lawfully held and taught within the Church." This is really a step further than Dr. Temple expressed. He affirms that the doctrine is not forbidden, though it must be admitted that the deduction is in logical sequence. But if the writer of that article had been familiar with the actual teaching of the Church he would have confronted the Archbishop's attempt at dogma with that teaching, instead of accepting the Primatial dictum. This, again, must be attributed either to want of information or a prejudiced, and therefore unfair, leaning.

One more quotation should suffice for this portion of the subject :

"The Archbishop of Canterbury is delivering a series of charges which are magnificent in their cultured eloquence and broadly comprehensive in their grasp of the great doctrinal problems that disturb the Church of England."

It is not for me to inquire into, or most distantly to suggest, the remuneration of this writer, but his style is pure penny-a-lining.

Every careful reader will distrust the knowledge, and consequently the dicta, of a writer who starts in so fulsome a fashion. No one denies that the Archbishop can express himself as becomes a man of culture; the point at issue, however, is not the manner, but the matter. It is regrettable that newspaper rhetoric should so often be the refuge of those who, like Rosalind's lovers, lack matter. The cleanliest shift, plainly, is to inform themselves. But this want, perhaps, is due in great part to the hasty journalism inseparable from the hurry-scurry existence of to-day.

I cannot refrain from giving yet another instance. Speaking of the illegalities openly committed in the Church, an inspired organ remarks :

"What these are the Archbishop of Canterbury defined in the masterly series of addresses which he recently delivered to the clergy of his diocese. That his statement of the law of the Church was in all essentials accurate has hardly been seriously disputed."

The habit of styling whatever emanates from place as "masterly" is a fault so general with the Press as to be almost universal. By it, eminent position (outside politics) is rapidly becoming a god of journalistic idolatry. If Press commentators would bear in mind the Baconian axiom of reading to weigh and consider, instead of taking for granted, their opinion could not fail to gain in value. As this quotation stands the inaccuracy is obvious, for the Primate's position was immediately singled out for attack from all quarters. Roman Catholic, Church of England, and Nonconformist joined in making common cause against the sophistries of the Canterbury charge. Where, then, is that high function of the Press to form public opinion? The fact is that, as far as the vast majority of newspapers are concerned, from the Thunderer downwards and inclusive, there has been a lamentable want of lead from the beginning of the controversy. It would seem as though the ordinarily competent staffs throughout the country were unprepared to find themselves launched suddenly among the breakers of ecclesiasticism, and mistrusted their powers of steering a safe course amid the deeps and shoals of theology. They therefore, instead of leading, waited for a cue, and not unnaturally accepted what came from authority as a safe guide. How they have been betrayed a reasonable study of the Book of Common Prayer will show. Whether such want of

acquaintance with so important a subject is or is not a matter for serious reflection, as indicative of the religious state of the community at the close of the nineteenth century of Christianity, does not fall within the scope of this article.

One paper attached so little importance to the question that it struck ludicrously at the outset of the discussion. Its politics are pronouncedly Liberal, and it evidently reckoned that any ground might safely be taken upon so trivial a question as that of Church procedure (ignoring what underlies ceremony), and that all that was necessary was a firm deprecation of its being raised at all. It accordingly poured forth the 'vials of its wrath upon the devoted head of Mr. Kensit and all who sympathised with the only man who dared to bell the cat. This went on merrily for some time until the then Liberal leader and great political oracle of the paper chose to espouse the same cause. Here was a pretty quandary, a very slough of ill luck! Who would have suspected that an affair fit for police suppression would be worth the attention of a statesman? And that statesman, by a perverse fate, the paper's chosen leader! Clearly, there was nothing to be done but judiciously to mingle praise with the blame hitherto unstintingly dealt out, and, after riding a rail for a while, to slide down as gently and unobtrusively as might be on the other side: and this was accordingly done.

This, then, is the aspect of the Press towards the dispute. We have now to consider how the people view the latter.

In the first place, we must dispose of a somewhat blatant fallacy of the man in the street. This individual is never tired of reiterating that church-going, or chapel-going, or, indeed, religion of any or every kind, is played out. According to him, the only reasonable creed nowadays is one negative of all things save scientific proof and prominent, easily-recognisable facts of life. Space forbids our going into this question here. It will be enough to assert, what a little careful observation will easily prove, that the mass of us English are deeply and abidingly religious.

Not showily so: one of our marked peculiarities is to conceal our religion as much as possible. And here lies the secret of much apparent indifference to the dispute now in progress. The average Englishman is undoubtedly too prone to accept his theology ready made at the hands of his parson. He is not, as a rule, attracted by the niceties of theological polemics. He leaves such things to those who have taste for and skill in them. But let him suspect any one—be he deacon, priest, or primate—of tampering with his domestic peace by attempting to obtain undue influence over any of his family, and down comes his foot in a moment. He will have no infringement of his right to rule supreme in his own household. Within the sacred circle of his own hearth he will suffer no intruder, and woe to him who attempts to force his way therein.

Now, there is no reason whatever why, as far as the Prayer-book is concerned, Archbishop Temple should not have recommended regular auricular confession equally with Consubstantiation and prayers for the dead. All alike are disallowed by the English Church, and all alike are wanting in terms of actual prohibition in the Prayer-book. As a fact, more colourable excuse can be found in that book for confession than for either of the others. Of Cons-ubstantiation it may safely be said that seven out of ten had never heard until the past few weeks, and of those who had, ninety-nine out of a hundred could not have explained it. Whether the percentage of knowledge is now increased is purely a speculative question. The Primate, therefore, as far as the average man is concerned, was on fairly safe ground in bringing it forward.

As to prayers for the dead, many who observe that practice do so more as a solace to their feelings towards the departed than in obedience to any supposed theological dogma. The majority of them, we may fairly suppose, do not believe in the Romish purgatory. They are aware that one of the Articles condemns that, but they see no harm in indulging a pious emotion for those who have gone before. The condemnation of the practice by one of the Homilies cannot be supposed to be generally known to them. Therefore the Archbishop, in recommending it, was again tolerably safe.

But compulsory confession—that is quite another matter, as we have shown. Yet, as we have said, it can be more speciously defended from the Prayer-book than either the doctrine of the Real Presence or prayers for the departed. In the Exhortation to Holy Communion occurs this passage :

“If there be any of you, who by this means [*i.e.*, by confession to God and trust in His mercy] cannot quiet his own conscience herein, but requireth further comfort or counsel, let him come to me . . . and open his grief ; that by the ministry of God's Holy Word he may receive the benefit of absolution.”

Here, then, is the very phrase sought after by a wily priesthood ; put into their mouths, they will tell you, by the Prayer-book itself. When you cannot get absolution direct from God, you are to go to the priest, and he will, by virtue of his divine commission, absolve you from your guilt and present you with a *tabula rasa*. Of course, this argument rests on a fallacy ; but the unlearned church-goer, if an emotional man or woman, or erotic youth of either sex, will easily be persuaded by such reasoning, and fall straightway into the snare of priestcraft.

Why did not the Archbishop fix upon what is obviously the readiest way of gaining more power for his clergy ? The answer seems easy. He knew the English people would have risen almost to a man against such an attempt at tyranny. Therefore he contented himself



with recommending what is practically esoteric, and merely preliminary to a further advance at some future time.

These are the aspects of Primate, Press, and people towards each other at the present time. Behind the first lies a compact and determinedly aggressive body of bishops and clergy, who seek to form again in England a priestly caste by gradually undoing the work of the Reformation. Consubstantiation is the halfway house to the Mass; prayers for the dead lead inevitably to the invocation of saints (forbidden for the present); and auricular confession, though ostensibly forbidden, is openly and unblushingly advocated by Canon Newbolt, of St. Paul's, and other clergy of high standing. No rebuke is administered by their official superiors, except in a few dioceses, which do not include London, where priestcraft is rampant in many parishes.

The Press, who ought to be the most zealous defenders of the people's freedom, have proved themselves, on the whole, inadequate to the task, and have pandered to the most relentless enemy of themselves and of those whose cause they profess to espouse.

With the people, then, and with them alone, rests their own defence. There is no greater fallacy than to say that the present dispute is turning molehills into mountains. The ways of priestcraft, whether Romish or English, are alike all over the world: secret, deceitful, untiring, unrelenting. Give them an inch, they take an ell, nor rest satisfied until they have obtained absolute dominion. The most charitable, the most humanising, the most obliging, the most crafty section of mankind before they enter into possession of their coveted hopes; once in, the most insolent and domineering of tyrants and the hardest to dislodge.

Let the English people rouse themselves, as they show abundant signs of doing, and let them act as they only among the nations of the earth can act, ere it be too late to avert a yet more terrible strife for freedom of thought and sanctity of the home. This done, priestcraft in the land may, like Wolsey, one of its upholders, bid farewell, a long farewell, to all its greatness.

ARTHUR OLDHAM.

## SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

To what proximate goal is modern society tending? What may we look for as the next stages of its evolution? Is its tendency in the direction of Individualism, or of Socialism, or of a compromise between the two? Or are there forces at work which will ultimately produce a form of society different from any which has yet been contemplated except by a few scattered dreamers?

No one who thinks seriously about the matter can doubt that human society evolves in accordance with natural laws as immutable and as much beyond human control as are the laws by which all other celestial and terrestrial phenomena are regulated. The present order of society has not in the smallest degree been determined by any direct effort of the human will. It is the inevitable result of a long array of forces, of which man's will is merely the unresisting expression. These forces may be roughly summarised under the heads of (1) man's necessities, and (2) his natural tendency to strive to provide for his necessities with the least possible expenditure of energy. Human reason in the concrete, dealing with isolated branches of the problem, has been an important factor; but human reason in the abstract, surveying society as a whole and devising schemes for its advancement, has so far counted for nothing. The godlike intellect of Plato has been revered by men for 2000 years, and his influence in the world of thought is very great, but probably his warmest admirers would refuse to admire his *Republic*, and it is clear that the effect of his communistic teachings on the form of society has been *nil*. It is not merely that Plato's reasoning has failed to convince mankind of the wisdom of his proposals for a commune; there is another and a far stronger reason why the *Republic* has produced no practical result—viz., that it was written perhaps 2500 years in advance of human civilisation, and to attempt to put it into practice would have been to set at defiance Nature's slow evolutionary processes, which is simply futile. If anything like the Communism of Plato or the Socialism of the moderns should ever be established, it will be as the result of the coercive pressure of man's necessities, combined with his natural desire to provide for those necessities as cheaply as possible. In connection with the second of these factors socialistic propaganda may find an important place, but socialistic propaganda cannot of itself produce the result at

which it aims. At best, that result can only be hastened. Socialists must possess their souls in patience. If their schemes be wise they will one day be realised, but the realisation will come bit by bit, or piece by piece—slowly, by process of evolution, and not swiftly, as the result of a violent, world-disrupting revolution.

It seems to me that the present tendency of society in England is in the direction of a compromise between Individualism and Socialism. Municipal gas and water, municipal trams, art-galleries and museums, free libraries and reading-rooms, are becoming the rule, and they are important steps in the direction of Socialism. Free education and the Post Office are great steps in the same direction, and all the factory legislation of the present century, including the recent Workmen's Compensation Act, is tinged with the spirit of Socialism. It is possible that in the comparatively near future we may also witness the nationalisation of railways, but, beyond this, I do not think we are likely to see any important advances towards Socialism for at least fifty years to come. The step, from such municipalisation and nationalisation as we have already seen, to the acquisition and control of land and productive industries, is enormous, and will probably not be taken, even in part, until the colonies are much more thickly populated than at present and have ceased to provide a convenient field for our overflowing numbers. But when the colonies are full, and when our export trade has seriously declined through the growth of foreign manufactories (which is already rapid), Englishmen will, perhaps, be driven by the pressure of a suicidal competition to seek relief by means of the municipalisation or nationalisation of industries.

There is at least one alternative to this course. Long before the expiration of fifty years some relief may be found by means of the formation of syndicates or combinations of manufacturers themselves. The recent amalgamations of the English sewing-cotton companies are examples of this, and they will probably be followed by the formation of similar combinations in other branches of industry. Whether they will be successful or not remains to be seen, but, for my part, I think that, if wisely, moderately, and honestly worked, they may prove a temporarily effective remedy for the great evils of competition. It is not always remembered by workmen that the pressure of competition bears as heavily on employers as on employed. Workmen find themselves displaced by improved machinery, by woman labour, by cheap foreign labour, but they are always at liberty to find other and more lucrative occupation if they can, or to emigrate. This freedom, though large in theory, is in practice small, but the employer has not even so small a choice as this. He is bound hand and foot to his machinery, which, as competition grows fiercer, becomes less and less valuable and less easy to sell at a fair price. When improved machinery is introduced he is com-

pelled to buy it, or fall into the background; the employment of woman labour drives him also to employ women instead of men; and foreign competition, based on cheap labour, forces him to reduce his employé's wages, with the possible accompaniment of a disastrous strike or lock-out. So far as manufacturers are concerned, collectivism, in the shape of amalgamations, would be an immense improvement on the chaotic Ishmaelitism which now prevails.

It is, however, more than doubtful whether the establishment of such collective oligarchies would tend to the permanent amelioration of the condition of the working classes. For a time such combinations would probably help to maintain wages at a fairly high level and to keep the volume of trade steady, but not many years would elapse under such favourable conditions as these before we should once more witness the inevitable and disastrous working of the law of population as formulated by Malthus—viz., that there is a constant tendency in all animated life to increase beyond the nourishment prepared for it. With the avenues of emigration closing and a volume of trade at best stationary and not expanding, the masses of the British people would probably within a single generation be reduced to the most abject poverty by the operation of this law. Judging from present and past experience, their numbers would increase much faster than the means of subsistence, and the wages which meant comfort for, say, 40,000,000 people would mean poverty and privation for 60,000,000, while for 80,000,000 they would represent a state bordering closely on starvation. Neither trade unions nor amalgamations of employers—neither Individualism nor Socialism—can in the long run avert the calamities of over-population, except by taking direct steps to keep the numbers of the people within such limits as may be necessary. The limits may be narrow under one form of society, and they may be wide under another form, but sooner or later they must be reached, and the nation which does not foresee and provide for this contingency is preparing for itself suffering and evils of the most appalling kind.

At present there is ample room within the British Empire, and nowhere, except in India, does population outrun the means of subsistence. The population question is important now in the shape of large *versus* small families; it is a question for the consideration and action of parents individually. Shall they limit their families to such numbers as their resources will enable them to maintain in comfort; or shall they go blindly on multiplying beyond their resources? Given parental prudence on this point, I have no doubt that even under the present system there exists a strong tendency in the direction of the improvement of the economic condition of the working classes. The fierce strife of competition is levelling society. It reduces profits, and renders it, as a rule, impossible for employers to amass fortunes. It cheapens commodities, and thus increases

the purchasing power of the workman's wage. Railways have rendered travelling so easy and so cheap that occasional trips and holidays are within the reach of all. Without taking into account free libraries, cheap printing and cheap publishing, combined with the spread of education, have brought the best literature (and the worst also, unfortunately) within the reach of even the very poor. The priceless gems of English literature—Shakespeare, Milton, Byron, Shelley, Scott, Dickens, Fielding—may be purchased for a few pence. Daily newspapers are so cheap that all may buy them if they will. Hours of labour, though still much too long, are shorter than formerly, and holidays are more frequent and more generally observed. We have made great strides since the days when Robert Owen began his life-long agitation for the improvement of the condition of the people, and the labours of that great man have in many ways borne splendid fruit.

Yet how much remains to be done! It is a bitter satire on our high civilisation that, despite all the wonderful inventions of labour-saving machinery, mankind should still be compelled to spend the best and greatest part of their waking hours in efforts to secure the bare means of subsistence—food, clothing, and shelter. The contemplation of this state of things makes one revert with feelings of relief to Thoreau's picture of himself sitting in his sunny doorway, in Walden Woods, "from sunrise till noon, rapt in a reverie," indulging in what his fellow-townsmen, he says, would no doubt have called "sheer idleness." To him these golden hours were not time subtracted from his life, but so much over and above his usual allowance. "I grew in those seasons like corn in the night, and they were far better than any work of the hands would have been." Men and women generally have no time to grow like this. They are chained for life to the car of labour, and there is no respite for them from continuous toil until their energies begin to fail, when they are ruthlessly pushed aside to make room for younger men and women. Then, when their time for growing as well as for working is past, they may sit and sun themselves in the workhouse-yard—a poor, belated, senile travesty of Thoreau's joyous and virile freedom. Simplicity of life is a grand thing, and there is a deep wisdom in Thoreau's *Walden* which both rich and poor would do well to lay to heart; but, after all, the free, unfettered, semi-savage life which Thoreau lived is only possible to individuals here and there. For the bulk of mankind it is obviously impracticable. Had fifty men joined Thoreau in Walden Woods half the charm and independence of his life would have been gone, and he would probably have been compelled to seek newer and wilder solitudes in order to preserve his ideal. Still, a noble simplicity of life should be our aim, and there can be no doubt that with the means of production, distribution, and communication now at our disposal, we ought to be able

to provide for all material needs with at least half the labour which is now expended on these ends. Needless complexity of life, the maintenance of the unproductive classes, wasteful habits, and the strife of competition are the main causes operating to bind • the masses of mankind to a life of ceaseless toil.

The ideal of society which Socialism presents is, perhaps, the sanest that has yet been laid before us. To substitute brotherly co-operation for fierce and never-ending competition; to set ourselves as a nation the task of developing and utilising to their fullest extent the resources of our country; and, in place of the suicidal strife between capital and labour, to attempt to put in practice the beautiful principle: "From every one according to his capacity, to every one according to his needs"—would not this be to realise, as far as may be possible, the ancient dream of a heaven upon earth? Socialism may, or may not, be wise and practicable, but, at any rate, we ought to give it a full and impartial hearing, and get rid of the notion, still widely prevalent, that it is in any sense fairly summarised in Ebenezer Elliott's famous lines:

"What is a Communist? One who hath yearnings  
For equal division of unequal earnings.  
Idler or bungler, or both, he is willing  
To fork out his penny and pocket your shilling."

A social ideal which has had for its apostles men like Plato, like Sir Thomas More, like Saint Simon, like Robert Owen, like Karl Marx, like William Morris, and which was in some degree the social ideal of apostolic Christianity, cannot be dismissed, even by a Corn-Law rhymer, in four lines of contemptuous and untruthful verse. The Socialism which would attain its ends by violent revolution is foolish and impossible, but the Socialism which dreams of transforming the world by just and equitable means—by the slow and orderly processes of evolution—deserves at least our careful consideration.

We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that there are forces at work in the world which, should they prevail, would inaugurate a social order differing both from the present system and from Socialism—a social order having for its basis self-sacrifice, non-resistance, humility, and love, coupled with extreme simplicity of life. I refer to such forces as the teachings and example of Tolstoï, of the Theosophists, of Buddha, and of Jesus Christ as recorded in the Synoptic Gospels. It is true that as yet these are but as voices crying in the wilderness, unheeded by the hurrying world. Yet, in the determination of the future social order, they may well count for more than at present seems probable. For they appeal with great power to the impulse towards self-sacrifice which lies deep in many human souls. No one can more than dimly forecast the order of society which may be founded as the result of the triumph of these teachings. Possibly

some form of Socialism might be adopted as the highest form of society which a regenerated humanity could conceive. But it is vain to speculate on a condition of things which may never arise.

It seems to me that our general duty in relation to these deep social problems is very clear. Preserving an open mind, we ought to accept and support every measure which seems likely to promote the well-being of the community, whether such measure come from Conservatives or from Socialists. Amongst our aims should be a moderate simplicity of life, a lessening of the burden of toil which falls on the bulk of the people, an increase in the hours of leisure, a raising of the standards of comfort, education, and refinement. What the future may have in store for the world the future only can reveal. But we may each do our part in rendering the possibilities for the future as bright and hopeful as it may be within the power of humanity to make them. We may each do something, however little, towards the realisation of that Golden Age of which both sages and poets have dreamed.

W. B. COLUMBINE.

## CRUISING ON THE FRENCH TRÉATY SHORE OF NEWFOUNDLAND.

PEOPLE have read the hackneyed arguments and historic pros and cons of the French Treaty Shore dispute in Newfoundland, until they almost forget that the lives of a loyal British population of more than twelve thousand souls are now dependent on the immediate righting of a very ancient and very grievous wrong. To realise what an Imperial policy of *laissez-faire* and evasion during two centuries means to Newfoundland fishermen, one must personally visit the French Treaty Shore and witness the terrible distress existing there. A cruise to the settlements, made on the coastal mail boat in the wake of the Royal Commissioners' ship, the *Fiona*, brought me face to face, not with theoretical disputations, but with actual suffering and awful evils. Without raising a hand to remedy the grievances of settlers on the French Treaty Shore, it has been an easy matter for politicians and historians to sit comfortably at home discussing whether the fishing privileges bartered to France were exclusive, barring the native-born from his own territory, or only concurrent, permitting both French and Newfoundlanders on the same areas. While diplomats were wrangling, the subjects of diplomacy were being reduced to helpless pauperism and subjected to untold wrongs. The facts of the present and the state of British settlers on the French Treaty Shore, rather than the facts of the past and the interpretation of ambiguous international compacts, must be studied to understand the old dispute as a living issue of to-day. This has been the course of the Royal Commission, and the results of a trip, permitting only very cursory observations, have impelled a responsible Minister of the Crown to declare that existing conditions can no longer be endured.

The French Treaty Shore begins, roughly speaking, half-way up the east coast of Newfoundland at Cape St. John, and extends around the northern apex of the island bordering Belle Isle Strait, and down the whole length of the west shore to Cape Ray, the south-western extremity. From the cape to the straits, the rocky coast is a lofty naked wall, towering straight up between sea and sky, and polished like chiselled masonry by the icebergs grinding southward. It is as if Nature had cast up this giant rampart to



resist the fury of ice-drift and north-east gale. Here and there are chasms in the wall, and great rocky arms are flung out from the mainland in all sorts of fantastic shapes. Almost hidden behind the perpendicular cleavages are the lagoons where the fishing hamlets cluster. More isolated, lonely places could not be imagined. The cabins huddle close to the water's margin, or stick like toys on a peg to the bare steep cliff. The rocks, rising on every side, forbid access to the unknown and unexplored interior. Except for a stunted growth of moss and trees, whose roots grip the very fissures of rock, not a vestige of green appears against the granite wall. The fringe of the inland forest supplies the denizens—livyens or hens—with fuel; but there is no provender for stock, and generations of the people have never seen cattle. A cow would be regarded with much the same awe that a hippopotamus might cause; and there is neither path nor pasturage for a horse. The zigzag trails, marking the bare rock, are little used. The sea is the fishermen's highway, and when he wishes to pay a friendly visit across the lagoon, punt or dory is unmoored. During five months of the year ice-drift blocks all harbours on the Treaty Shore, and it is in this season, when the settlers are cut off from all aid, that the year's supplies are at lowest ebb. Except on the Grand Banks and off *The Labrador*—as that part of the peninsula under Newfoundland's control is designated in distinction to the territory under Canadian jurisdiction—the cod-fisheries of Newfoundland have everywhere been a deplorable failure for the past ten years. The catch from the shore fisheries have yearly become poorer; but south of the Treaty Shore mining, lumbering, and other industries incident to a country whose natural resources have lain fallow for three hundred years have been developed, and compensate for the depletion of the cod areas. As great wealth of minerals and timber is to be found north of Cape John as south; but the Imperial Government has conformed to a French interpretation of treaties and forbidden mining and other activities on the Treaty Shore. The livyens are compelled to look to the fisheries alone for subsistence; and in no part of Newfoundland are the fisheries poorer. Last summer many fishermen on the disputed coast took less than eight quintals of cod—112 lbs.—which “the planter,” or local outfitting merchant, values at two dollars a quintal. For six toilsome, hazardous months the fisherman has plied the lines from midnight to sunset of the following day, going to the cod-banks in May, when the ice clears, and remaining till October, when clothes and nets stiffened in the freezing spray. And fifteen or sixteen dollars' worth of cod is his sole reward. With this princely amount he must accomplish wonders. If he would remain in the good graces of “the planter,” so that supplies for the next season can be obtained, he must make a pretence of paying off some of the accumulated debts of former

years. He must pay for provisions advanced for the season just past, for "the planter" has first claim on the catch. If, after all this bartering, there is still some value to the fisherman's credit, the infinitesimal remnant must support himself and his family for a whole year.

These are the impossibilities which the Treaty Shore dispute places on settlers. What are the results? Almost every fisherman is hopelessly in debt to "the planter" from the day he makes a first trip on his own account. The traders are shutting down on "the truck" or bartering system. The fisherman must present cod at the store or go without necessary provisions and clothing. As his catch barely suffices for food, he stints himself by either giving up the cod for flour, molasses, and clothes, or keeping the fish and doing without change of diet and garment. When winter closed in on the Treaty Shore, there were families with less than a barrel of flour and only a few fagots of cod for six months' supplies. Men, women, and children have scarcely enough clothing to hide their nakedness. Coarse duck suits are worn till they literally fall away in tatters. Blankets, bedding, overcoats, and flannels are unknown and undreamed-of luxuries. Livyens, who went to the Snook Arm whaling station, south of Cape John, did not understand when sent to the quarters of the factory hands the use of beds and blankets. By trapping and deer-stalking in winter, and hunting seals in the spring, the fishermen add somewhat to the impoverished larder. The recently established whale factory has placed a new dainty on the livyens' menu. Whale steak may not tempt the epicure, but it is a dainty morsel for men whose diet consists of cod and that in scanty quantity. Last fall many Treaty Shore fishermen coasted down to the factory and helped themselves to a liberal supply of whale meat from the carcasses floating in the harbour. The suffering entailed from lack of nourishing food and warm clothing in a bitterly cold climate, where north-east gales beat with unbroken fury from November to April, may better be imagined than described. Squalor and distress are the prevailing conditions from Cape John to the straits. The Government of Newfoundland comes to the rescue of the Treaty Shore settlers, or several thousand people would die of starvation in a single winter; but State charity for twelve years has not encouraged industry and self-respect among the people. It is easier to bask lazily on the rocks and to idle the summer away than to toil above the cod banks; and who can blame the livyens for becoming paupers? When charity's dole is behindhand, they pay frequent calls at the house of the most industrious and economical man in the hamlet, and promptly billet themselves on his bounty till that good man must move away, or see all his possessions eaten up by hungry neighbours. One of the curious features on the north-east coast is the entire absence of currency. Cod alone,

as Dr. Grenfell has said, is coin. Money is neither used nor seen, and bartering prevails more completely than it ever did between white man and Indian.

Coachman's Cove is the first English settlement on the Treaty Shore north of Cape John. "The-hole-in-the-wall," as sailors designate the harbours of the east coast, is sheltered from the ocean gales by great circular arms of rock, almost uniting where the shore enters, and with an outpost, as it were, of treacherous-looking reefs. Schooners from *The Labrador*, fishermen's dories, and little cockle-shell skiffs lie at rest on the lagoon. The stages, or low-roofed huts with pole floors, stand on piles above the water all around the shore. Behind are the flakes, or scaffoldings with an over-layer of branches, where the cod dry. Little dilapidated cottages, of only two or three apartments, and barely high enough for a man to stand upright, cling to the steep hillside or perch on some lofty ridge directly above the watery tumult, where the rocks bar out the ocean. Weather-beaten men in tattered attire, women in short ragged skirts and gaping patched jackets, and scantily clothed children, some barefooted, though it was raw October weather, and all thrashing their arms about and stamping to keep warm, crowd to the edge of the rickety, rotting wharf to watch the mail boat at anchor in the centre of the harbour. In a few weeks this boat will cut her way through the first ice and carry Government supplies to these people. Cases were reported of fishermen whose catch had not amounted to five quintals of cod, of families where the flour had all been used and "the planter" would give no more credit, and of men unable to obtain an advance for the season just passed, and who had spent the entire summer lying about their own harbour in enforced idleness. Unsuccessful in finding employment with any of the skippers going to *The Labrador*, and without credit to secure passage away from their own hamlet, the fishermen seem hopelessly situated. It may be asked what the settlement of the French Treaty Shore dispute could do for these people? It would enable them to develop the natural resources of their country, and so to support themselves independent of the failing fisheries.

All along the shore from Coachman's Cove to Englée, the next Newfoundland settlement, the deserted and dismantled fishing statics or "rooms" of the French may be seen. The treaties do not allow the French to winter on the island, and the huts are unroofed and the flakes uncovered by the foreigners before leaving for home ports; but the shore fisheries in this section of the colony have declined to such an extent that nearly all the French "rooms" have been abandoned finally. Only a few brigs come from Havre to fish in the waters between Cape John and the straits, and it is doubtful if the whole French fishing fleet in this region includes more than one hundred men, and Englée is one of the most desolate and poverty-

stricken of all the settlements. Here the people have been eking out an existence on Government support for the past twelve years. The only families not in actual destitution were compelled to move away to save themselves from importunate neighbours. Couch, north of Englée, is the one bright spot on this coast. Everything in the hamlet—the neat, plain chapel, the trim stores, the neat whitewashed cots—wore an air of moderate prosperity. The sole explanation is that the cod areas around Cape Fox yet yield living returns to the fishermen. Poorer and more desolate-looking places than St. Anthony and Griguet, near the straits, could not be imagined. Winter closes in earlier here than at the other settlements and cuts the inhabitants off from all possible aid. The only mitigating circumstance in their hard lot is the short distance to *The* Labrador fisheries, where cod enough can be obtained to stave off actual starvation. These people are largely dependent on charity for all supplies except fish. Such are the conditions existing on the French Treaty Shore north of Cape John, that many public men in Newfoundland agree with Mr. P. T. McGrath, the well-informed editor of the *Herald*, when he says: “It would pay the Newfoundland Government to transport the whole population to better areas rather than continue this system of pauperising northern fishermen.”

On the west coast a much better state of affairs prevails. The climate is less rigorous. The ports are accessible all through the winter. The fisheries yield good returns, and the lobster factories afford employment during half the year. The new railroad skirts the coast from Pont-au-Basque at the south, along St. George Bay and Bay of Islands, opening industries and giving employment to the fishermen. In spite of all this, the sinister influence of the French treaties is felt on the west coast. On complaint of the French that lobster-packing interfered with their fisheries, the British factories were restricted, the British now having 57 factories, employing 728 men and 148 women, and annually packing 16,000 cases of lobsters. Though the treaties state explicitly that the French shall erect only temporary structures, they have 13 factories, employing 374 men, and packing 7000 cases. In 1897 the French objected to the building of a wharf at Pont-au-Port, and not many years ago the Imperial Government forbade mining in the same region. As late as last summer, terminal structures on Bay of Islands were photographed by the French and forwarded to the home Government.

The dispute between France and Newfoundland hinges on three treaties—Utrecht, Paris, and Versailles. The Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 granted to the French fishing privileges along the shores of Newfoundland from Cape Bonavista on the east, northward round Belle Isle Strait, and down the west coast to Cape Riche. Only temporary buildings, necessary for the drying of cod, were permitted, and

the French were not to winter in the island. France has claimed that the privileges are exclusive. This the British Government has in theory combated, maintaining that the privileges were only concurrent, allowing the Newfoundlander to fish on the same shore, provided he did not interfere with the foreigner. But Britain has maintained her contention only in theory, having repeatedly sanctioned the deportation of Newfoundlanders against whom the French complained, forbidden the construction of railroads, and ordered the discontinuance of mining.

The Treaty of Paris in 1713 ceded in full sovereignty to France the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, off the south coast. This group is the rendezvous for all the smugglers of North America, entailing loss to the revenue of Canada, Newfoundland, and the United States, and great annual expense to hold the illicit operations in check. The French were not to fortify the islands. They have done so. They were to permit a British consul to reside there. Six years ago a Newfoundland agent was driven from the town of St. Pierre. If these islands had not been ceded, the decline of the shore fisheries would long ago have settled the dispute; but 5000 French reside in St. Pierre, and 10,000 fishermen annually come from France and radiate from the islands to the Grand Banks of the south and lobster areas of the west. This is the fleet that perpetuates the old quarrel. These fishermen receive bounties from France equal to the market value of cod, and a royalty of 50 francs a year from the Council of St. Pierre. Thus the Frenchman can undersell his rival, demoralising the market for the Newfoundlander, and yet realise a profit. But the foreigner had to depend on the native fisherman for bait. The French are not equipped to take herring, squid, and caplin, the bait for cod, and cannot afford to waste part of a short season getting bait. Hence Newfoundland was able to counteract the effect of the bounties by passing the Bait Act of 1886-7, which prohibited the sale of bait taken in any waters, except the Treaty Shore, to French fishermen. France was not to be outdone, and put forward preposterous claims by virtue of the next treaty, Versailles, in 1783. To this treaty, after it had passed the House of Commons, there was appended a declaration guaranteeing that British subjects should not be permitted to interfere by competition with the French. The bounds of the Treaty Shore were changed from Cape Bonavista on the east to Cape John, and from Cape Riche, midway on the west, to Cape Ray at the south. So ignorant were English statesmen of the regions they were bartering away that they mistook Cape Riche, half-way up the west coast, for Cape Ray, at the south, accepting in proof an old French map, and losing the richest strip of coast in the island, where there is a wealth of lead, coal, and petroleum. When the Bait Act was enforced, the interpretation of the Treaty of Versailles was wondrously stretched. Lobster factories had been in

operation on the west coast for thirty years without interfering with the French ; but, now, complaints were made which led to the forcible closing of British lobster factories by order of the Imperial Government. By Imperial command, Newfoundlanders on the French shore were compelled to sell bait at not more than a dollar a barrel. With this order in their favour, the French could force the price down to twenty-five cents. The lobster embargo resulted in the *modus vivendi*, which (1) legalised only those factories in existence on July 1, 1891 ; (2) provided that a new factory could be opened only by joint permission of British and French admirals ; (3) stipulated that a factory of one nation could not be opened without one of the other nation at the same time. The statute for enforcing the treaty terms expired in 1894, and the *modus vivendi* is only enforced by a Newfoundland enactment passed at Imperial request.

Three considerations emphasise the necessity for the immediate settlement of the Treaty Shore dispute : (1) the expiration of the local enactment by which the treaties are enforced ; (2) the terrible distress of the people on the Treaty Shore, which is yearly becoming more acute ; (3) the fact that the colony has burdened itself with a heavy debt for the purpose of constructing a railroad to develop the country's resources, and that the development must not be retarded by obsolete treaties.

A. C. LAUT.

## THE FUTURE OF THE NIGER.

Now that the questions in dispute between Great Britain and France with regard to territorial possessions on the lower Niger have been virtually settled by the boundary agreement of June 14, 1898, and a new move is about to be made by the transfer of the rights of the Royal Niger Company to the Colonial Office, the time is opportune to examine what the Company has done for the development and civilisation of this important slice of Africa, and to take a look forward into the future.

The territories administered by the Chartered Company have never been clearly separated from the coast regions long known as the Oil Rivers and the countries recently added to the colony of Lagos. On the coast the Royal Niger Company possesses only the portion of the delta between the Forcados River and the Nun, or main mouth of the Niger, the coast regions to the west and east being under entirely distinct administration as the Niger Coast Protectorate. This latter protectorate has been administered since 1891 by the Foreign Office, with Old Calabar as the seat of government. The Oil Rivers have long been the scene of operations of British traders, who since the abolition of the slave trade have found a remunerative substitute in the exportation of palm-oil.

The object of the Royal Niger Company was the development of the far interior, and, as these regions could be effectively approached by means of the river, it was not thought necessary to give it more than the main mouths of the Niger and the intervening portion of the delta, leaving individual traders, as before, to carry on their operations on the coast lands. The Company—then known as the National African Company—to which the charter was granted in 1886, “differs in two particulars from the other existing British chartered companies (viz., the British North Borneo Company and the British South Africa Company), in that it both trades and administers, whereas the others devote all their attention to administration; and that the Niger Company has to depend for its dividend entirely on trade profits, while the others pay their dividends out of revenue derived from taxation in one form or another.” So writes Major Mockler-Ferryman in a recently published volume on *British West Africa*, which forms the first of three volumes on *Imperial*

<sup>1</sup> London: The Imperial Press, Ltd.    <sup>2</sup> *Dahomé, Niger, Touareg*, Pp. 159-160.  
VOL. I 51.—No. 4.                                  #2 D



set itself to find a remedy. To put down such an ingrained custom at a stroke was of course impossible, but much could be done by the protection of those tribes which had placed themselves under the rule of the Company and by stopping the importation of firearms into the interior. The Company has steadily refused to supply some of the Mohammedan Emirs with rifles or other weapons of precision, and has now and again resorted to more forcible measures.

In May, 1896, for instance, the Igaras, who dwell on the east bank of the river below Lokoja, with Ida as their capital, were made to feel the weight of the Company's power in defending a friendly tribe from their attacks. Some three years before, the Basa-Bonu tribe, inhabiting a beautiful and fertile district among the hills on the west bank of the river, had applied to the Company for protection against the Igaras, who were threatening to attack and raid their country. This protection was promised, and the Igaras were strongly warned. The latter contented themselves with threats until 1896, when, in combination with the large tribe of the Akpotos, whom they had partly conquered and coerced, preparations were made to attack the Basa-Bonus with a view to enslave them. On learning of this movement the Company immediately sent a small force under two European officers to assure the Basa-Bonu people of the promised protection. These officers also visited the principal chiefs among the Igaras and Akpotos and plainly told them what the consequence of any attempt at raiding would be. Every effort, in fact, was made to induce them to abandon the raid, but without effect. The Igaras and their allies advanced to attack Gendé, the principal town of the Basa-Bonus, but, with the assistance of the English, were driven back with great loss. They soon realised that it was useless to contend against the British guns, and gave in their submission.<sup>1</sup>

It was in pursuance of the same policy that in the beginning of 1897 operations were carried on against the kingdom of Nupé, a full account of which is given in Major Mockler-Ferryman's book. After the conclusion of this and the Ilorin expedition, the Governor (Sir George Goldie) visited Ida to warn the king that the slave-raiding and brigandage carried on by his son Arku could no longer be tolerated. As the king fled inland rather than attend the interview a fine was imposed. Arku, however, did not accompany his father on his return to Ida, but, defying his authority, took to the hills with the young bloods of Igara, and harried the Akpoto tribes, carrying off their women and children and burning their villages. It was reported to the Company that large regions were being devastated, and Major Arnold was, in November, 1897, despatched with a force of the Royal Niger Constabulary to reduce the Igara prince to obedience. His stronghold at Kiffi was attacked, and after a hot engagement the place was captured and burnt, Arku

<sup>1</sup> *The Times*, July 18, 1896, p. 7.

himself escaping into the dense bush.<sup>1</sup> During 1898, too, similar operations were reported against the Wasé slave-raiders to the south of the Benué,<sup>2</sup> and against the Emirs of Lapai and Argeyes, "tributary princes of Sokoto."<sup>3</sup> None of these names appears in Major Mockler-Ferryman's book.

A seal was set to this series of campaigns by a decree issued by Sir George Taubman Goldie, on behalf of the Company, on March 6, 1897, abolishing the legal status of slavery throughout the territories administered by the Company,<sup>4</sup> an example which might well have been followed by our British Government in regard to Zanzibar, where slavery is still legal under the British flag. (On this latter subject it may be excusable here to draw attention to an appeal recently issued from the office of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 55, New Broad Street, London, E.C.)

The overthrow of the slave-traders of Bida does not seem to have been thoroughly effective. It has recently been reported<sup>5</sup> that the Emir, who was deposed by Sir George Goldie, has returned to his capital and regained his old ascendancy, and the man whom the Company had put in his place is but a puppet in the hands of the old Emir. Slave-raids throughout Nupé are said to be as frequent as ever, and the decree abolishing slavery is totally disregarded, never, indeed, having been noticed. It has been a paper proclamation, and nothing more. There is no British resident, or representative of the Niger Company, at Bida, and matters are just as they were before the Nupé campaign was organised.

Another evil against which vigorous measures have been taken, not only by the Chartered Company but by the authorities of the Niger Coast Protectorate, is that of human sacrifices, which have been customary throughout a wide region extending from the Oil Rivers to Ashanti and Sierra Leone, and are so sanctified by long use among the negroes that they form an essential part of their religion. Major Mockler-Ferryman tells how in the Niger delta twins are destroyed (being regarded as unlucky), as are children who cut their upper teeth first, and how victims are sacrificed at funerals and—as with Abraham and Isaac of old—offered up as sacrifices to the gods. The slaughter of slaves at the funeral of a chief is dictated by religious motives as real to these ignorant blacks as is Christianity to the orthodox Englishman, it being their belief that the spirit of the wife or slave will thus accompany the chief to the after-world.

At Asaba, the headquarters of the Niger government, it was till 1888 customary for the aspirant to the chieftainship to kill at least

<sup>1</sup> Reuter's telegrams in the *Daily Chronicle* and other papers, November 16, 17, and 24, 1897.      <sup>2</sup> The *Daily Chronicle*, November 16, 1898, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> The *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, 1898, p. 192.

<sup>4</sup> Reuter's telegrams in the *Times*, &c., March 11, 1897.      The *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, 1897, pp. 22, 138.      <sup>5</sup> The *Daily Chronicle*, December 29, 1898, p. 6.

two human beings as a sacrifice; and at the funeral of a chief not less than three slaves had to be offered up before the corpse could be interred. In a certain part of the town was the ju-ju grove, where human sacrifices took place, and where the skulls of the victims were left to bleach; and not far away was a large sacred tree which had witnessed the death of many a slave, slain to accompany his master on his last journey. In 1888, however, a palaver was held with the chiefs, and they were enjoined not to offer slaves at the pending funeral of a chief. The injunction fell on unwilling ears; the three slaves were sacrificed, and the natives finished by attacking the factory of the whites. Retribution naturally followed; every temple, ju-ju house, and idol were destroyed, and the chiefs, thoroughly cowed, sued for peace and swore to abandon human sacrifices for ever.<sup>1</sup>

So in the Coast Protectorate the natives would not give up their cruel customs without a struggle. At Okrika, about twenty miles from Bonny, the people are confirmed cannibals, eating all captives of war, and have on several occasions been convicted and punished for this. In 1887 they were fined £200 for killing and eating 150 members of a neighbouring tribe, and in 1892 a number of Okrikans were tried for cannibalism and sentenced to penal servitude.<sup>2</sup> It was only on a display of force and the threat to demolish their town that the chiefs surrendered their king, who was at the head of the ju-ju, or human sacrifice party, and promised to give up cannibalism and human sacrifices of every kind. Even after this the Okrikans manifested their opposition to reform by burning down the mission house and causing the missionaries to flee.<sup>3</sup> At Kwa Ebo, a little further to the eastward, during the same year, Vice-Consul Bedwell was personally assaulted whilst endeavouring to prevent the sacrifice of some people.<sup>4</sup>

In the Okoyon country (Cross River), too, a display of arms was necessary to put a stop to human sacrifices.<sup>5</sup> Consul-General Sir Ralph Moor has done effective service in persuading the chiefs to give up these objectionable customs. In a "palaver" with the chiefs at Brass, the latter, through their interpreter, said they would not sacrifice any more human beings. Their dealings with the white men had shown them that such acts were wrong; they wanted to have good trade and to live peacefully.<sup>6</sup> The cruelties carried on at the city of Benin, on the other side of the delta, before the expedition of 1897, are a matter of notoriety. An equally dark spot is Bendi, a large trade centre some hundred miles inland from

<sup>1</sup> Capt. Mockler-Ferryman, *Up the Niger*, 1892, pp. 27-29.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* *Imperial Africa*, i. p. 305.

<sup>3</sup> *The Times*, 1896, June 8, p. 8; July 6, p. 12; July 24, p. 9; September 8, p. 3; 1897, January 7, p. 8; January 20, p. 5; February 24, p. 9; March 2, p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 1898, October 16, p. 4; October 26, p. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Mockler-Ferryman, *Imperial Africa*, i. p. 308.

<sup>6</sup> *The Daily Chronicle*, November 8, 1897.

Bonny, which has had the reputation of being the chief town of the "long ju-ju" country, where the supreme ju-ju court is held.<sup>1</sup> This place was visited in December 1896—for the first time by Europeans—by Major Leonard and Mr. F. James, whose reception was very satisfactory, and who seem to have favourably impressed the Bendi people.<sup>2</sup>

Great care is required in bringing about a cessation of these cruel customs without incurring the enmity of the natives; and in this work the missionaries are rendering effective aid. Miss Slessor, who has worked for twenty-two years in the United Presbyterian mission at Old Calabar, has saved the lives of fifty-one twins, who would have been put to death in the belief that they were the result of withcraft and devilry. When the twins are born, she says, they are at once taken from the mother, and if no one intercedes, they are taken by the feet and head, and have their backs broken across a native woman's knee, in the same way as one would break a stick. The bodies are then placed in an earthenware receptacle and taken to the bush, where they are devoured by flies or other animals. Sometimes the little victims are put in these receptacles alive, and are then eaten alive in the same way. The mother becomes an outcast. If she does not at once take her own life, she has to flee to the bush. If she ventures near the town or village, she must see that she does not remain on the path when any other native is coming. Her presence, according to their superstition, would defile the place for others. She must not drink from the same spring, must not touch anything even belonging to her own relations, and there is little cause for wonder that she takes away a life which has become a living death.<sup>3</sup>

Writing only a month or so ago from Akurú on the Niger, Mr. T. A. J. Ogunbiye, of the Church Missionary Society, says: "All the detestable enormities of Benin are practised here—human sacrifices to the devil or other tribal gods, crucifixion, immolations at burials, infanticide of twins, and so on." The crucifixion tree is close to the church he has built, but the presence of the missionaries seems to have stopped the offering up of victims since 1897. As for the murder of twins, Mr. Ogunbiye visited a grove some months ago in which there were three hundred pots containing the remains of twin children, smothered a few hours after their birth.<sup>4</sup>

To return to the territory of the Royal Niger Company. To the west of the Niger, the Ibuza tribe, inhabiting the district between Asaba and Benin, is said to have been the last to practise human sacrificial rites. Hundreds of victims annually were butchered in

<sup>1</sup> Mockler-Ferryman, *Imperial Africa*, i. p. 393.

<sup>2</sup> Reuter's telegrams in the *Times*, &c., January 26 and November 5, 1897; *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, 1897, p. 216. *Journal of the Manchester Geographical Society* (1898) 190-207; *Notes of a Journey to Bendi* by Major Leonard.

<sup>3</sup> *The Daily Chronicle*, December 5, 1896, p. 6. <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* December 22, 1896, p. 3.

this way, and according to the traditions of the tribe no one could become a chief until he had with his own hand killed two slaves; and all the able men were chiefs. The tribe had of late been very aggressive, killing people within a few miles of Asaba, the headquarters of the Company. In January 1898 Major Festing was sent against them with 300 Hausas, and inflicted a defeat on them, after which they were willing to come to terms and agree to the abolition of human sacrifices and the opening up of the country to trade and missionaries.<sup>1</sup> But in October last they sacked the Illah mission and attacked the Company's station, which led to further fighting before they were subdued.<sup>2</sup>

It was, perhaps, inevitable that the dual capacity of the Company as an administrative authority and a trading body should bring it into collision with the interests of independent traders, especially when it has diverted trade from other exits on the coast. The European traders of New Calabar and other Oil Rivers employ as middlemen the chiefs of the country. In the old days of the slave-trade these middlemen supplied slaves to the Europeans, and on the abolition of that traffic they commenced to trade in palm-oil, which they bring down from the interior in canoes. But the Company, coming in behind, intercepted this produce and imposed duties on its export, which led to disputes with the Oil Rivers merchants.<sup>3</sup> It was such questions as this that led to the mission of Major (now Sir Claude) Macdonald, in 1889, whose journey Major Mockler-Ferryman has narrated, though he shows a diplomatic reticence as to the results of the inquiries then made. Major Macdonald ascended the Benue beyond Yola and the Niger to Rabba, and had interviews with many of the emirs, kings, and chiefs up the rivers and in the delta. His report has never been published, perhaps because it is too unfavourable to the practices of the Company. It is not improbable, however, that it had considerable weight with the Government in preventing the threatened extension of the Company's control over the Oil Rivers.

The native chiefs of Brass have long been incensed against the tapping of their trade in the interior by way of the main river, and on several occasions they brought their grievances before the British authorities, and, obtaining no redress, resorted to every means of evading the exactions of the Company. Brushes with the Company's officials only served to intensify their hatred, and in January 1895 they made a combined attack on Akassa, the main depôt of the Company, near the Nun mouth. With a force of about 2000 men they overpowered the officials and sacked the place, slaughtering or taking prisoners the native servants. Of those carried off forty-three

<sup>1</sup> Reuter's telegrams in the *Times*, &c., January 14, February 7 & 21, May 17, 1898.

<sup>2</sup> *The Daily Chronicle*, November 12, 23, & 25, 1898.

<sup>3</sup> Mockler-Ferryman, *Up the Niger*, p. 241.

were publicly executed and then eaten by the frenzied savages.<sup>1</sup> A graphic account of the raid on Akassa is given by Mr. Harold Bindloss in his recently published volume, *In the Niger Country*:<sup>2</sup>

"What happened at Nimbé," he writes, "is chiefly known from the tale of some young children, fourteen in number, I believe, taken prisoners and afterwards returned by the tribesmen from Nimbé, with a message which, I was informed, was translated at Akassa as follows: 'Their flesh is not sweet so young.' This is, perhaps, the only redeeming incident about the whole affair, and it seems curious that the raiders should have taken the trouble to send them back, instead of either murdering them or retaining them as slaves. These children, sent by the Chartered Company, went back with me to their homes in Liberia some little time afterwards, and they unhesitatingly declared that all the other prisoners were cooked and eaten in Nimbé town in the carnival that followed."

A punitive expedition was speedily sent against Nimbé, and later in the year Sir John Kirk was sent out by the home Government and peace was patched up. Only for a time, however. English and native traders were much dissatisfied that nothing was done to remedy the grievances,<sup>3</sup> and when at last Sir R. Moor explained to them the terms arrived at with the Company, the king refused to accept them, and was accordingly outlawed,<sup>4</sup> and matters remained in the same unsettled condition.<sup>5</sup>

On the other side the relations of the Company have not been altogether smooth with the Government of Lagos. No boundary had been agreed upon between the two, and it looked very much as if both had in view the absorption of Ilorin, which formed part of the Lagos hinterland, whilst it also lay in the basin of the Niger. Sir G. T. Carter had been steadily advancing the authority of Lagos in this direction, and so long ago as 1893 a railway was projected to tap the trade of the middle Niger. But Sir George Goldie's successful expedition to Ilorin in 1897 established the Company's control over that district, and from that time the Company seems to have been using its opportunities to induce the Ilorin caravans to abandon the Lagos trade roads and sell their produce instead at the nearest of the Company's stations, thus, in fact, diverting the trade to the Niger route. This action has naturally caused great indignation amongst the merchants of Lagos, as the trade with Ilorin, at one time very large, is practically extinct.<sup>6</sup>

These circumstances show the incompatibility of the trading and administrative powers being in the same hands. In this respect, and doubtless partly from this cause, a change is even now taking place, and the administration of the protectorate is being transferred to the Colonial Office. Already Akassa has been handed over, and

<sup>1</sup> Mockler-Ferryman, *Imperial Africa*, i. pp. 299-303; *Blackwood's Magazine*, April 1898, p. 452; Parliamentary Papers (1896), Africa No. 3, Sir J. Kirk's Report.

<sup>2</sup> W. Blackwood & Sons, 1898.

<sup>3</sup> *The Times*, February 19, 1896, p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* April 6, 7 & April 20, 5 e, 1896.

<sup>5</sup> *The Daily News*, November 26, 1897.

<sup>6</sup> *The Daily Chronicle*, February 1, 1898.

Colonel Lugard has been busy at Lokoja organising a force of Hausa soldiers. For the transfer of its rights the Company receives the good round sum of £750,000, besides, it is said, £140,000 for the permanent plant, warehouses, &c., at Akassa, and further consideration for certain leasehold rights acquired by the Company on the banks of the river. At the same time the Coast Protectorate, which has hitherto been administered under the Foreign Office, is also being transferred to the Colonial Office. This is as it should be. A glance at the map will show that these territories should be united under one government, and it is a question whether it would not be to the advantage of all that Lagos should be united with them, thus forming one compact, though doubtless very extensive, government.

A recently reported action of the Company in connection with this transfer of authority seems to demand some explanation. The policy of preventing the importation of arms has been already alluded to; and in regard to another unquestionable evil—the importation of alcoholic spirits—the Company claims to have acted a philanthropic part, placing a heavy duty on the spirits, and thus reducing the quantity imported. In 1890 it went further, prohibiting altogether the importation of spirituous liquors into any place north of 7°, and putting an almost prohibitive duty on their importation into the delta countries. A few months ago, however, it was reported that the Company was importing large quantities of Hamburg gin—perhaps in view of evading the duties under the new *régime*. Hundreds of tons of filthy German spirit were sent out. Nor is this all. Seventy-five tons of gunpowder—some say twice that quantity—were also sent out for native consumption. The importation of spirits is a crying evil and is answerable for much of the degradation of the natives of the coast. By bringing the whole of the coast, from Badagry to the Cross River, under one government some more effective step might be taken in remedying this evil, though, at the same time, it is desirable to get the French and German Governments to agree that the spirits shall not be introduced into our territories from their possessions.

As to the future commercial prospects of this thickly populated region there can be no question. The central Sudan is probably the richest part of tropical Africa, and, even yet, little more than the outskirts have been touched by the trader; the enormous wealth of Hausaland—a tract of country whose soil is remarkable for its fertility, and whose teeming population is proverbial for its intelligence and industry—remains to be opened up.<sup>1</sup>

Relieved from its administrative duties, the Company will be able to concentrate its attention on opening up the interior to trade. As the Rev. C. H. Robinson, one of the greatest authorities on

<sup>1</sup> Mockler-Ferryman, *Imperial Africa*, i. 279.

Hausaland, has pointed out,<sup>1</sup> three requisites are essential to the development of this country: the provision of a better currency, the improvement of transport, and the abolition of slave-raiding. Probably in no other part of tropical Africa would a railway be more efficient than would one connecting the great commercial city of Kano with the navigable waters of the Niger.<sup>2</sup>

Of the fever-belt of the coast region a graphic description—almost Zolaesque in its vivid colouring of the repulsiveness of those swamps and quagmires—is given by Mr. Harold Bindloss in his book, *In the Niger Country*. “All the way from Lekki lagoon, which is connected with that of Lagos, to the mouth of the Old Calabar river,” he writes (p. 70), “there lies a waste, some 400 miles in length, of festering mud and slime, out of which the leather-leaved mangroves grow. Through this desolation of rottenness the waters of the Niger find their way by many channels to the sea.” It is this fast-growing, fast-rotting mangrove which forms promontories and islands by gathering the mud and in process of time binding it into land. Under its pestilent shade “a native who knew the way could travel from Lagos to Calabar, through leagues of intersecting channels, without ever venturing out into the broad light of day” (p. 140). Behind this unhealthy and death-dealing region, however, is a productive country which exports large quantities of palm-oil, where cotton grows wild, where coffee may be easily cultivated, and where there are great forests of mahogany lying idle through dearth of hands to work them. But more important than all, says Mr. Bindloss, is rubber, which is probably destined shortly to become more valuable than the present staple, palm-oil.

FREDK. A. EDWARDS, F.R.G.S.

<sup>1</sup> *The Geographical Journal*, viii. (1896) p. 205.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 499.



## OBEDIENCE TO THE LAW.

### ITS OBLIGATIONS AND ITS LIMITS.

A FEW years ago a specially strong party move was made against Liberalism as a force friendly to disloyalty and disorder. The opponents of Liberals did their best to picture them, to a scandalised country, as unfriendly to "law and order"; and, in fact, as never truly happy but when they are breaking the law or abetting a row. As a bit of party tactics it was not bad, considering that so many of us have short memories and long ears—or, let us say, lack historical accuracy and the advantages of philosophical habits.

But this kind of shot at the men of progress is as old as Cain and Abel. Every militant Radical has been regarded as a rebel, and every advanced reformer has had to find himself occasionally in queer company, and mixed up with queer proceedings. But a very little reflection will serve to show any one that it is inevitable. It must needs be that the reformers and the active rebellers against bad laws will be at times found in the same camp. In the first place the reformer sides with the oppressed, and the oppressed are apt to be in conflict with the law. In such circumstances the reformer will be slow to denounce that which really may be only blow for blow. Then he also is himself in conflict with bad laws; and conflict with law, however constitutionally carried on, is easily classified with rebellion, or, at all events, with a tendency to "pick and choose the laws you will and will not obey." And, finally, the reformer inevitably comes into collision, of one kind or another, with the people in possession; and the people in possession are usually or always the people who back up existing laws, especially when they have become one-sided, for, in such a case, the laws back up *them*.

In this way, quite naturally and inevitably, the reformer is almost sure to lay himself open to the charge of being opposed to "law and order."<sup>1</sup> And yet it is perfectly clear that he may, in his way, be specially the maintainer of "law and order"; and the measure

<sup>1</sup> More than twenty years ago John Ruskin said: "It has become impossible to give due support to the cause of order without seeming to countenance injury; and impossible to plead justly the claims of sorrow without seeming to plead also for those of license."

of his revolt may only be the measure of his love of justice, and of his longing to make righteousness dominant. At the heart of him he may be supremely law-abiding; and his challenge to the law may only mean that the law itself has become lawless. If he would avoid the fate of the misunderstood, he has only one course open to him. He must cease to care so much about right and wrong; he must cease to be a reformer; he must consider only himself; he must play for safety; he must serve the great god, Number One.

But, to tell the honest truth, modern Liberals and Radicals are not altogether free from blame. They have been too apt to "live from hand to mouth" in this matter, having never settled with themselves what they actually do mean by obedience to the law, and on what ground they can ever countenance resistance to it. In the meantime, on the Conservative side, there is being emitted a constant stream of cant, while, on the Liberal side, there is manifestly a great deal of confusion and haze.

Very few Liberals, at present, seem able or willing to get down to "pan rock" on this business. The vast majority either have no fixed ideas as to the real basis and sanction of law, or still talk the sheerest nonsense about it as a kind of fetish—a something permanent and self-existent, with sanctities and sanctions of its own. Why not frankly admit that what we call *law* is not the supreme authority at all? The supreme authority resides with those who make law what it is for the time being. What *is* law? The question has really only lately got within the range of rational reply. Not so very long ago law was simply the expression of the ruler's will, or of the will of a ruling gang, or of a ruling class—as, indeed, it is to this day in Russia, or Ireland. It is a modern discovery that law has its abiding foundations only in the nation's will, and that, therefore, the nation is supreme; circumstances being perfectly conceivable which would justify individuals in regarding law (or royalty) as something to be challenged or even defied. It is a somewhat startling, and perhaps a somewhat dangerous, proposition; but let us see what there is to say for it. It will be curious if we find the best justification for it where we find the grounds for insisting on the obligations of *obedience* to the law.

\* In arguing this question we are about to set up a parallel which will make it very difficult to stand our ground before the average British Philistine—or saint; for we are going to bracket morality with law, and still to argue that it is not supreme. Law, we have said, is the expression for the moment of somebody's will, or of the will of a number of people. It may, therefore, be one thing to-day and quite another thing to-morrow. In one age law may order everybody to go on Sunday to church; in another age it may assist demonstrators to hold public meetings on Sunday in a park. So, in relation to morality, it may be perfectly moral in one age for holy

patriarchs to practise liberal bigamy, while in another age it may be grossly immoral for even a bishop to experiment in that direction at all. Why? At the back of laws which change there may always be an ideal law that may be regarded as permanent, just as, at the back of all varying standards of morality, there may always be an imaginable ideal morality which belongs to the sphere of the eternally good and true. But the point is that, for the time being, law may be pitifully imperfect, and morality may be grossly defective, for the very obvious reason that both are, for the time being, the expression of the average civilisation of the day—or, frequently, only the expression of the will of the ruling power of the day—or, perhaps, only the ragged survival or spectral fashion of the day.

If these reflections are true, it is perfectly easy to see how, in every age, conflicts may arise with regard to both morality and law; and it is equally easy to see that the restive rebel is just as likely to be a reformer as an iconoclast—in fact, he is more likely to be a man who is feeling his way to the higher law or the higher morality than a man who lags behind. At any rate, we here come upon the boundary line we are in search of; and, standing upon that, we may now proceed to look before and after—on this side and on that—to find out, if we can, in some simple and practical way, a working theory respecting obedience to the law. If we are elementary we shall achieve our object. We are not seeking for the philosopher's stone: we are only offering to pass the bread and salt.

It is necessary, at the outset, to draw a resolute distinction between law as the expression of the will of a ruling person or class, and law as organised justice for all. The first may be tyranny. Only the second is really law. Here is the main reason for consulting the whole people in the making of laws—the poor equally with the rich. “Law and order” must rest, and can only securely rest, on the will and support of the whole nation. That, in like manner, is the main argument for Home Rule—and Home Rule not only for Ireland, but for the tiniest parish in Somersetshire.

First, then, as to *obedience* to the law.

The most radical democrat need not be an inch behind the veriest aristocrat in asserting the grave obligations of obedience to the law. He knows, or ought to know, that “law and order” are at the foundations of society, and that we could not live and work together without them. What we have to do is not to shake ourselves free from law, but to make it real, just, and right for all. Looking through the least regenerate democrat's eyes, what do we see? We see that man began as a lonely brute; and has gone on, all the way, by slow degrees, to civilised communities. The vital aim of law is to guarantee gains and to champion rights. Civilisation is the art of living together. That is the democrat's definition as well as the aristocrat's.

The obligations of obedience to the law, then, are not founded on the divine rights of kings, or on the vested interests of classes, or on some imaginary social balance of power; but they are founded on utility, on simple righteousness, on the sheer necessities of the case. The "bread and salt" here may be found in four extremely simple propositions.

#### I. PERSONAL LIBERTY DEPENDS UPON LAW.

We who cry out against "coercion" (an inapt word!) do so, not because we are opposed to restraints, but because we are opposed to restraining the wrong man, in wrong circumstances, for a wrong object, and at the wrong time. We would coerce the cheat, the oppressor, or the cruel, just as we would coerce the violent, the moonlighter, and the marauder. Liberty is often not a simple but a very complex thing. Not only have crimes innumerable been committed in her name, but tyranny unbearable has been enthroned in her name. True law, rightly created, rightly established, rightly sanctioned, and rightly administered—by and for the people as a whole—would be the true guardian of personal liberty, because its restraints would always be present-day safeguards against old-world survivals—restraints of the brute element still lurking in the advancing man—restraints of liberty in one way to secure it in a larger and better way.

#### II. FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY AND OF EXPRESSION IS SECURED BY LAW.

This is why freedom of speech, and later, freedom of the press, have always played such a leading part in the struggle for national liberty against dominant class or personal wills. But, on the other hand, the upsetting of law would be the upsetting of freedom of assembly and of expression, and the triumph of mere brute force. Indeed, "mob law" is only the resurrection in another form of king law or class law, and is usually the product of it. Democracy, when fully developed and rightly instructed, will be sharp enough to see that true liberty can only be maintained by force of law guarding against force of numbers—guaranteeing the right of free assembly and free expression to all. The true democrat will be the keenest defender of civil and religious liberty. He will outgrow old-world bigotry and intolerance. If he is a Protestant, he will be as anxious to assert fair-play and a free field for the Catholic as for himself. If he is a Theist, he will not yield to the zealot's desire to win a point for religion by smothering in any way the unbeliever. If he is a Socialist, he will not desire to silence the veriest Tory who pleads for a return to "the good old ways"; and he will find in obedience to the law the solid guarantee for the freedom of assembly

and the freedom of expression, without which liberty is nothing but a sham.

### III. THE RIGHTS OF PROPERTY ARE SECURED BY LAW.

Here we shall have Lord Salisbury with us—a political teacher whose one gospel seems to be the assertion of the sacred rights of property, and of the sound doctrine that “confidence” is the basis of trade. But that phrase “rights of property” needs to be closely scrutinised. What is property? Surely not everything a man has! A man may have in his strong box the harvest of a burglary, but we not only take possession of the spoons, we also carry off the man; and there is a part of the Empire where even landlords have been forbidden by law to fix and collect their rents—though nothing has yet been said about restitution. But, nearer home, certain dukes own large tracts of land upon which industry has planted costly places of business, increasing old values fifty-fold. Who knows whether it will be always held that these noble persons have an equitable right to annex all that the enterprise and labour of a great city have created?—whether it will be always held that the creators of this boundless wealth ought to surrender it all to those who toil not nor spin? “Law?” Yes. “Rights?” Yes. “Property?” Yes. But law is based on justice and utility, on common consent and common sense, and the common good; and the reason why property has been so often in danger, in periods of popular restlessness or distress, is precisely because there has been but little law, worth the name, concerned in the adjustment of the rights (and duties) of property. Lord Salisbury is perfectly right. We do want confidence; but confidence is the sense of security based on contentment; and contentment is based on the abiding sense of justice: and it is precisely because true law would secure true justice that the democrat will be swift to learn to find in law the safeguard of its rights and the rock on which all may rest—from the joiner with his 25s. a week to the Duke of Westminster with his—whatever is equitably his.

### IV. PROSPERITY AND PROGRESS DEPEND UPON LAW.

This is involved in what has gone before; but it is well to specially state it. The law is a man's household friend, not his family ghost. It is not only “for vengeance on evildoers,” but is “for praise to those who do well.” That may be yawned over as a virtuous commonplace. Exactly: it is the promised “bread and salt.” But we shall be original enough presently, and we may even here venture the uncommonplace remark that we are mainly indebted to the “rebels” and to the “disloyal” for most of the laws

that have made prosperity and progress possible; for the "rebels" and the "disloyal" have, as a rule, been the men and women who have challenged class-rule and laws which were played-out survivals of old tyrannies. Generation after generation the reforming spirits have had to grapple with laws that narrowed the prosperity and stopped the progress of the nation; and, in reality, it was their ardent longing for the nation's good that led them to challenge what were called the nation's laws. Unceasing honour and praise to them! but, all the same, it is true that law is ever the ideal guarantee of the nation's prosperity and progress, because it promotes stability and guards against the graspings of mere self-interest, or the ignorant folly of mere self-will, because its very basis is universal justice; not only the promotion of the greatest good of the greatest number, but the safe-guarding of the interests of the least number, basing the rights of each only on the rights of all.

Thus far, then, as to the obligations of *obedience* to the law. Now for the thorny question of "*limits*." But, as we half-predicted, we have extracted most of the thorns on our way; for, in insisting upon our obligations to obedience, we have seen, at every turn, that there are conditions and limitations. What are these? Let us see.

A very little consideration will serve to show that law may very easily become not only the instrument of tyranny, but the tyranny itself. In fact, the great law-makers of the world have, oddly enough, often been the great law-breakers of the world. The forceful qualities which led them to bind men down to rules have tempted them to rule with a rod of iron "for the people's good." The first-class despot is only a strong man who is beset with the delusion that he alone has a right to do as he likes with his own.

It follows that real law has its foundations in justice to all. When law is the expression of selfishness or usurpation, then the order is reversed. The law-giver is the culprit, and the rebel is the vindicator of law. Incidentally, Mr. Gladstone, at Hawarden, once gave a memorable illustration of this; going, in doing so, a good long stride beyond the ordinary and accepted canons in relation to "the powers that be." The constables who, at Mitchelstown, attempted to violently push their way through an assembly of persons engaged in holding a public meeting were breakers of the law, said he; they ought to have all been taken into custody; and when the people whom they batoned turned round upon them with black-thorns they got what they deserved. In other words, it was a right thing to do to cudgel constables who were grossly exceeding their duty. That speech is worth recalling as probably registering high-water mark in relation to this matter of the limits of obedience to the law; and the people who would like to refute him or to blame us had better turn their attention to the records of the days of old. Let them see how the history of Europe would look, with its most

glorious chapters sponged out ; for those are precisely the chapters which tell of the great heretics and heroes, patriots and reformers, who all had to wrestle with bad laws and their makers, and defy them.

The principle underlying the legitimate refusal of obedience to the law is not as subtle or as fine-spun as many imagine. Difficulties have arisen in relation to this subject mainly because nobody has seemed inclined to resolutely face the doctrine that to break the law or to refuse to obey it may be a duty and a virtue. People have become rebels violently or apologetically, as martyrs or as cranks. Rebellion has yet to be treated as possibly a homely virtue—a branch of social science.

It is here that a vocation might be found by Mr. Auberon Herbert and his interesting little band of "Individualists," who at present find a vent for their sense of oppression by denouncing the tyranny of taxation, and by virtually suggesting the abolition of the House of Commons, county councils, and municipal corporations. That might do for angels, but, to say the least of it, it is a crude proposal for this "naughty world." And yet we very much need Mr. Herbert and his friends. But we plead for the good old "golden mean"—not Lord Salisbury alone, and not Mr. Auberon Herbert alone, but a combination of the two. This would give us about what we want—a safe and sober regard for "law and order" which would not amount to laughable or sickening grovelling before the man with the stick, and a hold upon Individualism which would not amount to laying every public duty upon the shoulders of the high-minded and the lovers of "sweetness and light." The limits of obedience to the law are determined by either personal or patriotic considerations. In the first case, it is chiefly conscience that has been and is concerned ; in the second, the sphere of general politics is usually entered. But there are exceptions.

Where *personal* considerations are involved there is, of course, an extreme need for caution. It is manifestly absurd that any man should be allowed to obey only such laws as he pleases, as mere whim or self-interest may impel him ; and it might, at first sight, seem impossible to distinguish between legitimate and illegitimate objections : but it is not so. Society, after all, is run on very simple lines, and, while casuistry and the quibblers may split hairs, plain people have a rough-and-ready but wonderfully accurate way of distinguishing between evil-doers and those who desire to do well. Out of many possible instances, we will just glance at two which have troubled the waters a good deal during the past twenty years. As a bare statement, nothing is more undeniable than the proposition that men ought to pay their debts ; and that if a man cannot pay his rent he should go : and for that statement, so highly moral and meritorious, Lord Salisbury, for instance, has got full value.

But there are debts and debts, and rents and rents, as all the world now knows, so we will not pursue that. We will only press home this case as showing that an undoubted axiom may at last break down, and that a man who does not pay may not be a scoundrel—nay, that a man who does not pay his rent may, in the end, persuade Parliament that he ought not to do it! But there may be another man who does not pay his rent—the man who is able, but who casts in his lot with others in order to strengthen them against spoliation or oppression. The law of self-preservation urges men to stand by their orders; and the law of sympathy induces them to side with the ground-down. At what point self-preservation and sympathy may legitimately lead a man to suspend fulfilment of a contract—if that ever could be legitimate—no one can indicate beforehand. Every case of the kind must be judged on its merits at the time. But it is perfectly conceivable that a case might arise which would make a combination of tenants against landlords not only a right but a duty: and the strong man who did not join the weak might justly be regarded as wanting in insight, or fellow-feeling, or courage.

Or take the case of the anti-vaccinator. For the general good, as it supposes, Parliament makes vaccination compulsory, and for years succeeds fairly well. In time, first the suspicion, then the conviction arises that vaccination is a channel for communicating or rousing into activity certain foul diseases. The conviction grows into a supposed certainty. The affectionate and anxious parent, having passed through a painful experience, and desiring to save other children from misery or death, refuses to subject them to the operation. What are we to say? The law is broken, but every one feels that no crime is committed, and that the very reverse of the criminal spirit has led to the refusal to obey the law. We may fine or even imprison, but the common sense of the nation has rapidly led to the conclusion that here, at all events, the law may be wrong and the rebel right; and this even though universal vaccination would be a universal blessing. It is, as we have said, a highly moral maxim that every person ought to obey the law; but it is at least as sound a maxim that every parent should do his best to guard his child from harm, and should be prepared to suffer for it. He may be a fool for his pains, but his duty is *his*, and cannot be transferred.

The refusals to obey the law that have turned upon personal considerations have, as a rule, however, been cases of conscience; and here, with a somewhat free margin for fanatics of a very pronounced kind, we are, by this time, on solid ground. At this time of day we need not discuss the Puritans and the early Nonconformists, and the more modern rebels against the imposition of Church rates. All that is written in the history of England, and the chapters which



record it grow not dim but bright with time. But what would become of our vaunted Protestantism itself, as a subject of history, if we failed to admit the doctrine that the individual may have rights and duties that justify and even compel his non-compliance with the law?

The gentlemen who favour us with the most frequent homilies in praise of "law and order" are fondest of quoting Scripture as their warrant for so doing. They are specially fond of St. Peter's useful saying, "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the king, as supreme, or unto governors as unto those that are sent by him." But this wants looking into. If we turn to the Acts of the Apostles we find this very same Peter violating "law and order" exactly like John Dillon at a "proclaimed" meeting in the good old days. Standing before the magistrates for speaking when he was forbidden, Peter said, "We ought to obey God rather than men"; and when the magistrates ordered Peter and his comrades to be flogged, and then let them go, with a caution not to speak on the subject again, "they departed from the presence of the council . . . and daily in the temple *they ceased not* to teach and to preach." Evidently Peter found *his* limits of obedience to the law! But if we appeal to the Cæsar of Holy Writ we shall come across a noble army of rebels as well as martyrs. The fine old story of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego is of ceaseless interest and application. To the mightiest monarch of his day they dared to say, "Be it known unto thee, O king, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up." And, if the story is to be believed, their stubborn defiance of the law received the endorsement of the Supreme.

Two remarks, however, may be usefully made. First, that they who undertake to challenge the law and to disobey it ought to be prepared to accept the alternative provided by the law. Peter took his flogging, and the three Hebrew youths bravely faced the fire. In such circumstances one may say that the law is obeyed, for the law provides the alternative of obedience or penalty, and, in a way, a man is left to make his choice.

The second remark is that, where the individual is concerned, it is a safe rule to give the law or society the benefit of the doubt, and to refrain from disobedience wherever that can be. On the other hand, as John Stuart Mill has so searchingly reminded us, society perpetually needs the help of robust and original minds.\* His keen sentences are never out of place, and, in some respects, they are eminently needed now. "In this age, the mere example of non-conformity, the mere refusal to bend the knee to custom, is itself a service. Precisely because the tyranny of opinion is such as to make eccentricity a reproach, it is desirable, in order to break through that tyranny, that people should be eccentric. Eccentricity has

always abounded when and where strength of character has abounded; and the amount of eccentricity in a society has generally been proportioned to the amount of genius, mental vigour, and moral courage it contained. That so few now dare to be eccentric, marks the chief danger of the time." Still, it must be admitted that this is no light matter, and that he who undertakes to do what Emerson called upon us to do—to "affront and reprimand the smooth mediocrity and squalid contentment of the times"—undertakes one of the gravest of duties and obligations.

Where *patriotic* considerations determine the limits of obedience to the law, we come upon even less debatable ground, for we here enter upon considerations that turn upon the common good, and the uprising of society itself against felt evils. Here history is rich in examples; but we will only refer to three.

The revolt of the patriotic consciousness of England under Hampden and Cromwell gives us almost a perfect case in point. The men who conducted the revolution of 1642 did their duty, even though they were wrong. It may be doubtful whether, in the beginning, the king actually attempted illegalities, but it is certain that the quarrel soon passed the stage at which cases could be presented to the courts. The common-sense, the conscience, the sturdy independence of England rose up against the doctrine of "right divine"—rose up against whole battalions of laws and precedents—and swept them away like must and chaff. And though they dug up Cromwell's bones and hung them on a gibbet, and then attempted to take no count of him in English history, the centuries will enshrine him there as our most notable "rebel," essentially a great constructive presence in English history, with only three or four to equal him among England's crowned or uncrowned kings.

A second instance is a case of a very different and much humbler kind. A few years ago the "taxes on knowledge" were in full swing, in spite of remonstrances from many of the brightest spirits of that day, who had long seen the utter stupidity of putting a tax, for instance, upon newspapers. The thing became too foolish for endurance. The ruling classes or persons were stubborn, and the process of reform had, by strong hands, to be pushed home. A part of that process, and a most efficacious part of it too, was the publication of unstamped newspapers by keen men who saw clearly enough that the public good required defiance of an absurd and injurious law. Their defiance took the enlightening form of an object-lesson, and the object-lesson took the appropriate form of the publication of the *Poor Man's Guardian*—not as the law directed. Its editor and proprietor, Henry Hetherington, endured twelve months' imprisonment for neglecting to provide his newspapers with a stamp; but those twelve months of suffering did more for the repeal of the taxes on knowledge than any twelve years of argument.

A few such cases killed the taxes on knowledge just as similar cases killed Church rates, and just as the repeated revolt and imprisonment of such men as John Dillon and William O'Brien killed "coercion."

Our third case takes us in quite another direction. What shall we say of the good, law-abiding, peaceable Quakers in America, who a few years ago not only winked at breaking the law, but created an intricate "underground railway" for securing the escape of fugitive slaves?—thereby defying the law and depriving lawful owners of valuable property!

This is but a hurried gleaning in a vast and fruitful field, but it will probably satisfy most reasonable people that in this world we have something to do besides repeating platitudes about "law and order." Again and again the history of mankind drives home the conclusion that when the public conscience and public sense are against the law, the rebel ceases and the reformer begins, the fanatic becomes the patriot, the traitor may even become the saint.

Here, of course, we shall be confronted with the objection that when the public conscience and public sense are against the law, the law can now be voted down. Precisely; and we are abundantly willing to admit that, as the government of a country comes to be really based on the will and vote of the nation at large, both the need and the right of resistance will be modified or will cease. But society is not within measurable distance of being able to do without its forerunners and its idealists, its radicals and its rebels; and these, we may be sure, Nature will never cease to provide—at first, the sorrowful souls, haunted by divine discontents; then the dreamers of strange dreams; and then the leaders of mankind.

JOHN PAGE HOPPS.

## MAURICE MAETERLINCK : MYSTIC , AND DRAMATIST.

IN one of his books, *Le Trésor des Humbles*, which appeared not long since in an English dress, the Belgian dramatist comments on various mystics of the past, and expounds a mysticism of his own. "The meek," we read in one great storehouse of mystic teaching, "shall inherit the earth," and the essence of all the literature of mysticism, ancient and modern, is an endeavour to show the manner of this inheriting, how it is possible to have nothing, and yet to possess all things. Mysticism, looked at in one way, is simply an attempt to redress the balance of things, to oppose to the powers that be a kingdom not of this world—an inward royalty of the spirit. Hence it arouses, according to circumstances, the derision or the suspicion of the man in the street. "He taught us that pain was no evil," says Macanlay, in the character of a young Roman patrician, referring to his Stoic tutor, "until I singed his great filthy beard, and sent him roaring out of the house," and the clumsy school-boy logic of this has a conclusiveness of its own. Pain may not be an evil, in the deeper sense of that mysterious term, but one would rather be free from it. Poverty, we have often heard, may be true wealth, but what man is indifferent to an increase in income? The most ethereal of poets will elect, on the whole, not to be "slated" by the influential reviews. On the other hand, those who desire to enter this mystical paradise are either those for whom Earth has exhausted her bounties, or those upon whom she has never smiled. "The treasures of the meek"—what are they but the castles in the air with which poor children console themselves for their poverty? "If I had lots of money, I would buy that rocking-horse." And they pretend that they have the money and purchase the imaginary rocking-horse, and are very happy with it—up to a certain point. Even so, says the Marchioness, will orange-peel and water taste like champagne, "if you make believe very much." Those who adopt this point of view will naturally leave M. Maeterlinck's writings alone, or, if they come upon them by chance, will find themselves affected much as was the sturdy believer in Browning's *Christmas Day* towards the higher criticism.

"Go on : you shall no more move my gravity

Than when I see babes ride a cock-horse  
 I find it in my heart to embarrass them  
 By hinting that their stick's a mock horse,  
 And that they carry, what they say carries them."

But, on the other hand, there are some, and even this age of ours is not barren of them, who are troubled oftentimes by a paradoxical sense of unreality in what the general consensus of opinion takes for real, and for whom the truly vital and arresting points in a universe of shadows are themselves, their own consciousness, and that something around and above them, whether vaguely conceived as an all-embracing, all-pervading influence and power, or concentrated and concretised, as it were, into some form of personal deity. "Only two luminous and self-evident points in the universe," said Newman, "God and my soul." Stripped of its theological dress, this is the creed of the apostles of the inward life, of whatever faith or no faith, Buddhist, mediæval saint, or Latter-day Pantheist ; this is the doctrine of all the mystics from Plato to Emerson, from Marcus Aurelius to Charles Wesley.

Only with the older mystics one may say broadly, that they were more interested in the divine than in the human, in the light of the soul than in the avenues by which it penetrates the human personality. It is so at any rate with the mystic of Grönendal, to whom Maeterlinck has dedicated some eloquent pages, "born in the stormy night of blood and prayers that we call the thirteenth century," when Thomas Aquinas had just finished his career, and that of Thomas à Kempis was just beginning. In the writings of Ruysbroek, with their strange Gothic stained-glass splendour of imagery, there is the patient, passionate contemplation of the divine that we find in the paintings of saints by Memling or Van Eyck.

The new mysticism does not rise to this sublime ecstasy, this passionate affirmation of the invisible. It is founded rather on a knowledge of man, through which it seeks to obtain a knowledge of what the general consensus of mankind has agreed to call God. It is introspective and subtly—almost too subtly—psychologic. Ruysbroek and his like spoke to an age with which the being of God was a postulate of existence. The mystic of this latter day dare not do more than assert that he who descends into the depths of his own spirit and dwells there in silence and humility will hear a voice that is not his own.

Maeterlinck's praise of silence might seem a reflection from Thomas à Kempis. "Try and hold your tongue for a day, and how many perplexities will not be made clear." Even so, but with the difference above suggested, says the monk of Deventer, "Whoso therefore withdraweth himself from his acquaintance and friends, to him will God draw near, with his holy angels." The Belgian writer

looks on silence not merely as a means of attaining to the knowledge of God, but as a way of getting into true relations with men. "So speech is not merely, as the French say, the art of concealing thought: it is the art of stifling and suspending thought, till at last there is nothing left to conceal." Speech is never the channel of real communication between two human beings. If you would understand your friend, and be understood by him, then be silent. "As soon as we begin to speak, something warns us that divine doors are closing somewhere."

Like Emerson, our author holds that every man carries about with him his own atmosphere, revealing or betraying the secrets of his nature. It may be something in his voice, a look, a turn of the lips, a trick of manner, but somehow, to the spiritually sensitive he reveals himself without a spoken word. And this is the reason why men who have anything to hide hate silence. It gives scope for the action of this mysterious force of self-betrayal. We are chary of silence: we dare not be mute with the first comer. Why, but, because we are afraid lest we should betray too much—lest in the silence some occult force of the soul should find a voice.

Even so, our friend is one with whom we may be silent. No one has ever loved deeply who has not known the yearning for a fuller and more intimate communion of nature with nature than the limitations of life permit to this mortality—a longing for the power to flash his thought on the mind of the loved one, without the need for passing it through the troubling and distorting medium of speech. For it is a question which is worst off, the inarticulate or the too articulate—the dumb, who has no language for his thoughts, or the fluent, who has ever at hand a flow of misleading volubility. Neither of them says what he would, though in the latter case he may imagine that he does. But when the confusion of tongues has given place to peace, even now sometimes soul may meet soul in speechless communion, deep calling unto deep.

It is only through silence that the soul can find out herself, her powers, her destiny. In the depths of each soul is a sanctuary, of which he alone and his Maker has the key. It is ours, so sings a great Catholic poet of our time—

"To lie as in an oubliette of God"—

imprisoned in our own consciousness, or to dwell there as in the bower "built by a secret lover for his spouse." Now and then, perhaps, every man descends into this enclosed garden of his spirit, but to those who do so habitually there comes I know not what serenity, an air of initiation, of having attained, which moves the envy of those who least can understand the temper from which it springs.

Our author is not discouraged by the tone of a generation which might seem to the average observer intent upon anything and

everything but the cultivation of the inward life. He believes that we are on the eve of a great psychical awakening—an epoch in which spirit shall triumph over matter to an extent which even “the prophetic soul of the wide world, dreaming on things to come,” has never shadowed forth. India, Egypt, Persia, have known periods, as the traditions of their ancient faiths appear to indicate, when the material crust of things has worn thin, and the heart of the animating mystery has almost been felt to beat: “before long perhaps we too shall hear the murmur of the gods.”

In M. Maeterlinck's dramas, by which he is best known to the reading world of Europe, and which will be judged as puerile or exquisite according as one is in sympathy or not with the peculiar genius and temperament which has produced them, one finds the same insistence on the nullity of most speech, the triviality and inconsequence of most action. Everywhere we are conscious of the play of unknown forces, and we look on while the war is waged between a naked soul and destiny. The total impression left is that of a great pitifulness in presence of a great mystery. The powers that are really at work are veiled from us. The motives are the *clairvoyance* of old age, the presentiment of death, the almost prophetic insight of simple women and of children, the revealing aspect of the soul, whether it be such a gaze as that long look in which the soul of Pelleas met with that of Melisande, or the subtle ominous change which passed on the visage of the guilty king Hjalmar when he said to his attendants, “Why do you look at me so? Have you never seen me before?” This is the essence of his work, and not the stage machinery, borrowed half from Shakespeare and half from Hans Andersen, wonderful half-elfin princesses, pathetically innocent and doomed to death, queens like the poisoner in *Cymbeline*, a *cortège* of *béguines* and fools in motley, lightning and tempest, comets and eclipses, corpse-lights, ruins, and will-o'-the-wisps.

On the whole, he is more the moralist and mystic than the dramatist. The moral problem on which the whole interest turns is presented in as nearly abstract a form as possible, and the impression that disengages itself from the whole is the infinite pitifulness of life, the hardship of a fate that urges us to yearn and strive for a life according to the spirit while conditioned by the needs of our mortality.

But, after all, he is a mystic with his feet on the actual; he treads the solid earth while seeing beyond the stars. Aspiration is joined in him with a strangely keen and pitiful sense of human limitation. He knows by what slow agony a soul is born again into a higher plane of being, led by blind intuitions, “moving about in worlds not realised.” Something of the literal and positive Latin spirit in him corrects the transcendentalism of the Teuton, and behind his mediæval *mise-en-scène*, with its ruined turrets, errant

damse's, and names out of old Keltic romance, what disengages itself is the form and pressure of our actual life.

Take, for instance, one of his latest plays, *Aglovaine and Selysette*. The problem is a very modern and familiar one: law, duty, and the claims of the weak, as against that imperious sympathy of twin souls which has so often of late proclaimed its right to be a law unto itself. Meleandre is bound to Selysette: he loves Aglovaine with a passion purified by the spiritual radiance of her who is its object. "It is not possible to say in her presence an insincere or useless word. She extinguishes around her all that is not true." The mere reading of her letter awakes in Meleandre a longing for a more genuine relation with his child-wife Selysette, who has lived till then, between her grandmother and her little sister, the happy inconscient life of birds and flowers. The nascent feeling of jealousy aroused in her mind by the praises of Aglovaine on the lips of her husband, even before the fair stranger arrives under her roof, mark the dawning of the woman-soul. "I will go away," she says pettishly, like the baby she still is. "I know I do not understand." "You do understand," he replies. "You have depths in your soul that you do not show me: that you amuse yourself by hiding from me."

Then Aglovaine comes among them, beautiful and tender, with deep spiritual eyes that can read everything but the abject and pitiful necessities of the earthly life. At once her love goes out to Meleandre and his wife at one embrace. "Why is it, Selysette, that one is forced to love you so, and to weep in spite of oneself while embracing you?"

But to Meleandre her soul holds another language,

"O, born with me somewhere that men forget—"

"It seems," says Meleandre, "that you are nearer me than myself, that I have known you before I knew myself."

Then in the midst of this recognition of twin souls comes the question that recalls to earth. It is put by Meleandre.

"Have you thought of Selysette?"

The thought does not trouble Aglovaine. She knows of nothing in her love of Meleandre that impinges on the rights of the wife. She dreams of uniting this child-soul with theirs in a common tenderness and aspiration. "She is more beautiful than you believe, Meleandre. We will give her a helping hand: she will rejoin us, and, once near us, she will weep no more."

But again into this dream the man breaks with the question,

"Do you believe that I can love you like a sister, Aglovaine? . . . We shall struggle day and night, and the more we struggle the more we shall see arise between us a desire, which will be like a veil ever thicker and thicker between our souls . . . You are not my sister, Aglovaine, and I cannot love you as a sister."



“‘It is here, doubtless,’ she replies, ‘that we must suffer.’”

“‘Ah, then, you too love useless sufferings.’”

“‘No, Meleandre, I only love the sufferings that I can take from others. . . . If I caused an innocent creature to weep, would you recognise me?’”

It is noteworthy that the renunciation of these two lovers is not actived by any law, human or divine. What holds them back is the dread of a happiness that is based on the pain of another. What restrains them is instinct, impulse, intuition, not obedience.

The scene that follows, where Selysette, her half-developed soul torn with jealous rage, finds her rival asleep on the edge of the reservoir, and, by another impulse of human feeling, saves her from death, is exquisite in its subtle pathos.

“I have seen your soul, Selysette,” says Aglovaine, “because in spite of yourself, you loved me just now . . . Do not put little childish words, little words like thorns, between our poor hearts. Let us speak, like poor human beings as we are, who speak as they can, with their hands, with their eyes, with their souls, when they wish to say things more real than those to which mere words can reach. Come close to me in the night, let me put my arms round you, and do not trouble if you cannot answer me. Something speaks in you, which I hear as well as yourself.”

Henceforth the three walk together in the light of the love that is sacrifice and not desire. But the new strange happiness has a keenness of anguish in it. Selysette has attained to spiritual consciousness. She is awake, she would not sleep again: but the aged woman who has nursed her from an infant sees that she grows paler day by day and weeps alone. “It is not always,” she says, out of her grey experience, “the most beautiful truths which prevail against those which are more simple and more old.” The naked primitive impulses must be reckoned with, or they revenge themselves. It is only at the cost of unceasing struggle, a struggle which leaves us maimed and useless for the life of earth, that we would altogether deny the Earth her part in us. And yet the pity of it! “Is it not strange, Selysette,” says Aglovaine. “I love you, I love Meleandre; Meleandre loves me, he loves you, too: you love us both, and yet we cannot live happily, because the hour is not come when human beings can be united thus.”

Each of the two women accepts in spirit the inevitable sacrifice. Aglovaine prepares to depart: but her purpose is anticipated, and Selysette dies to give happiness to the two whom she loves. But the full pitifulness of the case is not realised till you feel the little corpse between those two will be a barrier between them for ever: and for one moment your heart goes with the bereaved man in his rage against the beauty and virtue that tempt men to a life too high for them; against implacable destiny and the fine words that veil the brute in the human; the cruel irony, the unspeakable hardness of life. But quickly this passion foams away, leaving only on our

minds a feeling of immense compassion. We cannot but love the unhappy, "but why not love them before they become unhappy? We cannot do wrong by loving them beforehand: for there is no one in the world who is happy till the end." Not only so, but the mystic, with all his sense of the environing earthly, leaves us in no doubt which is the better part. "We must suffer that which others know not of, when we love what they do not love."

The part of human responsibility, speaking generally, is minimised in these dramas, where men appear as the playthings of fate, which is merely a convenient term for the unknowable powers at whose impulsion, often unconsciously, we move on the stage of our life. The wisdom of man lies in not attempting to change the course of destiny. So the wise King Arkel refuses to interfere with the action of Pelleas: he must dree his weird.

There is no denying, and M. Maeterlinck is far from attempting to deny, that this way of looking at things does tend to deaden the pressure of moral responsibility as generally understood. There is a something that shapes our ends, but its form is hidden. We are given to think that we at least choose our loves freely, "but the first kiss of the bride is only the seal which millions of hands waiting to be born set on the mouth of the mother that they desire." But we must not accuse our author of moral quietism. Dealing with our responsibility to the future he says: "All that we can do is to purify the inevitable sorrow as it comes. Grief is not the same as it knocks at the door of the just and the unjust. Destiny itself refines with the conscience of the race, which it is our task to make pure." And in *La Sagesse et La Destinée* he dwells more insistently on the power of moral effort in moulding fate.

If he is accused of showing too little esteem for those virtues which are labelled as such by general convention, it is only because he recognises how often they seem to exist apart from any living root of goodness, like cut flowers stuck by the stalk into the sand. He believes in the presence to some extent, in every man, of this hidden root of goodness, which may grow to stem and flower, in the presence of a sympathetic soul, but which an uncongenial touch may arrest.

"Let all those who have complained of another descend into the depths of their being, and ask themselves if they have ever been really good in presence of that other?"

We each of us have a distinct spiritual personality, "the face which we show to angels and to souls," and in our common daily life, not in the tremendous catastrophes which come once in a lifetime, the eternal duel between the soul and destiny is fought out to incalculable issues.

"Is it necessary that your mother should die in your arms, that your

\* daughter should perish in shipwreck, and that you should rub shoulders with death, in order that you should perceive that you are in an incomprehensible world, where the invisible God dwells eternally alone with His creatures? . . . If you had opened your eyes, would you not have been able to see in a kiss what is now revealed to you in a catastrophe? 'For twenty years,' said one, 'I lived with my sister, but I saw her for the first time at the moment of our mother's death.'"

No more striking instance could be found of the exquisite tenderness which is the dominant note of M. Maeterlinck's work than this plea of his for earth's disinherited, and it may be taken as summing up his message to our time.

"There are about the world millions and millions of poor beings, who have seen nothing beautiful in the whole course of their existence. They come, they go, in obscurity; you would imagine that their souls are dead, and no one takes any notice of them. And, lo! one day a simple word, an unforeseen silence, a little tear from the very source of beauty, teach us that they have been able to raise, in the shade of their souls, an ideal a thousand times fairer than all that their ears have heard or their eyes have seen."

These are the meek who shall one day inherit—nay, who do even now inherit—the earth; these silent and sorrowful ones, who in their humility "transform into beauty the little things that are given them." Unknown and unloved by men, but dear to God, the fragrance of the secret soul-garden where they walk with Him wakes, even in us worldlings, at times, a strange and sudden intuition of the truth of things. And, therefore, any sincere endeavour to set forth the beauty and mystery of this silent life has for it Time and the great forward movement of humanity, because it is itself "on the side of the angels."

D. M. J.

## A SPINSTER'S SALON IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

IT is really true that the world knows nothing of its greatest men, we should perhaps only expect the same axiom to apply *a fortiori* to women, even if we disregard the Periclean dogma on that question. Julie de Lespinasse, the subject of this sketch, furnishes an apt illustration in point. Her very name is scarcely known at the present day, yet she was in many ways one of the most remarkable women of her time. She occupied a position in the Parisian world of that epoch which may be called absolutely unique. The intellectual and social aristocracy of Paris paid homage to many queens during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But as a rule these female leaders of society fell readily under one of three divisions. Either they were married women of high social position, like Mme. de Rambouillet, or they belonged to that class of which the famous (or infamous) Ninon de l'Enclos is the best-known representative, or lastly, they combined both characters, like Mme. du Deffand, who plays a considerable part in the present memoir.

Mlle. de Lespinasse belongs to none of these categories. Her origin was worse than humble. Her whole inherited fortune an annuity of £12 a year. She was never married, but from the age of thirty-two she lived alone in lodgings, held daily receptions frequented largely by men, and led a life of perfect freedom and independence. Yet her reputation remained uninjured, and she commanded an amount of respect from her contemporaries which, in that evil-doing and evil-judging age, strikes one as little short of miraculous. Equally wonderful from this distance of time appears her unparalleled social success. Her *salon* is acknowledged to have been the most popular in Paris. It was not, like so many others, the mere resort of a clique. Every one who was at all distinguished, whether in science, literature, arms, or politics, found his way thither. Women of the highest rank sought eagerly for the friendship of Mlle. de Lespinasse. The best society of the day opened its arms to her. She had no personal attractions such as might in some measure account for this astounding popularity. Her warmest admirers have admitted that she was distinctly plain. All the

greater must have been the intellectual ability and social charm which won for her a position so unusual and so honourable.

Her whole life reads, as she has herself said, more like a romance than a record of sober facts. She was at one time supposed to be the daughter of the notorious Cardinal de Tencin, but of this there exists no real evidence. Her mother, Mme. d'Albon, a lady of high degree separated from her husband, had outlived her reputation, but not the wish to preserve it. Julie was born at Lyons at the house of a humble provincial surgeon, and baptized under the surname of Lespinasse, borrowed from one of the Albon estates. Mme. d'Albon proved herself a better mother than she had been a wife. The girl was brought up in her house, and, though never owned as a daughter, seems to have been treated as such. Great care was bestowed upon Julie's education, and it is probable that her knowledge of English and Italian dates back to this early period. When she was sixteen, Mme. d'Albon died, bequeathing to her an annuity of 300 francs, or about £12. On her death-bed she evidently repented of having so very inadequately provided for her daughter. She gave to the young girl a box containing a large sum of money (how much we are not told), with injunctions to keep it for herself. Quixotic in her sense of justice, Julie handed the whole amount over to her elder and legitimate brother, M. d'Albon, who made no difficulty about accepting it.

We next find her at Chamrond, in the province of Nivernois, living with her half-sister Mme. de Vichy, the wife of Mme. du Deffand's brother. Here she remained for four years in the character of nursery-governess (an unpaid one, it is surmised), and during the long absences of M. and Mme. de Vichy in Paris, took entire charge of their children. In after days she looked back on this time as pre-eminently the most miserable part of her chequered existence. When Mme. du Deffand, in 1752, came to stay with her brother at Chamrond, she was told by Julie that her position had become utterly unendurable, that she had long been treated in the most cruel and humiliating fashion, and that her patience was exhausted. For more than a year she had been planning to get away from Chamrond and enter some convent (as a boarder, for we do not hear that she ever meditated taking the veil). True, her annuity of £12 would not suffice to procure her a comfortable home in any convent, but she hoped to obtain a supplementary allowance from her brother M. d'Albon, in whose affection and good feeling she seems to have had an utterly unwarranted confidence. To this scheme M. and Mme. de Vichy opposed all possible resistance, for, with an inconsistency by no means unusual, they were most unwilling to dispense with Julie's services, while making no attempt to retain them by proper treatment.

Mme. du Deffand saw in this family difficulty her own opportunity.

She was then on the verge of total blindness, and desired above all things to find a congenial companion who would read to her, write her letters, and help to entertain her friends. From the first she she had taken a violent fancy to Mlle. de Lespinasse, and it struck her that here was the very person she sought. She made overtures to Julie which were very favourably received, but the negotiations between them were delayed by the action of M. d'Albon. He had at last, in compliance with his sister's request, arranged for her reception at a convent in Lyon, and sent an escort to accompany her thither, for she was so far on a footing with other young ladies that she could not possibly travel alone. We do not hear that M. d'Albon was equally obliging in the matter of the allowance. Probably he was not, as we learn incidentally that Julie was not permitted the luxury of a bedroom to herself at the convent which he had selected for her abode. For this reason, and also because the miserable story of her birth was common gossip with every one at Lyons, she was almost as unhappy there as she had been at Chamrond, and seriously inclined to accept the renewed offers of Mme. du Deffand. At one time, however, she was seized with misgivings as to the success of the project, and seems to have expressed them with considerable frankness. Mme. du Deffand replied in a letter which suggests the reflection that some people are much nicer in their correspondence than in the daily intercourse of life. She assures the young girl, whom she calls throughout by the caressing pet name "ma reine," that she herself will always treat her with the greatest respect, and will take care that other people do the same. For the first four or five months she will introduce her as a visitor from the country. Thus, if the arrangement does not answer, they can part without giving rise to any unpleasant comments. Moreover, this innocent deception will give Julie a better start in the estimation of the world. Her own abilities will do the rest.

Mlle. de Lespinasse was apparently reassured by these promises. Yet the negotiations dragged on from October 1752 (the date of Julie's departure from Chamrond) till after Easter 1754, when she set out for Paris under the escort of a worthy provincial couple about to visit the metropolis. This long delay was caused by the strenuous opposition of the Vichy family and M. d'Albon. Their reluctance was certainly due to a fear that their sister, once in Paris, would proceed to establish her claim to a portion of the Albon inheritance. By the letter of the law, such a claim would have held good, since Mme. d'Albon had never been formally divorced from her husband. Mme. du Deffand, who naturally feared to embroil herself with her brother, M. de Vichy, exacted from the young girl a preliminary promise that she would not make any attempt of this sort. The assurance was willingly given, and never departed from.

It would be interesting to learn whether Mlle. de Lespinasse

received a salary for her services as companion. Mme. du Deffand observes a fine reticence on this point. We only know that she tried to induce M. d'Albon to make his sister a yearly allowance of £16, which that excellent gentleman flatly refused to do. But in any case, Julie did not long remain entirely dependent either on her annuity of £12 or on the munificence of her patroness. In July 1754, three months after her arrival in Paris, we find a deed executed by the Duke of Orleans bestowing an annuity of 692 francs (about £28) on Mlle. de Lespinasse. In 1757 another allowance of 600 francs yearly (about £24) is guaranteed her, this time by the King. In 1761 the King adds a second grant of 2000 francs (£80) a year. These gifts were no doubt obtained for Mlle. de Lespinasse through the intercession of some of those numerous and powerful friends whom she won for herself from her first appearance in Paris.

Julie was twenty-two years old when she came to live at St. Joseph, the convent where Mme. du Deffand, that least nunlike of women, resided as a kind of outside boarder. Like so many of her contemporaries, Mlle. de Lespinasse was much disfigured by small-pox, and is said to have always looked older than her age. But she was graceful and distinguished-looking, and had an exquisite taste in dress. Besides this, she possessed in an unusually high degree all the qualities which are most appreciated in society—tact, courtesy, ready wit, and unfailing sympathy which was often perfectly genuine. From her first arrival in Paris she seemed at home there. She showed none of the awkwardness of the country cousin, and was soon as much in request as Mme. du Deffand herself at the brilliant reunions which took place every evening under the shadow of St. Joseph.

It was a strange life which the girl led with her old blind patroness, a life with many sufferings, but also many compensations. Every evening from six o'clock till midnight, Mme. du Deffand was at home to a select circle which included nearly all the most interesting men in Paris. Her hospitality was not limited to the feast of reason and the flow of soul. A most artistic *petit souper* formed an integral part of the evening's entertainment, for the hostess had her own staff of servants, always including an excellent *chef*. At twelve the guests departed, but Mme. du Deffand did not retire to rest. That lady might indeed have served as a model for Lewis Carroll's Snark, "who frequently breakfasts at afternoon tea, and dines on the following day." She had long been in the habit of keeping late hours, and this tendency was much increased by her blindness, which led her literally to turn night into day. She generally protracted her vigils till morning was well advanced, and then spent the day in bed, rising only in time for her six-o'clock receptions. It devolved on the unfortunate Julie to keep her

company "through the long night-watches," to amuse her with conversation, to read to her, and to write her letters. This unnatural life told heavily upon Mlle. de Lespinasse. Her general health was much impaired by perpetual vigils, and the seeds of pulmonary disease were sown in her by too much reading aloud. As a set-off we should consider that Paris, with its most congenial and appreciative society, must have been a very pleasant change from the petty persecutions of Chamrond and the sordid dullness of the convent at Lyons.

For ten years Mlle. de Lespinasse remained at St. Joseph. Everything at first went smoothly. The blind lady found unalloyed pleasure in those services, by means of which she had, as one of her friends puts it, "recovered her eyes." But at last the little rift within the lute which seems inevitable in such cases made its presence felt. The interest in Mlle. de Lespinasse manifested by some of Mme. du Deffand's most intimate friends and admirers (notably by the great scientist *Alembert*), became so obvious as to excite the jealousy of that most egotistical and exacting of women. Clever as she undoubtedly was, she was no match intellectually for Julie; moreover her suspicious, irritable, tyrannical mood contrasted very unfavourably with the tact and self-control of her dependant. As Mme. du Deffand's growing discontent made it impossible for Julie's admirers to enjoy as much of her conversation as they wished, an expedient was resorted to, which carries with it a curious flavour of the nursery, or at least of the schoolroom. The companion now made a point of rising an hour earlier than her employer. That is to say, she was always up by five in the afternoon. In her little room looking out on the courtyard of St. Joseph (an irrepressible British prejudice leads one to hope that it was not actually her bedroom) she daily held receptions on her own account, lasting for an hour, and followed by an adjournment to the *salon* proper.

The secret of these esoteric gatherings was long and faithfully kept, an astounding fact when we remember that it was shared by at least half a dozen people. But at last the thunderbolt fell. Through the indiscretion, some say, of a servant, Mme. du Deffand discovered the treason which was being practised against her. The scene which followed between those two women, both eloquent, both highly-strung, and both smarting under the sense of wrong received, must have been such as the imagination theoretically shrinks from, and practically dwells upon with great interest. It ended, inevitably, in a complete and final rupture. Mlle. de Lespinasse, naturally forgiving, and probably conscious that she was herself by no means free from blame, afterwards made attempts at a reconciliation, but they were implacably rejected. The two women never met again.



And now comes the strangest chapter in this strange life-history. Stranded thus in the midst of that great and cruel city, so much more cruel then even than now, what might have been expected to be the fate of Mlle. de Lespinasse? True, she was by no means penniless. Her income from the various sources enumerated above amounted to over £140. With this fortune, neither of the two professions alone recognised as honourable for women would have been closed against her. She could certainly have entered a convent. Probably, also, she would have found little difficulty in obtaining a husband, always supposing that she would have contented herself with some honest and uninteresting provincial gentleman of small means. But Julie had no vocation for a religious life, and she was by no means a person to marry *den ersten besten Mann*. Had she lived at the present day she would no doubt have written problem novels. But literature as a remunerative profession, at least for women, was then scarcely thought of. What was she to do? We know but too well what most women, admired and courted as she was by some of the most brilliant men in Paris, would have done in that age of exceedingly lax morality. The fact that such a course of action seems never to have been considered possible in her case speaks volumes for the respect with which Julie de Lespinasse must have inspired all who came into contact with her.

The friends, male and female, whom she had made during her ten years' servitude, stood loyally by her at this crisis, and discovered a career for her. She was to have a *salon* of her own, which was to be the success of the day, and private and public munificence were to supply the sinews of war. Mme. Geoffrin made her an allowance of £120 a year. The Marquis de la Ferté contributed an annual £80. An addition of about £70 was made at a somewhat later date to the pension already received by Mlle. de Lespinasse from the royal treasury. A set of rooms, some eight or nine in number, was taken for her in the Rue St. Dominique, and completely furnished in the latest style by Mme. de Luxembourg, who, though a very old friend of Mme. du Deffand, had espoused Julie's side in the quarrel. What wonder if the art of conversation flourished in days when it received such substantial tokens of recognition!

The new *salon*, once fairly afloat, had a tremendous and ever-increasing vogue. Theoretically Mlle. de Lespinasse was at home every evening from five to nine. We say theoretically, for as we know that she was simply overwhelmed with invitations to supper, offers of boxes at the theatre, and so forth, it is plain that she must practically sometimes have failed. Her means did not allow her to offer her guests any more substantial refreshment than certain *bonbons* which stood always in boxes on the mantelpiece. None

the less were her receptions thronged. Soon she attracted to herself all the best intellect of France; we might almost say of Europe. Turgot, Loménie de Brienne, the Neckars, Condorcet, Grimm, Laharpe, Marmontel, Diderot, Bernadin de St. Pierre, Broglie, Lord Shelburne, David Hume, the Duchesse d'Anville, Mme. Geoffrin, the Marquise de Saint Chamans, the Duchesse de Châtillon, the Comtesse de Boufflers—such are a few of the best-known of her wide circle of admirers.

It is an interesting comment upon Gallic chivalry that we are not quite certain whether this woman, so popular with the opposite sex, and so much respected by them, ever received a *bond fide* offer of marriage! According to one or two of her contemporaries, Mlle. de Lespinasse would have been willing enough to change her condition if she could have found the right man. But, very naturally, she was extremely fastidious. A man who was nobody felt that he had no chance with her, and, unfortunately, everybody who was somebody was on the look-out for a more brilliant alliance. The first lover of hers of whom we hear anything was a certain young Irishman, Taafe by name, perplexingly called now a nobleman, and now *Sir Taafc*. Being Irish and not French, this gentleman may perhaps have been willing to give his hand where he had given his heart. But on this point we hear nothing definite, nor do we know much of Julie's feelings towards him beyond the fact that they long maintained a correspondence.

Her relation with *Alembert* next claims our attention, a subject almost as mysterious as the more familiar case of *Swift* and *Stella*. For four years before Mlle. de Lespinasse quitted St. Joseph, *Alembert* had, on his own showing, been devotedly attached to her, and in this affection he never wavered till the end of her life in 1776, nor indeed till his own death seven years later. A year after she had been settled in the Rue St. Dominique, he came to lodge in the same house with her, and here he remained till she died. Strange to say, the world thought no evil of this arrangement. So *Marmontel* emphatically asserts, and even the foul-mouthed *Rousseau*, with a characteristic sneer, admits it. But the world very naturally did expect a marriage. Rumours of its approach were everywhere rife. *Alembert* received somewhat premature congratulations on the subject, and replied that he was much too poor to marry. Was it really from prudential motives that he never took the decisive step? Perhaps; yet, though fond of talking *in formâ pauperis*, he was not so badly off as he represented himself to be. Or are we to seek the explanation in Julie's indifference to him? Scarcely, since we know that she declared herself terrified at the happiness which his affection had brought her. Contemporary gossip was not slow to suggest a solution of the enigma more in the taste of that age than of ours, and,

apparently, with very little foundation. The story is altogether a strange one, and by that very fact harmonises with everything else that we know of Mlle. de Lespinasse.

Her platonic affection for 'Alembert, however, was destined to be soon eclipsed and swallowed up by a passion in the genuine style of old romancers, with a true hero of old romance for its object. The Marquis de Mora, a young Spanish nobleman of great promise, who had come to Paris during his father's embassy there, was introduced, like most distinguished foreigners, into the *salon* of Mlle. de Lespinasse. He fell in love with her in the passionate headlong style characteristic of his nation, and she responded with what he considered a more than Spanish fervour. There was a difference in their ages of about twelve years, on what is commonly called the wrong side. The disparity in their relative social positions was even greater, for Mora belonged to one of the most exalted families in Spain. Mlle. de Lespinasse was painfully conscious of these obstacles, but to the chivalrous soul of the young Spaniard they were of no account. According to Marmontel, who makes the statement with an air of reproach, Julie aimed at becoming Mora's wife. Very likely she did. The instincts of English middle-class respectability, to which the present writer does not pretend to be superior, prevent one from clearly understanding why there should be anything discreditable in looking forward to marriage as the natural result of a mutual attachment. Marmontel further states that the young man's family took fright at the prospect of such a *mésalliance*, and promptly sent him packing back to Spain on the plea of ill health. This seems also highly probable. It is true that Mora's father always professed great respect for Mlle. de Lespinasse. But one can perfectly understand that the proud Spaniard would not have carried his respect to the point of welcoming her as a daughter-in-law. It is also true that Mora's ill health was no mere pretence. He seems indeed to have been far advanced in consumption, a disease inherited from his mother, and greatly aggravated by the "much-bleeding, no-feeding" treatment of the day. But Julie, in one of her letters, expressly states that health was not the *only* reason for his departure from Paris. There was another cause, and if he could succeed in overcoming it, the sacrifice of her life would be too little to express her gratitude. It was in the month of August 1772 that Mora set out on his return journey to Madrid. According to Mme. Suard, Julie's intimate friend and devoted admirer, their mutual passion was only definitely declared on the very eve of his departure. She positively asserts, moreover (and many things lead us to believe her), that this romantic attachment was as innocent as it seems extravagant.

Of the sequel to the story it is unfortunately impossible to say the same. We now approach the saddest part of Julie's life, the

season of unavailing regret and remorse which were to end only with that life itself. About two months before her separation from Mora, she had made the acquaintance of a certain Colonel de Guibert, who was just then taking the *salons* of Paris by storm. Though only twenty-nine years old, he had distinguished himself both in arms and in literature, and was in fact one of the popular lions of the day. His character, as far as we can read it across the gulf of years, was not a specially attractive one. Intense egotism, profligacy of the obtrusive and swaggering type, and a very keen eye to the main chance, are the principal features which strike us. But as he was the idol of Parisian society, especially the female half of it, he plainly must have had some better qualities than these. Mlle. de Lespinasse was attracted to him from their first meeting, and sought to find in his society some distraction from her regrets over Mora's departure. At first their friendship promised fairly and happily, but soon Mlle. de Lespinasse, with a horror and dismay pathetic to see, discovered that on her side it had grown to a warmer feeling. Her agonies of self-reproach were insufficient to check this rising infatuation. Over and over again in her letters to Guibert she dwells on the noble character of Mora, on his single-hearted devotion to her, on her own faithless ingratitude in entertaining a thought of any other man. But she always ends with the same refrain. She cannot help herself. Without Guibert it is impossible to live.

Guibert's feeling towards her is rather difficult to analyse. No doubt he was intensely flattered by her preference for him. Here was a conquest of a quite different type from those he was accustomed to make, and one to be valued accordingly. Probably it was this feeling of mere vanity which prompted him to achieve Julie's ruin and then to break her heart. That it was anything deeper we can scarcely believe, as we know that all the time he was meditating an advantageous marriage for himself. Moreover, he made use of his too-confiding friend in a manner not quite indicative of headlong passion. Her influence in literary circles was very great, and was being constantly put into requisition to boom those plays and essays of his which unappreciative posterity has wholly forgotten. Mlle. de Lespinasse worked zealously in his service, but meanwhile she was dying slowly and most painfully. Nemesis had come upon her. After an absence of nearly two years in Spain, Mora had at last obtained the doctors' permission to return to Paris. He set out all eagerness to see his beloved Julie once more. But hæmorrhage of the lungs attacked him on the way, and he died at Bordeaux. When the news reached Mlle. de Lespinasse, her first thought was to follow Mora to the grave. But Guibert arrived in time to save her life, a service for which she often afterwards bitterly reproached him. For two miserable years she lived, tormented by ceaseless

remorse, by hopeless jealousy, and by constant physical pain. By this time she seems to have fathomed the paltry character of the man to whom she had sacrificed her honour, but still this terrible infatuation, which reminds one of the god-sent madness of Greek tragedy, kept its hold on her. She submissively assented to Guibert's explanation that he really must establish himself in life, and set to work to find an heiress worthy of his merits. When he finally did marry (a young lady of his own choosing), Julie declared herself charmed with his wife. She rejoiced in his matrimonial happiness. Not for the world would she trouble that blessed union. He was no longer free to love her, she knew; most likely he never had loved her. Only let him still give her his friendship, she could not live without it. And Guibert graciously acceded to this request, for Mlle. de Lespinasse was still very useful to him.

To the one traditional point of honour recognised by men of his kind Guibert seems (let us do him justice) to have been faithful to the last. He loyally kept the secret of their intimacy, which was apparently scarcely guessed at by anybody, till the publication some time after his death of Julie's letters to him. Her extreme despondency and the fits of irritability to which she sometimes gave way were attributed by a few of her friends to sorrow for Mora's death, but to the great majority seemed quite inexplicable. "You are the only man I ever cared for who has not made me unhappy," she once says to Alembert, and he, though wrung to the heart by her evident anguish, still could not conjecture the cause. In the ministrations of this ever-faithful friend Julie found some mitigation of her long agony. She derived a pathetic consolation, too, from dwelling on the memory of her dead lover. Surely, she said, he must have forgiven her; she had been so heavily punished. When we read these incoherent outpourings our fancy almost sees her wandering in the dim halls of the dead, another Dido with another Sychæus, while the traitor who had come between them was despised and forgotten as he deserved.

The end came on May 23, 1776, in the forty-fourth year of Julie's age. Guibert burst into tears when the news reached him, and afterwards wrote a beautiful panegyric on her abilities and virtues.

And so we take our leave of this unique and most attractive woman. We cannot certainly acquit her of all blame, any more than she acquitted herself. Yet when we consider the moral standard of those times, when we remember with how many women, far more favourably circumstanced than she, vice was indeed "not accidental but a trade," we scarcely feel inclined to throw the first stone at Julie de Lespinasse for a single error, so bitterly repented of and so cruelly expiated.

CAMILLA JEBB.

## THE CRISIS IN THE CHURCH.

### "THE CHRISTIANITY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND."

ALTHOUGH nearly 2000 years have elapsed since Christianity first had its birth, this marvellous system, which has revolutionised the world as nothing has ever done before it, would still appear to retain the peculiar faculty of sowing discord and strife amongst its followers, though itself a harbinger of "peace and good-will" to all. So much so, indeed, that the phrase "See how these Christians love one another" has become almost a proverb in our time.

What then *is this wonderful system* which has exercised such extraordinary power over men? To this question some will reply that it consists of "a society of men and women who profess the religion which Christ taught on earth"; others, that it includes "all those who cannot be classified as infidels"; while others, again, will tell us that it consists of those who believe that "Christ came to this earth to redeem men," and who, believing this, "are at once freed from the curse of our nature." Again, others (and these are the most numerous) will tell us that Christianity is "the religion of all good Church men and women, that is, of all those persons who regularly and decorously attend a given number of services in church as by law established, and who there have their religious emotions stirred in an orthodox and proper way."

But, we may fairly ask, Have all or any of these religious societies or systems or bodies ever succeeded in bringing up their followers to the grand ideal of life as taught by Christ, or has the world generally been brought any nearer to His ideal by reason of all these professions made of following it? Has it brought universal peace one bit nearer, or has it brought a lasting peace to the religious world itself? What do we see to-day? Why, all the religious sects are to be seen to-day as they have always been seen in the past—viz., engaged in fighting and striving with each other, while the thing they profess to follow is above all else a system devised to bring peace and good-will to all men.

What does it all mean, then? Though hundreds and even thousands of years have elapsed since this system first became a force, this grand ideal of Christ's life remains as far off as ever, nor is it given the first place even in some of our Churches to-day. How

would its Founder, think you, define this word Christianity, if asked to do so to-day? He would tell us that it consisted simply in "following His example and living life as He lived it on this earth, and in accordance with His principles," one of the first of which was "living at peace with all men." He would utter no single word as to the necessity of any particular form of Church government (and over which they are all fighting to-day), and no single word would He tell us either of the necessity for creeds and beliefs as being in any way essential to His religion.

Look, now, at the Established Church of England and see how she acts up to and follows this definition of the Christianity of Christ. What do we find here but utter and hopeless failure? And that, too, in a Church which has been endowed for centuries with all the power of the State, not to mention a dowry of some £7,000,000 per annum as well. What is the cause of this failure, and how can we account for it? We find the Church of England to-day literally torn in pieces with lawlessness and dissensions. Comes this from too great a zeal in teaching too *literally* the ideal life and doctrines of Christ? Ask the Churches themselves. Ask first the so-called "High Churchman" how he accounts for all the strife and unrest, and he will tell you at once that "Forms and Ceremonies" (which are not practised, though they should be, by the Low Church clergy) "are the very life-blood of the Church of Christ; that the priest should verily take the place of Christ as mediator between man and God, and that auricular confession and the sacrifice of the Mass are not only necessary but absolutely essential to the Christian religion." These will tell you, moreover, that "the priest is, or should be, a man invested with the power of individual absolution, and that the confessional is not only 'an immense comfort but a veritable means of grace to the people.'" Moreover, the so-called priests of this High Church claim for themselves in addition the position not so much of ministers of the Gospel as of a separate priestly caste, and would inculcate the doctrine of private confession, which they tell us should be habitual and in some cases even obligatory. Next ask the Low Churchman how he accounts for the lawlessness and the strife and unrest in the Church of England, and he will promptly tell you that "the priest has no such power at all, nor ought he ever to have any such power." He will tell you, moreover, that "the confession is a delusive process contrived in the first instance for the purpose of increasing the priests' influence and power, and that it induces in the mind of the confessing party a false feeling of satisfaction" (to which the more flippant of the party have applied the name of "spiritual whitewash on easy terms"), "and that he regards it merely as a device for people being forgiven their sins 'periodically and up to date' on the very easy terms of telling them privately to a man who is bound not to tell again."

Now let us inquire what English public opinion has to say on the subject. English public opinion undoubtedly takes the same view of the case as does the last-named party in the Church itself, being strongly of the opinion that such practices and ideas are demoralising to the English character, which is acknowledged by all foreigners to be their strong point. Canon Eyton recently stated that "Confession, though it might be a comfort to some, is certainly not the way to strengthen character, which" (he added) "was undoubtedly our most precious national possession." English public opinion, moreover, unhesitatingly regards the act of "Confession" as tending to a dangerous superstition and to an undue magnifying of the priestly power, and as being, in fact, nothing but a return to the practices and doctrines, and ultimately to an ecclesiastical system, which were all put down once for all at the Reformation. It regards the danger as a very real one, and would appear to expect that it should be immediately put down by the bishops, who, however, would seem to be perfectly helpless and unable to act, being, as some believe, not only in league with the Ritualistic party themselves but also in full sympathy with their doctrines and practices.

And that the people of this country are really and truly suffering at the present time from the tyranny of the extreme Ritualists is confirmed and proved in the following letter to the *Times*, in which the writer informs us that: "He placed his son, aged fourteen, as a pupil-teacher under the London School Board, and, as he thought, quite out of reach of the Ritualists." "Very strange but true" (he goes on to say), "there he at once fell under their influence, and it was insisted, unknown to me, that he must attend Confession before confirmation." "On returning home six months after, he was, to our consternation, great on the 'Mass,' 'Prayers for the Dead,' 'Confessions,' &c." "The lad" (he continued) "can now see that he was 'taken in,' and has lost confidence in the clergy and the Church of England." He gives a still further instance: "An intimate friend in a neighbouring village sent his son, aged fifteen, for employment to a village in South Oxon." "Precisely the same thing happened to him as to my son, but much aggravated, as the lad on protesting was told that 'it was a matter which did not concern his parents, but his own conscience and his God.'" "His parents protested, but the lad was so tormented by the would-be confessor that he went through the farce." Yet another instance he gives: "A schoolmaster could not obtain the position of organist of a Manchester church unless he attended 'Confession.' 'He protested, but accepted.'" And in yet another case he tells us that "another schoolmaster he knew could not obtain an appointment unless he would consent to act as 'thurifer.'" (Signed "Rural," August 1898.)

And from what we hear it is undoubtedly true that our young



are being dragged from day schools on saints' and other days into the churches where they are being taught an extravagant Ritualism, and are being steadily but surely Romanised. And it is difficult to understand how the public can stand quietly by and see their children taught Romanism by men whom they themselves are paying, to teach and uphold the Protestant faith.

That the fears here expressed are not groundless the following (which was reported in the *Daily News* in August last) will help to prove: "At a large gathering of clergymen held last night at Sunderland in connection with the English Church Union, the Rev. J. S. W. Burn, of Middlesborough, moved 'that all the priests present should pledge themselves to place the Mass in its proper position.' 'He thought Mass was the chief service in the minds of those who drew up the Prayer-book.' 'If they took the Protestant bull by the horns they might turn him into a docile creature.'" "The meeting" (it went on to say) "was generally in favour of Mr. Burn's remarks, but it was considered inadvisable to pass any formal resolution."

Is this kind of teaching worthy of a great Protestant Church? Is it Christianity? By the vast majority of Englishmen compulsory Confessor and Mass are looked upon as the crowning curse of Popery; and this would appear to have crept into the Church of England by means of secret societies, and with which it is literally honeycombed at the present day, and which would moreover appear to be increasing daily. And although John Kensit, the Protestant champion, is accused by the bishops of being a "brawler" because he has endeavoured to expose these Ritualistic and illegal practices, it is in reality the bishops and the clergy who practise these things, and who wink at them, who are the real law-breakers. For what does John Kensit condemn? Why, a crowd of English men and women lying on their faces at the bidding of a priest in adoration of a wooden cross, like idols denounced by Isaiah. And it is really a fortunate thing that one man has been found sufficiently courageous to arouse the bishops from their comfortable palaces or foreign retreats to condemn idolatry, which is so contrary to the faith which they as chief pastors have sworn to defend. And it is idle for those who wink at and abet these practices to tell us that it is the business of the bishops to keep the refractory clergy in order, and not John Kensit, because these very same bishops have over and over again refused to do so, and have moreover prevented others from appealing to the law. Imagine English men and women being sprinkled with so-called holy water and censed with incense, borrowed superstitions from Rome and Greece!

The supporters of Ritualism in our churches are fond of saying that all religions should be free, and that therefore it is wrong to disturb public worship by protesting against their services as Mr.

Kensit has done. But is adoration of a wooden cross and the use of incense any part of public worship in the Established Church? *It is not*, nor is the blasphemous fable and deceit of the Mass. And it is obvious that it is the clergy who practise these things, and the bishops who allow them, who are the real disturbers of public worship and morals, and who are wronging and deceiving the people of England, who are paying them to protest against these very things which they so illegally practise.

And in a great measure the bishops themselves aid and abet these practices by their apathy, and in many cases sympathy, when a firm hand and a straight word from them would stop all this shameless talk about incense and Mass. The truth is that it is the bishops who are on their trial at this time, and not John Kensit; and to many people the idea is gaining ground that, *once consecrated*, the bishops cease to be men and degenerate into mere ecclesiastics. For what does this mania for "Confession" really mean, and what is it but a method devised by the ecclesiastics to *exalt themselves*, and which consists in the surrender of the conscience to a man instead of God, and which comes between husband and wife, parent and child, poisoning alike the mind of priest and of those confessing to him? And history confirms our opinion that the great majority of the clergy are unfit to act as "confessors," nor can they in any case be considered *superior*, which they seem to claim in constituting themselves judges and directors of the consciences of their lay brethren. It is well to remember that Christ Himself was a great reformer and agitator against priestcraft, which in His own day drew down all the scathing sarcasm of which He was capable. The revenue of the Church of England may be roughly put down as about £7,000,000 per annum, and, not to speak of deans and canons, the bishops alone divide between them some £170,000 a year, and every farthing of which is given by the people of England to ensure their preaching and fighting against these very same doctrines, and of which our Lord Himself was the greatest denouncer ever known.

Then, again, our young are grievously affected by the lawlessness of the clergy, and their parents complain that the priests take advantage of confirmation to inculcate "auricular confession," and ("as we know") to hold special services for children which they designate "children's Mass."

The truly awful state to which this is carried on in the Church of England to-day is well shown in Mr. Walsh's book, *The Secret History of the Oxford Movement* (Swan Sonnenschein & Co.). In this we learn that the children in some of our churches are taught such hymns as the following, and which the priest suggests for their use along with directions as to confession:

"Yes, I am going to God's priest to tell him all my sin,  
And from this very hour I'll strive a new life to begin.  
When I confess with contrite heart my sins unto the priest,  
I do believe from all their guilt that moment I am freed."

And if this is not *man-worship* and savouring of the worst form of sacerdotalism and of Rome, what is it? It certainly is not teaching Christianity. And we may well ask those who support such practices this question, "Has the monopoly of the young by the priests through so many hundreds of years really tended to make them better Christians, or has it given them a sound moral education?" Or again, have these practices tended to give them habits of "cleanliness," "kindliness," "truthfulness," or "honesty in business"? Have they further tended to promote peace on the earth? No one who thinks a moment can believe the claims of the priests to be true, and the vital mistake they make in teaching the young of to-day is in failing to understand that children of tender years are totally unable to realise even some of the things on which they lay so much absurd stress. For example, what *conception even* can young children have (or ought they to have) of such things as "coveting their neighbours' wives," as taught them in the "Ten Commandments," and on which so much absurd stress is laid?

Would it not be far better not to mention these things at all to young children? How much better would it not be to teach them, "Thou shalt not lie, thou shalt not steal or deceive, nor do mean acts, and not be cruel to helpless things," &c.? These are the kind of things our young should be taught to-day. The Ten Commandments, on which such undue stress is laid, were given to an idolatrous nation in an idolatrous age, and how can they, then, with any show of reason, be made applicable to young children at the end of the nineteenth century? How much better would it not be to teach them moral truths than such things as "not to covet other men's wives and asses and oxen," especially as the latter are no longer used at all as beasts of burden in England (as they were in the age in which the Ten Commandments were framed), and so how *can* they covet them? What use, again, can there possibly be in telling them not to bow down to "graven images," except it be as a warning against the Ritualistic practices of the priests themselves? Again, instead of teaching them with such absurd emphasis the importance of so-called "love of country" (and which comes quite naturally to the young without being taught it at all), and instead of bringing them up to hate all foreigners, how much better would it not be to teach them the necessity of having "good-will" to all men, while explaining to them the necessity of rising above the passions of war (which it might be explained to them was but "legalised barbarism")?

And why do not the priests themselves make these things their first care in teaching the young to-day? Alas! it is the same tale

all through history that the priests have always cared far more for what the children have *professed* to believe than for what they actually do and believe. Nor *can* children be taught these things by reading in a haphazard way lewd accounts taken indiscriminately out of the Old Testament, and which were written chiefly for a semi-barbaric age, and in which accounts of murders and massacres are freely given and approved of. Can these help to make children cleanly and healthy-minded? No; but all through history we see that it has been the policy of the priests of all ages to keep the minds of the children in religious bondage. And so the religious education of our young to-day in the Church of England is made to turn in the interests of the priests, as if that were the main thing to look after. How best to strengthen priestly power is too often the first thought of these, and while the clerics are fighting over the creeds and dogma to be taught, the great principles of justice, mercy, and truth are being kept in the shade. The late Prince Consort once said (in referring to the necessity of teaching children not only Bible lessons, but also training them to active acknowledgment of them): "A religious education is the greatest boon, without which any lasting success is hopeless." And it is well known that children are better and easier taught moral truths by means of lessons given to them which give the heart and will to do the right thing, and which bring home to them the just and inevitable laws of cause and effect in the moral world. And in educating our young to-day we must aim at *strengthening the character of the young*; and physiologists tell us that "in training children it is a mistake to go beyond the result of a child's own experience, for the natural gladness of doing right and the pangs following wrongdoing, and the effects for good or evil of his conduct on himself and others—these are the things that make the strongest appeals to children's hearts and minds." "And so if we want their religious life to be growing, if we want love and aspiration and sense of duty to become stronger in them, we should surely not divert these qualities to what is vague and but hardly understood at all by them, but on the contrary to whatever is great and admirable and glorious in life."

Again, so great is the want of charity in the Church of England to-day, that the very word Churchman has come to mean to *them* "those only who belong to the Establishment" (to which, however, it may truly be said it is little honour to belong, when its ministers are taking Protestant pay while teaching and promulgating Roman doctrines and superstitions). If proof of the great want of charity in the Established Church were needed, it is to be found in the Ritualistic organs themselves, one of which recently wrote as follows: "Nevertheless, although not actually schism, it is schismatical to attend Dissenting meeting-houses, or to assist the sectarian objects of Dissenters in any way." It then goes on to say: "the same

cannot be said of Roman Catholic churches and their objects, because the Roman Catholic churches are a branch of the true Church." "The Catholic Church is the home of the Holy Ghost. It is His earthly home. He does not make His home in any dissenting sect." "Sometimes people quarrel with the Church" (they omit to tell us here whether this means their Church or *the Church of Christ*), "and make little sham churches of their own." "We call these people Dissenters, and their sham churches sects." "The Holy Ghost does not abide, does not dwell with them." "He goes and visits them, perhaps, but only as a stranger." "The Bible is the book which God has given to His Church, and it belongs to the Church alone, and not to any dissenting sect." "No one but a Catholic can safely read the Bible, and no Catholic can read it safely who does not read it in the Church's way."—(From *The Congregation in Church*. London: Mowbray & Co.) What insolence and what great want of charity and Christianity are here shown! How opposed to the creed of Christ! What sham and shameful Christianity is this! Do the persons who inspire these Church papers mean to tell us that Dissenters are not Christians just because they deny the necessity for the clergy of the Church of England being paid by the State in order to preach His Gospel? The real truth is that *they* have none of the Spirit of God in them, Who taught that "they who would worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth"—and who said further in the clearest and most unmistakable language, which no child could misinterpret, that "all that was required was to do justly and walk in all the ways of God." Again, another instance, if proof be needed, of the great want of charity in the Church. Within a few miles of Hawarden, a vicar of a church near there has circulated literature in which young persons are urged "to confess the sin of going to a Nonconformist church" along with sins of the worst and grossest kind. Such men as these are unfortunately (owing to the Established system) now made dictators of the national education, endowed with national taxes, and authorised to inflict grievous disabilities on Nonconformist teachers; and it is, indeed, hard to conceive why these permit themselves to be thus ridden over roughshod by what is in reality a minority, though endowed and paid by the State.

Again, another instance. Bishop Wilkinson recently made public a letter written him by the Bishop of London (Dr. Creighton) in response to an appeal for directions as to admitting Nonconformists on the Continent to English churches. The Bishop of London wrote that "he premised that the Prayer-book directions do not might be the existence of Nonconformity at home, or of other odies abroad, and only provides for the normal procedure first care in towards her own children." He then proceeds to point

out that the question is merely one of courtesy, and says: "The Roman Catholic Church is discourteous, the Greek Church is courteous." "The Church of England is freer and broader than either, and can go further." "Consequently" (says Dr. Crichton in his great charity) "if a Lutheran or Presbyterian is in a position where he can only attend our services and where he wishes to be a communicant, I am in favour of admitting him *as a matter of courtesy*." "We are not" (he goes on to say) "responsible for him, but we may allow him to use our service on his own responsibility." In plain language this means that if a man wants to seek Christ in an English church, and does not belong to the Established Church, he cannot use what they call Christ's Church *except as a courtesy*. Is this Christianity? Is it a Christianity fit for the twentieth century? Is this *the religion of Christ*? The Rev. R. Middleton is reported to have preached and described his bishop as "a real persecutor." "What we want" (he said) "are true-hearted Christian men, and not proud pompous prelates."

Again, look at the modern "bazaar-loving churches." No doubt many who work at them are earnest, and do it in a spirit of kindness; but could there not be found a more direct and less wasteful way of conveying money to charities than by lavishing it on finery in Hotel Cecils? Most people undoubtedly take part in them because they think it is "the right thing to do," and because it gives a convenient sop to the conscience by deluding them into the feeling that they are devoting money to their poorer brethren. It is doubtful, however, whether a Church which cannot get on without a wealthy ecclesiastical caste can fairly be called Christian at all. Its whole foundations rest on worldly aims, views, and successes, and, unfortunately, as long as it remains a "State Church" it is incapable of amendment. For as Sir William Harcourt has recently told us, "the National Church is really governed by the law of the land, and not by the bishops at all, whose only legitimate business and duty, according to the law, is to see that the minor clergy do not break the law." It is quite plain, therefore, that the House of Commons alone can amend it; and it is equally certain that a House of Commons composed of every shade of opinion, and including many atheists, can hardly be regarded as specially qualified to amend it, and it is equally certain that an established bishopric will not be permitted to do so, for then we should have a second popedom at once. And so we come to realise that the only remedy lies in disconnecting the Church from the State, in the interests of the former.

The Church of Christ requires no support from the State for its existence. It has lived through nearly 2000 years of persecution without it, nor has the Established Church ever had anything in common with Christ's Church except the name. For can any one

imagine Christ receiving £10,000 to £15,000 a year to preach His own Gospel, and issuing a few weak pastorals at regular intervals, which few, if any, even read? Or can they conceive of His taking annual holiday on the Continent while His disciples were writing frantic letters of appeal to the daily papers and clamouring for more pay? It is not conceivable. He would simply have called them all "hypocrites and a generation of vipers." A short while ago, some of the Ritualistic clergy of the Church of England were looked upon by a few fashionable Church people with good-natured indifference because they preached short sermons, played lawn tennis decently well, and could perhaps sing a good song. But now people are fully alive to the practices of the Romanising clergy and to their frantic efforts made to gain place and power, and fail to see the force of what has been well described as "so many Italian dishes half warmed up from the kitchen of the Vatican."

People are beginning to wonder instead whether it would not be better for the Church of Christ if bishops ceased to be Peers of Parliament, with residential palaces and proportionate expenses, and were brought more in touch with the people. It is difficult to see any likeness whatever to the Apostles of old in our present up-to-date bishops and clergy, and if anything was made plain at the last Congress, it was that the laity are neither on the side of the Ritualists on the one hand, nor with the pompous *laissez-faire* of the bishops on the other.

How different things might be in the Church of England if her ministers remained faithful to their ordination vows is well seen in the following (and which shows up in a manly and straightforward way, in contradistinction to the hypocrisy and deceit of the Ritualistic practices). W. Carlile, founder and honorary secretary to the Church Army, says: "After service I stand in the vestibule, in which is a safe storage for bicycles, to be consulted and to greet strangers; and then, after the limelight Evensong, I invite any in temporal or spiritual difficulties to unite with me at the Communion table for pardon and direction. In this I am usually assisted by the laity, devout men and women, whom I regard as 'priests unto God.' This plan," he goes on to say, "has commended itself to me as being on manly John Bull lines, free from the compulsory penance of Italian superstition. Rarely does a Sunday pass that we are not kept till long past 10 o'clock in consultation, which, if helpful to no one else, is of the utmost importance to keep me posted with the current mind of my people."

It is indeed a pity the Church of England does not possess many more of such men as the above. The unfortunate thing is that directly a minister of the Church of England (Rev. R. C. Fillingham, for instance) protests against these practices, he lays himself open to immediate persecution by his bishop (but who, nevertheless, con-

tinues to wink at the Romanising clergy in his diocese). Tolstoi is right when he says "The propagation and acceptance of truth by men requires neither apparatus nor adornment, and that only falsehood and deceit demand special conditions for their transmission; and that, therefore, all solemn services, processions, adornments, ornaments, and the like, are no proof of truth, but, on the contrary, serve to show that falsehood, and not truth, is being transmitted." The Church of England has made the fatal mistake all through history of regarding the Church of Christ as composed of an order of men and women who worship in churches alone, and leaving out, as heretics or worse, all chapel-goers and evangelists (including also all good heathen who live Christ's life, although they may never have heard of the story, which the Christian has, of the miraculous birth and life of Christ). Christ's test, however, of His Church was simply this: "He that would follow me" (that is, be of my Church) "let him take up his cross and follow me." No buildings are mentioned here, and no ritual or ornaments, as being in any way necessary. And, indeed, for His religion it is quite clear that no paid priests or any hired priests can be of the slightest use, nor ever have been.

And why do not the bishops and their clergy teach Christ's Christianity as He taught it on earth—that is, *His life pure and simple*? It is because it is in the very nature of all wealthy episcopates to aim first at successful worldly careers and worldly successes, instead of devoting their first and best energies to protest against such things as "wars," the evils of "sweating," and the like. It would seem as if they considered their whole duty to God consisted in running about the country and opening as many bazaars as possible. But Mammon-worship and Christ's life and doctrines can never go together. It is a fact worthy of note that all reformers, from the earliest times and including our Lord Himself, have always relied on personal experience and goodness of character, rather than on dogma, theological niceties, subtle creeds, or a learned theology. And the great mistake made by the Church of England (in regard to their present-day Christianity) lies in the frantic efforts it makes to bolster up a Church of bishops and revenues, instead of teaching a pure and simple Christianity as did Christ. As some one has well put it, "there is too much *Churchianity* and too little *Christianity* in the Established Church to-day." We are living in an age of truth-seeking, and all religious doctrines of to-day must submit to be tried by the test of new facts as they arise. The theory that the earth was flat worked very well, as we know, for a time, but the whole authority of the Church was not able to support the theory once a ship had sailed round the world!

And so in the coming century men will look for a Church in



which the clerics shall drop all useless and futile arguments about creeds and ceremonies, and cry aloud for better education for the masses and the abolition of ignorance and superstition wherever they find them. But, alas! all through history wealthy Establishments have always thought first of the privileges of their order and the supremacy of a sect, and have been alternately the tool and the parasite of politicians, and whose main fear and anxiety have been lest the House of Commons might enact that "Bishops need no longer be obliged to sit in the House of Lords, and that the preachers of Christ's plain and simple Gospel need not necessarily be 'State officials' with 'State salaries,' and that the endowments of the Church be devoted to the education of the people, for which it was originally intended."

Now the Established Church of England may be said to represent a religion as near as possible the exact opposite to the Person of Christ, and to have become simply a religion of revenue and emoluments, though in pretended imitation of Him whose life was one of the direst poverty, Who was born in a manger, and literally had no place on which to lay His head. All national institutions of Churches, whether Jewish, Turkish, or English, are simply human inventions set up originally to terrify the ignorant, enslave mankind, and monopolise power and profit. The Church of old, as represented by the Apostles, would have scorned State control and dependence, nor can we conceive of their begging for more pay in the public Press for preaching the Gospel. In fact, this kind of religion is nothing but a *trale*, whose more immediate object is power and revenue, and which has degenerated merely into a thing of form, while morality bows its head before so-called dogmatic faith. A religion of custom lets slip all morality and begets hypocrisy, and this is why so many church and chapel-goers are often so deceitful in their religious dealings. No dogma is at all necessary to the religion of Christ. "Inasmuch as ye did it not to me" is what our Lord said, and here is nothing about Established Churches or paying of priests. These things, nevertheless, have always been the cause of the fighting and striving in the Churches themselves. Thomas Payne has told us truly: "Had the command of Christ been 'Come, ye blessed, ye have been liberal in paying the preachers of the Word, and contributed largely to churches and chapels,' there is not a hired priest but would have thundered it out to his hearers. But as it is altogether on good works done to men, they leave it along."

And so to sum up: what is wanted to-day is a religion which shall have for its aim the curing of selfishness, and whose aim, moreover, is not so much to preach heaven in a future world, and the necessity for keeping up ecclesiastical systems in this, as it is to try and bring down heaven to this earth, and teach us how to *reform*

*human nature on the earth.* In fact, we want a religion of "humanity," and not one of ancient superstitions copied from the ignorant (if devout) minds of the early Christian Churches. We want no more fightings for corporate interests in the profession of Christianity; nor is the remedy to be found, as some would suggest, in the appointment of more bishops, with more pay and more palaces. The remedy lies not here. What we *do* want, however, are more teachers of human nature, its wants and its needs. We do *not* want more *Church-men*, but more *Christ-men*. Our Lord's own training was entirely of this kind, and it may be safely said that a well-paid ecclesiastical hierarchy is completely out of date, and a quite superfluous luxury. The number of priests in any country means nothing. In France alone there are said to be 50,000 priests, and yet she is generally regarded as an unchristian country. The Apostles of old derived their power from quite a different source altogether than the priests do to-day. It was simply spiritual, while that of the priests and paid clergy is temporal, nor can any one accept a bishopric in England to-day unless he has private means of his own, so great is the need for Mammon in that Establishment. It is all very well to tell us, as some do, that unorthodox religions breed discontent; but it is a fact which nobody can deny that the majority of the cultured are very deeply dissatisfied with it all, and have, consciously or unconsciously, finished with old traditions and ideas, and are preparing for something new.

What we want above all else to-day is *a new social education*, which will accomplish what the Church of England ought to have done, but has failed *to do*. We look in the coming century for *a real Church of Christ*, and not a sham worldly Church professing to be His while denying His life and doctrines in practice. We want no Church saturated with class virus and full of ancient superstitions, and for which this age has no longer any need.

What we want, on the other hand, is *a social, humane, and scientific Church*, which will teach truth on demonstration. We want men who will *do* Christ's will, and not preach it alone. All these things our bishops are ignoring while sending out missionaries to savages to salve their consciences, and which in most cases means more salaries for the priesthood and very little more beside. In the coming century the Church will be asked for deeds, and not pompous words of tardy advice from well-paid bishops and clerics. Christ's kingdom will be an accomplished fact on this earth, and will be brought about by plain men without titles of any kind, and whose only creed is a love of humanity. The masses are looking for and expecting to-day a religion which represents the personality of Christ in their every-day lives. These neither desire or need

dogmatic hair-splittings in theology, and wrangles as to which Church may be right and which wrong. For it is known to-day through the newly-found sayings of Christ that He is in all manifestations of the religious consciousness—"Raise the stone and you will find me," "Cleave the wood and there I am"—which sayings clearly show us that He is in all created things, and that it is not at all necessary to charm Him and entice Him, as some of our clerics would fain have us believe, through the medium of sacrificing priests or gaudy churches. The little curate who, on the strength of his toilsome efforts to acquire the modicum of knowledge necessary for his bishop's exam., and who presumes to teach our children that he is a "successor of the Apostles," and "holds the keys of heaven" in his feeble hands, is a fraud and a sham. Such an one needs to learn Christianity again at the feet of Christ.

"There is," says Tolstoi, "nothing between Churches in the ecclesiastical sense of the word and Christianity, not only nothing in common except the name, but they are two utterly contradictory and hostile elements." All Christ said was, "Do your duty, follow me," "and you can belong to any Church you like." This is real Christianity, this is Christ's Church.

And so, all who are called upon to vote at the next general elections should not fail to vote for those who will uphold the grand undenominationalism of Christ. Churches possessing cast-iron creeds and organisations are the enemies of all progress, and, as Robert Ingersoll said, "The man who does not do his own thinking is a traitor to himself and his fellow-men."

The only rational way is for all the Free Churches in England to combine and organise themselves so as to send men to Parliament. A strong Nonconformist Ministry in the Cabinet would soon see that those who represented the majority of the religious world in England should once and for all cease to be dubbed "heretics" by the arrogant and self-styled Church of England. For it is a fact that these very men whom they call heretics and schismatics represent all that is good and best in this country, comprising as they do that earnest body of workers on the side of Christ who have tried to keep the many from evil ways, while upholding a standard of plain living, high thinking, and constant self-sacrifice.

But once the great body of Free Churchmen shall have attained their just place in the land, they must never lose virtue by apeing the Establishment, and to this end they must abstain from everything tending to a clerical caste, and remain humanitarian, and eschew all dogma. They must vigorously protest against priestly caste, greed of empire, and worship of rank and wealth, which the present Church is both unwilling and unable to do, their chief patrons being amongst these. Their churches must be houses rather than temples of luxury

and "sense worship"; and, unlike the Church of to-day, which favours fashion and luxury, must strive towards every shipwrecked brother and sister and every suffering nation. It must study human needs rather than intricate and useless speculations as to the infinite and unknown. In short, it must identify itself with all that is high-toned and noble in the land, and its mission will never come to an end.

And so, in conclusion, we see that the Christianity of the twentieth century will require a *greater freedom of thought* in all religious and social matters. For it is now well known that the followers of the meek and lowly Christ of the Gospels can have no right or business to peerages and palaces, and to the setting of themselves head and shoulders over the laity. The heads of the Church must be men who hold the love of souls in higher estimation than their pay and emoluments. It has been demonstrated to all that the time of the present heads of the Church of England is so filled up with services and classes, committees and guilds, and functions of a similar nature, that they have no time for real study or thought or writing. And it has been said with perfect truth that the daily Press teaches more in a week than the clerics have done in 300 years.

The new century, therefore, awaits a strong and a vigorous and a life-giving Church which will point the way to progress and the establishment of reason, and not one composed as it is now of a weak Anglicism, a half-hearted Dissent, and a degenerate Popedom which, in common with all Ritualism, views trifles through the magnifying-glass of self-assertion. The new age will expect and get truth, and for this it must go back to a living Christ once more, and waste no more time in worshipping a dead Christ. The religion of the future will be called neither Protestant nor Catholic, for it will be simply *Christian*, and for this neither priesthood nor wealthy hierarchy can ever be either necessary or desirable.

The Christianity of the twentieth century will teach us how to work for human needs and human sufferings, and instead of preaching only a heaven in the next world will show us how to work to bring it down to this one, and which surely was the meaning and object of Christ's life on earth.

And it must never be forgotten that the secret Romanisers in the Church of England are doing their utmost to *capture the schools* so as to enslave the minds of the coming generation, and it is in the schools that the great battle must be fought. All, therefore, who possess a vote at the coming general elections should see that they cast it in favour of candidates pledged to defend the great principles of Protestantism, and to resist all attempts to enslave the minds and to undermine the liberty of conscience of the coming generation of English men and women.

And further it behoves all who shall be called upon to vote in any educational struggle to remember that it is their duty to vote for those who will uphold the grand undenominationalism of Christ. We want a *new* Reformation, and one that will free the Church of Christ from State patronage, and dogma, and gold. There will then be a ring of truth in the word "Christianity," and we may yet live to see the universal reign of Justice, Peace, and Good-will amongst men an accomplished fact on this earth.

DUDLEY S. A. COSBY.

## WHAT IS ART?

WHEN a great artist undertakes to answer the question above stated the world is all attention. It seems, however, to be generally allowed by those best qualified to judge that Count Leo Tolstoy has not been very successful in the attempt that he has lately made to satisfy the world's anxiety, greatly as he may in earlier days have entertained us by concrete examples of what art should be. The author of *Anna Karénina* has expressed views in his last writing on the subject which would have greatly curtailed the success of his former work if they had been adopted in its production.

Art, although no previous attempt had been made at definition, has been generally understood to imply the power of certain temperaments to communicate to the less inspired public impressions of physical and spiritual beauty. Professor Conway says that it "is, primarily, an expression of happiness, and a product of passion in leisure": and it is certain that, however deep may be the shadows introduced, artists—in whatever department—have always attempted to please. If the Goddess of Memory be the mother of the Muses their father is the radiant God of Day.

But now comes Count Tolstoy, an expert, with a new conception of the matter. Art has nothing (he contends) to do with pleasing; what right has man to ask for pleasure? Nor can art represent beauty; that is a mere word, a matter of taste and of convention. How could art represent a thing which does not exist? No; the work of the artist is to find out what is right and to recommend it to mankind. He is to take himself seriously, as an apostle, what Nietzsche called "an Overman," charged with a mission of righteousness to a torpid and unenlightened world.

Well, of course we all like to find the artist aiding us in our struggle against evil, although when he has done this too openly we may be apt to resist the discipline and run away from his school. Byron had more readers, it is to be feared, than Mrs. Trimmer. But the truth, perhaps, is that art is not directly concerned with either the good or the beautiful, taken abstractedly and alone, but rather with the absolute and the transcendental, which should of course be fair.

"Beneath the surface of the actual," once wrote Victor Hugo, "there lies an ideal world for those who, by dint of contemplation,

have learned to see in all things a Something beyond." And long before Hugo, the great English thinker, Francis Bacon, had declared that it was the office of the poet to "conform the shows of things to the desires of the mind." But it was Kant who first introduced into mental science the law of the transcendental: for him, indeed (looking as he did for a moral law) it was more than pleasure that was at stake. Kant's categorical imperative almost decreed a divorce between intellect and sense; by identifying himself with his own higher being man was to rise above the sensible snares of passion. But this was rather the work of self-discipline, which left the artist outside. Not for him the freedom from the sway of beauty, rather the study of beauty's arcana and their revelation to mankind at large.

It was, doubtless, with a perfect recollection of the Sage of Koningsburg and his teaching that Schiller disengaged the poet from practical life in his well-known *Partition of the Earth*:

" 'If in the Land of Dreams thou must be faring'  
(Calmly the God), 'there lies no blame on me:  
Where wert thou hid when men the world were sharing?'  
Answered the Poet: 'Lord, with Thee!'

" 'What shall be done?' Zeus asked: 'the earth is given,  
The wood, the mast, the field no more are mine;  
Wouldst thou for ever dwell with me in Heaven?  
The gate shall open to touch of thine.'"

There may be exaggeration here; the poet is not always in Heaven; like Moses he must come down to address the people. But he has been a partaker of the divine presence, and received an authority and message. The whole vision cannot be quite imparted: the medium of interpretation is weak. But, if there be an absolute, a real, a "Something beyond"—as so many great minds have imagined—it is of the highest importance for us worshippers of the fleshpots and the golden calf that we should know what we are to expect. So long as we look to the artist merely for expression of beauty we hardly need a Tolstoy to save us from disappointment. But still less can we make the artist a mere teacher, a fugleman of moral discipline: we have those things in the work of the Church—nay, in the common lessons of life's experience.

But, as indeed we are reminded by religion herself, "the things that are not seen are eternal"; and if man's higher nature and true progress require to be clothed with grace and fed with the food of the spirit, we must occasionally follow those who have found the key of that unseen Paradise.

At the same time the poet must not fly out of sight and out of reach of earth: like Wordsworth's skylark our highest aspiration must have its nest on earth. The vitality of such a synthesis ought

not to escape us : we may protest against the confusion that makes the Muse a mere schoolmistress ; we need not forget that we have, first and foremost, a life of sense to lead :

“ Earth fills her lap with pleasures of her own ;  
 Yearnings she hath in her own natural kind,  
 And, even with something of a mother's mind,  
 And no unworthy aim,  
 The homely Nurse doth all she can  
 To make her foster-child, her inmate, Man,  
 Forget the glories he hath known,  
 And that imperial palace whence he came.”

But so long as he lives he keeps the Nostalgia of the Infinite.

\* \* \* \* \*

If Count Tolstoy indicts us for weakness, there is nothing for it but to plead guilty. Such as we are, we can be more easily affected by pleasure than by pain : men would rather be amused than instructed !

Here we get a glimpse of the criterion by which the question of Shakespeare's dramatic work is to be placed. From the days of his admiring contemporary, Ben Jonson, to those of Voltaire—if not even later—the critics of the classic school have declared that Shakespeare “ wanted art.” But he has been the favourite of three centuries, and forty nationalities have been reckoned among the thousands of pilgrims who annually gather at his grave. Of so catholic a worship one can only complain in the language applied to another universal faith, and say, *Populus vult decipi*. But Shakespeare's theatrical experience had taught him the truth afterwards expressed by Johnson, that “ those who live to please must please—to live.” The gentle Will gave himself no pedantic airs ; he never sent one of his plays to the press, even tried his best to hinder their publication ; content if he could fill the benches in the theatre where he was a shareholder. This, it may be objected, is opportunism ; but we need not be frightened by a word. It has enriched the gaiety of nations, giving comfort to the sorrows of men and discipline to their emotions. Shakespeare's work may not be always in accordance with classic canons ; it is not intentionally framed to meet the requirements of Aristotle ; but it is a law to itself, like Horace's Pindar. *Securus judicat orbis terrarum* ; Lessing, and Goethe, and Victor Hugo all admit the spell as much as ourselves or even more.

What does this example prove, unless that it is the object of art to *please* rather than to *teach* ? When Moses was engaged on the Mount the people turned to Aaron, and the Prophet bringing down his solemn message did not find an attentive audience ; all were away singing and dancing round the calf that the priest had made



them. The lawgiver heard the voice of singers, he saw the dancing, and in his anger he dashed down the tables of the law so that they were broken. But the calf had been made at the request of the people, it had delighted them, and it was of gold.

And even so it is with us. Blind and sensual that we are, we will not obey the law, nor even hearken to the Prophet save under compulsion of the direst kind. But we will resort to the poet, the Priest of Beauty, taking him all our gold if only he will fashion it into the form of one of our idols, charged as that may be with memories of the house of bondage. „Such a man as Tolstoy may rage at our idolatry; may wish that it were otherwise; may proclaim that we need to be taught rather than to be pleased. The point need not be argued, does not indeed admit of any argument; as the Yankee said, “ You must not scream against the calm facts of the universe.”

\* \* \* \* \*

Count Tolstoy has not been true to himself, as shown in his fascinating fictions. *Anna Karénina* was pronounced by Matthew Arnold to be the best novel he had ever read. And, even if we stop short of that, we must admit that all civilised mankind enjoy it, which cannot be said of the author's didactic writings. Is it not clear that he has merged the poet in the preacher, ignoring the perpetual distinction that has been placed between the mission of the prophet and the office of the priest?

H. G. KEENE.

## THE ITALIAN STATE LOTTERY.

HISTORIANS, though rather divided in their opinions, are disposed to ascribe to Italy the introduction of the State Lottery towards the close of the Middle Ages. In vain we search the literature and chronicles of ancient Greece for any reference to such an institution, whilst among the Romans the only function resembling it took place, by way of amusement, during the Saturnalian feasts, being especially in vogue during the time of Augustus. Numbered tickets were distributed to the guests and trifling presents bestowed on the winners, such as goblets and statuettes. Bulwer tells us "the sport of this lottery consisted in the inequality and sometimes the incongruity of the prizes," and goes on to say that "the poet with a wry face draws one of his own poems (no physician ever less willingly swallowed his own draught), the warrior draws a case of bodkins, a lady a gentleman's buckle," &c. It was also employed by Agrippa and Titus, not with any idea of gain but merely to conciliate the Plebs. According to Boccardo, its next appearance was probably in Genoa during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, under the title "*Borse della Ventura*," but it became really a public function for the first time in 1641 in Genoa. During that year extensive repairs of the fortifications produced a deficit of about half-a-million in the budget, which was made good by a public lottery. The other Italian States, soon perceiving that a plentiful harvest could be reaped by this means, gradually introduced the custom till it became well-nigh universal. At first people staked on the names of ninety young women in poor circumstances; five of these names were drawn, and whoever played on them was a winner, the five young women each receiving a "dot." Later on *numbers* took the place of *names*, answering equally well for gambling purposes, with the additional advantage of saving the Government the amount of five "dots." In this manner was the modern Italian lottery finally evolved. •

Held weekly throughout the principal cities of the kingdom, the Lotto is a very fruitful source of income for the Government. In 1896-97 the net returns amounted to 33,363,674 lire, and in 1897-98 totalled 35,494,287 lire, or over a million and a quarter pounds. As is well known, the love of gambling is a very prominent characteristic of the Italians, as indeed of most southern nations, and the

State Lottery is patronised by wealthy signori, though unfortunately more extensively by the poorer classes, who have often hardly the wherewith to purchase chestnuts and polenta. There are over fourteen hundred Lotto Banks in Italy, and in Florence there are twenty-eight, rural Sardinia alone not being represented, for, on the authority of Beaclerk, the well-known author of *Rural Italy*, there is not a single lottery-bank in that island.

The lowest stake is twelve centesimi, or rather less than a penny-farthing. To learn the highest stake is by no means an easy matter, and inquiries in over half-a-dozen of the banks elicited much conflicting information; the truth, however, seeming to be that there is really no limit beyond the fact that no larger sum than four hundred thousand lire (under £16,000) can be paid to the winner on any one ticket; but then the player can take as many tickets as he pleases. The lottery takes place on Saturday, at four o'clock, and during the forenoon crowds besiege the banks, giving in their numbers, often to the great bewilderment of the passing "forestieri." Drawings take place in Turin, Milan, Venice, Florence, Rome, Bari, Naples, and Palermo, and it is allowable to play for any or for all of these cities, but the number given in at the banks must be drawn at the particular city which the player names, or otherwise he will not win. For instance, if he mentioned 25 Milan, and 25 turned up in Rome or elsewhere, he would lose. The range of numbers is from 1 to 90 inclusive, and five numbers are drawn every week in each of the above-named cities. The simplest chance, or "semplice," is to stake on any one number, and, should it turn up, the winner obtains ten times his money, or, better still, he can play on the "all' Imbatto" (that is, on the number selected *versus* the other eighty-nine numbers), and thus gain eleven-and-a-half times his stake. If the player, in addition to selecting a number, mentions the order in which it will appear amongst the five numbers, he obtains fifty-two-and-a-half times the stake. Playing successfully on two numbers, the return is 250 times the stake, and is called winning an "ambo." Three numbers, or a "terno," obtain 4250 times the stake; and, finally, four numbers, or a "quaderno," 60,000 times. It is hardly necessary to say that to win the "quaderno" is, practically speaking, impossible, and the writer has not been able to obtain even one authentic case during the history of United Italy. The grand weekly problem for Italians is, then, to select their numbers, and in order to assist them in their choice, each lottery-bank has a list of all the winning figures during the preceding two or three years, and also of the five numbers longest without turning up. Furthermore, there is a *Libro dei Sogni*, or Book of Dreams, which assigns a number for every possible event. So that, for example, if one had broken a watch during the week, on referring to the book and seeing "Broken Watch, 25," down would go their money immediately on 25. As, of

course, the numbers in the *Libro dei Sogni* are as likely to turn up as any others, an occasional win is scored, and thus absurd credulity in the matter is fostered. An authentic instance of this happened quite recently in Florence. An event had taken place of which all Tuscany was speaking. A German student coming home from the theatre was crossing one of the principal squares in Florence towards midnight when he was addressed by a mysterious-looking veiled lady carrying a baby. Stating that she had dropped her purse, she prayed him to hold the baby whilst she searched for it. The student complied, and the lady, pretending to be looking about, soon disappeared in the darkness and has never since been heard of. So much public attention was directed to the circumstance that the *Nazione*, a Florentine newspaper, published a list of numbers from the *Libro dei Sogni* for the next week's lottery as follows: "A Veiled Lady, 56; A Lady accompanied by a Child, 66; and the age of the Child, 3 years." Wonderful to relate, the three numbers came up in Rome, no doubt gaining a "terno" for many of the *Nazione's* readers. The drawing in Florence is conducted on exactly the same principles as in the other Italian cities, and is worth describing. In a small loggia overlooking a courtyard in the Via San Gallo assemble every Saturday, at four o'clock, the Government officials, and take their seats with due solemnity at a long table facing the public, who stand in the courtyard below. Each number, from 1 to 90, printed on a large piece of paper, is held up to the audience to show that all are employed, and simultaneously each is placed in a brass ball and dropped into a wire cage which revolves by means of a handle, and then, after being well mixed up by a boy, who has previously been carefully blindfolded, one ball is drawn at a time. The ball is passed on a plate to one of the officials, who opens it, gives the paper to his neighbour, and it is finally held up for public inspection. There are seven or eight officials employed—the old story in Italy of superfluous "impiegati." The public regard the result of the drawing as stolidly as if they were a Chinese crowd, their faces being absolutely apathetic, though nearly all hold tickets; the explanation probably being that very few indeed are successful.

There is little doubt that the lottery is an unmixed evil for the Italian populace. Heads of poor families waste their sustenance in endeavouring to scrape together a few "quattrini" to gamble with, too often leaving their children a prey to hunger. According to Boccardo, statistics have shown that more objects are brought to the pawnshops and less necessities are purchased on the day when the lottery closes than on any other in the week. As any one can easily test for himself, in a range of ninety numbers there are 4005 combinations possible for an "ambo," and as the winner obtains only 250 times his stake, it is manifest that the odds are too heavily placed against him. And in the case of the "terno" the returns are still more

ridiculously inadequate, having regard to the vast number of possible combinations. It will thus be seen that the Lotto is a form of gamble that offers no reasonable chances of success, and does not even produce agreeable if dangerous excitement, such as is obtainable at the Roulette of Monte Carlo, where, with a range of only thirty-seven numbers (including the Zero) and numerous simple chances, as the "rouge-et noir," "pair et impair," &c., at least gains and losses succeed each other rapidly. In the Lotto the player, even on the simple chance, often sees eight or ten months elapse without being once successful, whilst the more ambitious, who essay an "ambo" or a "terno," can easily find a buoyant and credulous youth develop into a venerable and disillusioned old age, and their dreams of victory as sadly distant as before. To doctors who are nerve-specialists and heart-specialists, and who wish to be in a position to recommend the mildest possible form of gamble to their patients—a form which would be, at least for Anglo-Saxons, a sedative rather than an excitant—we suggest then the Italian Lottery.

R. W. W. CRYAN.

## INDEPENDENT SECTION.

*[Under the above title a limited portion of THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW is occasionally set apart for the reception of Articles which contain opinions at variance with the particular ideas or measures it advocates. The object is to facilitate the expression of opinion by writers of high mental power and culture, who, while they are zealous friends of freedom and progress, yet differ widely on special points of great practical concern, both from the Editor and from each other.]*

### THE INJURY INFLICTED ON THE TOILING CLASSES BY THE SUNDAY OPENING MOVEMENT.

THE word Sabbath means rest. The Sabbath Day is the Rest Day. The greatest of all teachers said "The Sabbath was made for man." "The Rest was made for man," to be a boon, a blessing, an incalculable benefit to all mankind throughout all time; and this rest which was "made for man" all men have a right to enjoy; and every movement which tends to deprive men of this day of rest, and to inflict on them the burden of needless Sunday labour, is a wrong and an injury to the workers and detrimental to the best interests of the State.

It is important to bear in mind the design of the Sabbath institution.

Rest and Worship are the two words which clearly express the object of the Day of Rest. And one of the most beautiful practical illustrations of what the day of holy rest should be has been recorded by Mrs. Drew in a description of her distinguished father's reverence for the Lord's Day:

"Mr. Gladstone," she writes, "has been heard to say that had it not been for Sunday's rest he would not now be the man he is. Physically, intellectually, and spiritually, his Sunday has been to him a priceless blessing. Any one who enters his room in Downing Street on a Sunday, even during the height of the Session, could scarcely fail to be struck by the atmosphere of repose, the books lying open near the arm-chair, the deserted writing-table, the absence of papers and newspapers. From Saturday night to Monday morning he puts away all business of a secular nature, keeps to his special Sunday books and thoughts, and never dines out that day, unless to cheer a sick or sorrowful friend; nor will he ever travel on Sundays."

And this question of the Lord's Day observance was one of the secret springs of that marvellously prolonged mental and physical activity, that conscientious and deeply religious discharge of duty, which made Mr. Gladstone one of the greatest statesmen the world has ever seen.

Mr. Gladstone himself has often spoken and written in praise of the Lord's Day rest. In March 1869, in reply to a deputation, Mr. Gladstone, then Prime Minister, said :

"The religious observance of Sunday is a main prop to the religious character of the country ; from a moral, social, and physical point of view the observance of Sunday is a duty of absolute consequence."

In a letter to the writer, in January 1876, he clearly expressed his views as follows :

"Believing in the authority of the Lord's Day as a religious institution, I must, as a matter of course, desire the recognition of that authority by others. But over and above this, I have myself, in the course of a laborious life, signally experienced both its mental and its physical benefits. I can hardly overstate its value in this view, and for the interest of the working men of this country, alike in these and in other yet higher respects, there is nothing I more anxiously desire than that they should more and more highly appreciate the Christian day of rest."

And so late as June 7, 1897, he wrote :

"I adhere with ever-growing strength to the opinions I have many times expressed on the subject of the Lord's Day Rest."

Equally clear and decisive opinions as to the great value and importance of the Sabbath institution have been expressed by many leading men amongst the different political parties.

Thus the Earl of Beaconsfield, when opposing the opening of museums on Sundays on May 5, 1879, uttered the following words :

"Of all divine institutions the most divine is that which secures a day of rest for man. I hold it to be the most valuable blessing ever conceded to man. It is the corner-stone of civilisation, and its removal might even affect the health of the people. It (the Sunday opening of museums) is a great change, and those who suppose for a moment that it could be limited to museums will find they are mistaken."

The truth of this prediction is clearly seen, for the Sunday opening of museums by the Government has given a stimulus to Sunday opening in many directions. Gigantic concerts on Sundays, at which thousands of pounds are turned over, are now held in many parts of London and the provinces. The Alhambra and other theatres are opening on the rest day. The Crystal Palace and the Alexandra Palace are looking forward to reaping a harvest by the sweat of their employes on Sundays ; and the latest encroachments on the people's day of rest are the establishment of a Sunday delivery of letters in London for the convenience of those who are rich enough

to pay an extra fee, and the employment of a large number of builders' men in the erection of a theatre in Kennington on Sundays.

The Sunday opening movement is one of the most dangerous and deceptive movements of modern times. It is breaking down the great principle of Sunday closing and Sunday rest in all directions. It is undoing the noble work of securing one day's rest from toil in seven which Christian teachers and statesmen have for centuries been working to secure.

The weekly day of rest—the pause in our great hives of industry—the closing of our factories, our shops and offices—the holy calm and rest of the Sabbath Day which gives strength to our workers in all departments of labour, has been brought about mainly by two great forces working hand-in-hand.

The religious teachers of our country, the clergy and ministers, the great army of Sunday school teachers, have for many centuries urged as a Christian duty the observance of the Christian Sabbath; and manufacturers, traders, and workers of all classes have, largely by persuasive moral influences, been induced to look upon the Sunday as a sacred day when ordinary secular work and amusements should be suspended.

The religious forces have been the greatest agents in securing to the masses of the people their weekly day of rest.

The State, however, has done much to secure the same end.

Far-sighted statesmen have seen in the Sabbath institution one of the noblest benefits that a world so full of suffering as ours can experience; and that greatest of all English monarchs, King Alfred, was the pioneer of that long list of laws suspending labour every seventh day which adorn our statute books and which protect millions of toilers against Sunday labour.

Alfred commenced his Book of Laws with the Decalogue, which includes the fourth Commandment to observe the Sabbath Day; and it may not be generally known that those laws form part of our Common Law to this day, and the principles inculcated in those grand moral laws have laid the foundation of every subsequent law which has been made for the improvement of our country and race.

One of the greatest difficulties in the examination of the Sunday question is to get thinkers to distinguish the difference that exists between urging the religious observance of the Lord's Day as a Christian duty between man and his Maker, and urging the passing of laws suspending ordinary labour on Sundays, by the State, on sanitary and physical grounds.

It is one thing for Christian teachers from their pulpits and platforms and by literature to urge their congregations to "Remember the Sabbath Day to keep it holy." It is quite another thing to ask the State to make laws so that men may enjoy a weekly rest from



labour and have time in this Christian country to attend to Christian duties.

The two positions are quite different.

Laws which secure to men the day of rest on sanitary, social, and physical grounds are not laws to enforce the religious observance of the Sunday. The religious observance of the Lord's Day is purely a matter between God and man individually.

The civil and physical observance of the Sunday is a matter entirely within the province of the State to enforce. The civil power may not and cannot enforce the religious observance of the Sunday. The civil power may and ought to enforce the Sunday closing principle on national, physical, and sanitary grounds.<sup>1</sup> Why? Because it has been shown most conclusively that in order to keep men and women in health they need more rest than that afforded by the night to recruit their energies of body and mind; and the seventh day rest with all its sacred obligations and associations is exactly what man's nature needs.

Most interesting experiments have been made by scientific men in France, showing how the strength of a workman gradually fell day by day for six days, and how his energies were restored by the rest of the seventh day.

The late Mr. Frank Buckland, the distinguished naturalist, puts this view of the Sunday question very clearly. Writing in March 1886, he said:

"I am now working from 8 A.M. to 6 P.M., and then a bit in the evening, fourteen hours a day, but thank God it does not hurt me. I should however collapse if it were not for Sunday. The machinery has time to cool. The mill-wheel ceases to patter the water, the mill-head is ponded up, and the superfluous water let off by an easy quiet current which leads to things above."

And when we consider that our Sundays constitute one-seventh of all our days, that a man who has lived seventy years has had ten years of Sundays, it is clear that the duration of life may be influenced very materially by the way in which these Sundays are used.

The national observance of the day of rest lengthens life, and it is the duty of the State to make laws which preserve the health and lengthen the days of the people.

It would be easy to relate a very large number of facts showing how much the observance of the Lord's Day promotes health and happiness, and what an important agent it has been in the husbanding of those wonderful energies which the Sabbath-observing British race has shown in all parts of the world.

And the question now arises—if all men need and have a right

<sup>1</sup> If our rulers may shorten the hours of labour by law on week days, they may also suspend labour on Sundays.

to the Sabbath rest, for health and happiness—if a deep injury is inflicted on those classes of our fellow-men who are required to toil seven days a week by exacting employers, by grasping speculators, or by Sunday opening societies, ought not the State to interfere to limit Sunday labour of a public kind to that which common sense teaches is necessary?

Necessity overrules all law. But is it necessary to open theatres, concert-rooms, exhibitions, museums, picture galleries, and public reading-rooms on the rest day, to take away from their homes, from their wives and children, on the quiet day of holy rest, the numerous attendants required to take charge of the collections? We urge that there is no form of Sunday labour less necessary than the employment of the attendants at these institutions. A manufacturer might plead cutting competition and a shopkeeper might plead hard times as arguments for the opening of factories and shops seven days a week, with far greater force and reason than the advocates for Sunday opening can urge for the opening of museums on Sundays; and the weakness of the Government in breaking down the great principle of Sunday closing and Sunday rest, by departing from the policy pursued by the leaders in the two great parties for more than fifty years, has been a weakness which has imposed the burden of Sunday labour on many toilers.

Sunday opening means Sunday labour. The Sunday opening societies cannot stir one step in accomplishing their objects without inflicting on unwilling workers the burden of Sunday labour. Under their skilful but dangerous exertions the volume of Sunday labour is becoming larger and larger year by year; the foundations which have hitherto preserved to the people the enjoyment of the weekly Sabbaths are being stealthily undermined. The fetters are being fastened on one trade after another. The plea of "brightening the lives of the people" by the Sunday opening of theatres, music halls, museums, galleries, concert-rooms, and great exhibitions is an entirely delusive plea. It may catch the support of philanthropists of a certain class, but the people who avail themselves of the Sunday opening of museums, and who pay for admission to the concerts at theatres and music halls on Sundays, are people of leisure and means, and not the poor, who are put forward to catch the public support by those who have pecuniary interests in the background.

The Sunday opening movement appeals strongly to the selfish instincts of men. It encourages those who experience the blessing of the weekly rest from toil themselves to take away the rest of their neighbours. It tramples on the golden rule, "As ye would that men should do to you, do ye to them likewise," and, under the plea of "brightening our Sundays," it is teaching speculators how to evade those merciful and beneficent laws which protect millions of toilers in the enjoyment of the day of rest.

The Sunday opening movement is entirely destructive. It is destroying one of the noblest monuments to the religious fervour and zeal of the past. Just as the incendiary sets fire to a venerable structure and in a few hours destroys the labour of many years, so the Sunday opening societies are inciting the selfish passions of men to uproot and destroy the sacred Sabbath institution established by the teachings and labour of many centuries.

It has taken ages to train the English race to respect and observe the Sabbath Day as a day of holy rest, to influence men to give up Sunday trading and Sunday money-making, and to dispense with those Sunday amusements and luxuries which inflict labour on others, to guide men and women to habits of self-restraint for the purpose of maintaining a great national blessing. Now all that is being changed. Men imbued with a secularist, anti-religious spirit, men seeking to appropriate the Sunday to money-making, are working might and main, under the cover of plausible but most deceptive arguments, to break down what they are sometimes pleased to call "the Sunday superstition."

One argument constantly quoted in favour of the Sunday opening of museums, exhibitions, Sunday bands, &c., is to draw people from the public-house; but there is the strongest possible evidence to show that the Sunday opening of these places, drawing people as they do from long distances, would raise an additional barrier to the Sunday closing of public-houses.

In 1868 a Select Committee was appointed by the House of Commons to consider the Bill for closing public-houses on Sundays. Amongst those who gave evidence against the Sunday Closing Bill was Mr. R. M. Morell, the then hon. secretary of the National Sunday League. In answer to questions put to him, he said he objected to the Sunday closing of public-houses because when he and others left the Sunday bands in the parks they required a glass of ale previous to returning home. Many persons came from a distance, and Mr. Morell estimated that from 500 to 1000 persons would go direct from the Sunday band in Battersea Park to the public-house for refreshments.

Take another fact showing the quantity of drink consumed on one day at the Alexandra Palace (which it is now proposed to open on Sundays) and the waiters employed.

On the Bank Holiday in June 1880 the contractors for refreshments to the Alexandra Palace announced that they supplied to the visitors on that day

150 barrels of ale and

23,000 bottles of spirits, wine, ale, and stout; and

400 waiters were required to attend to the visitors.

The increase of Sunday labour in several departments of trade is becoming so serious that the attention of Government must soon be

directed to measures to stay the evil if a national day of rest is to be continued.

The mightiest rivers are fed from a large number of contributory streams, and the growing volume of unnecessary Sunday labour is fed from countless sources. The Sunday opening movement increases these sources. The Sunday rest movement seeks to dry them up.

As to the views of the toilers who are required to give up their rest on Sundays by the Sunday opening movement, a few facts may be usefully given.

At a meeting held to promote the Sunday opening of museums on May 24, 1892, at a room in St. James's Hall, Mr. Trickett, one of the attendants at the Natural History Museum, got up and opposed the motion. He said that "he had ascertained by direct inquiry the feeling of his colleagues in regard to Sunday opening. Of thirty-three attendants, fifteen were opposed to it, fourteen were neutral, and only four were in favour of it. Personally he was opposed to it because he believed it was contrary to God's Word. He liked his Sunday, and, if he were employed on that day, he could not find his Sunday in the middle of the week."

The Sunday opening of libraries and museums means Sunday labour for the librarians and attendants, and the views of the librarians have been expressed decisively on the subject.

At the Conference of Librarians at Edinburgh in 1880, a motion favouring the Sunday opening of public libraries was defeated by thirty-eight votes against eight.

At the Conference in London in 1881, and at Cambridge in 1882, proposals favouring Sunday opening were almost unanimously defeated.

An actor, in a letter to the writer dated January 26, 1895, writes as follows :

"As requested by you I have signed the form sent to me, and now take the opportunity of thanking you for your kindness in looking after the interests of members of one of the most hard worked and tiring professions there possibly is. I notice with fear how every year our only day of rest is gradually being encroached upon, and can only suggest that if tip-top artistes would refuse to take less than their ordinary fees, the evil would soon be stopped. If it were not for Sundays we should have no day of rest at all, as, when other people are enjoying and resting themselves on an occasional bank holiday, we are always as a rule (unless out of an engagement) more hardly worked, sometimes having two rehearsals before the evening performances, and if not a matinee in the afternoon."

"Who," writes the editor of the *Westminster Gazette* of October 2, 1893, "would like to be a touring theatrical agent or a railway guard? The London and North-Western Railway yesterday, Sunday, carried no fewer than 60 theatrical companies, numbering 1339 passengers, whose belongings were carried in 74 trucks."

The Sunday opening movement and the determined efforts of the Sunday opening societies to make the Sunday a day for mere pleasure-taking and amusement is more and more inflicting the curse of

Sunday labour on all the numerous trades engaged in the amusement, conveyance, and refreshment industries; and when these great trades are at work there are many other auxiliary trades, such as the newspaper, printing, reporting, &c., that are called into operation also.

At the Royal Academy, in 1897, a striking picture by E. A. Gregory, A.R.A., was exhibited of Sunday at Boulter's Lock up the Thames. On Sunday, July 14, 1896, no less than 1000 boats and 162 launches passed through Boulter's Lock; and the trains conveying pleasure-takers from Waterloo to Paddington were uncomfortably full.

One one Sunday in June 1897, the Sunday League ran no less than twenty-three special excursion trains from London to Portsmouth, carrying 14,000 persons, and during the year the same organisation ran 229 special Sunday excursions, and took as the result of all its Sabbath desecration schemes no less than £44,431.

Mr. J. F. Wilson, of St. Leonards, who has devoted much time to this aspect of the Sunday labour question, states that during the six months ending March 1898 no less than 3701 amusement companies travelled by rail on Sundays, or an average of 142 separate companies on each Sunday, requiring in the six months no less than 745 special trains.

Now let the philanthropists who so readily give their support to Sunday opening movements reflect on the hard toil inflicted on thousands of working men on what would be the day of rest in the various trades named, by the breaking down of the Sunday closing principle.

Mr. Jerome K. Jerome, in his book "On the the Stage and Off," writes as follows :

"Sunday is the great travelling day for actors; it loses them no time. A company can finish at one town on the Saturday night, and wake up on the Monday morning in the next, ready to get everything ship-shape for the evening. Or an actor can leave one show and join another at the other end of the kingdom without missing a single performance. I have known a man play in Cornwall on the Saturday and at Inverness on the following Monday. But convenient though it is in this respect, in every other Sunday travelling is most unpleasant; and for their gratification I can assure strict Sabbatarians that it brings with it its own punishment, especially to a man with a conscience, an article which in those early days I was unfortunate enough to possess. A conscience is a disagreeable sort of thing to have with one at any time. It has a nasty, cantankerous, fault-finding, interfering disposition. There is nothing social about it. It seems to take a pleasure in making itself objectionable and in rendering its owner as uncomfortable as possible."

And these innovations on the day of rest are viewed with just disfavour by the working classes and their leaders.

The hard-headed men at the Trades Union Congress know that every movement which makes the Sunday a mere day of exciting amusement and pleasure-taking is an assault on the day of rest.

Mr. Broadhurst, M.P., in his able speech on this question from his seat in Parliament, spoke as follows on May 9, 1882 :

"To those who lead a ceaseless life of toil, this Sunday is that which the cooling stream in the desert is to the weary travellers. The thoughtful workman regards his ever and sure recurring Sunday as the symbol of his future, as it is the blessed day of his present rest. In these twenty-four hours of each week he seems to have the foretaste of that future in which he shall share with all mortals the advantages and the results of a life of labour. You rich men have your recess—your periods of relaxation. The workmen have nothing except this day. This is their autumn, as it is their springtime and summer. I ask Parliament, who did not confer the boon, not for a moment to think of taking it from the people. The gift was anterior to Parliament—it is a greater gift than Parliament ever made. I ask you, in the interests of those who toil, to retain this boon for them, and not to play fast and loose with such a sacred—with such a priceless—gift as this which they enjoy, but to hand down to them and to those who come after them this pearl beyond price, this joy without description, this day of rest."

Another leader, Mr. John Jenkins, J.P., secretary of the Shipwrights' Associated Society and president of the 1895 Trades Union Congress, in speaking at the annual meeting of the Working Men's Lord's Day Rest Association on March 26, 1896, said :

"I do not hesitate to say that, of the many privileges enjoyed by our country, no single one is more cherished, more dear to the hearts, consciences, and bodies of working men and working women than the weekly day of rest. The association, by preserving, protecting, and extending this privilege, is doing a noble work for thousands of the industrial classes, and also, I firmly believe, for the maintenance of Britain's industrial supremacy among the nations of the world. I know from my own personal experience, and from the testimony of my fellow-workmen, that Sunday's rest is the sweetest, most refreshing break in the monotony of manual labour. To me, Sunday ever seems a bright recurring oasis in 'time's desert of toil' to which I look longingly forward. It is a sheltering haven wherein, after six days of hard buffeting with life's storms, I can anchor in peace and safety, and there recuperate my strength and refit myself the better to renew life's arduous voyage on the morrow. Apart from its blessed religious uses, I have ever found that a 'Sunday well spent' strengthens me in mind and body, gives vigour to the intellect and muscles, and hardens my moral fibre, the better to resist evil influences, and to absorb what is purest and best."

Mr. Benjamin Pickard, M.P., the leader and president of the great Miners' Federation, in speaking at a meeting of the Working Men's Lord's Day Rest Association, said :

"As far as the working man is concerned, I believe it would be a serious matter for him if the days of labour were increased to seven. The seventh day is a day set apart by no human being, but by the great God, the Creator and Preserver of men, given to us wherein to rest. One of the speakers put it that it was a mere physical question. It is a great physical question, and, my lord, a great sanitary question as well. But to the working man, as to all, it implies considerations not merely of a physical nature, but of a social, a mental, and a moral also."

When certain railway companies and Sunday opening societies are doing much to throng the railway stations on the day of rest with Sunday excursionists, it is well to learn what the railway servants think about the Sunday labour imposed on them. The *Standard* of September 12, 1894, reports as follows :

"A numerously attended meeting was held in the Memorial Hall last night, 'to protest against certain grades of railway men having to work seven days for an ordinary week's wage, and to devise means for the abolition of such an iniquitous system.' Mr. Walter Hudson, railway guard, of Darlington, president of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, was in the chair. Mr. Tyson, of Canning Town, moved : 'That this mass meeting of London railway men condemns in the strongest manner the pernicious practice, still in vogue on several lines, of rating men at seven days to the week, thus depriving them of their one day's rest in seven, which is both detrimental to their physical well-being and their moral and intellectual development, as well as contrary to the custom prevailing in most other industries, and entirely opposed to equity as between employer and employed ; and that it therefore calls upon the companies to at once institute a six days' week in all departments, failing which, that steps be taken to obtain this right by legal enactment.' The resolution was seconded by Mr. Young, and carried unanimously."

Numerous other resolutions passed at the Trades Union Congress and elsewhere could be quoted, all condemning the extension of Sunday labour in various industries which the action of Sunday opening societies is so surely bringing about.

There never was a time in our national history when men and women more required the restoring soothing influence of a quiet Sunday. The rush of business in all departments, the intense rate at which we live, the cutting competition in trade amongst all civilised nations, the thirst for fame, the headlong plunge into countless speculations, the feverish anxiety felt everywhere, makes the rest brought by the Sabbath institution more necessary and important than ever.

"A day of rest is more than a holiday. Let us keep Sunday for the former and not the latter." The *Times* never published sounder advice than this.

It is impossible to preserve a national day of rest if the thoughtless and the selfish classes insist on demanding their pleasures and amusements on Sundays as on other days.

It is tyranny and oppression for those who enjoy freedom from toil on Sundays to inflict the burden of Sunday labour on a number of the largest industries in order that they may be amused.

The Saturday and the Thursday half-holidays have been conceded in order that our people may play on week-days, and rest and worship on Sundays.

Some inconvenience is often experienced by employers and the public by these early closing movements, but this inconvenience is

cheerfully borne for the sake of the great benefits conferred on the toilers who get the holiday.

This is how the leaders of thought and public opinion should look at the Sunday question. We want to train our people to be willing to give up theatres, concerts, races, exhibitions, Sunday bands, excursions, grand dinner parties, and hundreds of other enjoyments and amusements (all of which are in full swing on week-days) on Sundays, in order that the great bodies of men, women, and children who work in these and auxilliary trades may experience the blessing of a quiet Sunday—a day of rest.

Let any thoughtful man ponder over the enormous number of toilers who unwillingly have to work on Sundays—not in the discharge of duties that are absolutely necessary, but almost entirely in labours that could with benefit to employers and employed be left alone on Sundays. The thoughtlessness and selfishness of those classes who study only their own enjoyments, inflicts the burden of unnecessary Sunday labour on millions of their fellows who need, and might, and ought to have, the Sunday rest.

And the unwise oppressive action of the Sunday opening societies is, week by week, swelling the great volume of Sunday labour and depriving more and more of the toiling classes of the benefits of the weekly Sabbath.

And these encroachments on the day of rest are being made at a time when the facilities for obtaining cheap pleasures and amusements on week-days are greater than ever. Concert-rooms, theatres, exhibitions, museums and galleries, public libraries and reading-rooms lighted with electricity are opened in all parts of the kingdom till nine, ten, or eleven o'clock on week-days.

All over the country in our great towns there are beautiful parks and gardens open as public thoroughfares every day in the year. London alone has more than 240 beautiful parks, gardens, and open spaces, with more than 20,000 acres (requiring less police supervision than the streets of London), where all can quietly enjoy pure air, flowers, trees, and rest on Sundays and week-days. Marvellously cheap excursions on week-days and week-ends are run to every part of the country. Summer holidays in the country can now be obtained for the poorest. One society alone sends some 30,000 children for a fortnight to the seaside or country every year. And there are countless ways in which all classes of society can recreate and find enjoyments of one kind or another without trespassing on the Sundays of their fellows.

This is the line we desire to draw. Those recreations or amusements which can only be obtained by interfering with the Sunday rest of others are illegitimate recreations, and the workers should be protected by the strong arm of the law against those leisured classes, who would oppress them.



This is what all the thirty or forty laws on the statute books relating to Sunday labour help to do. They protect the toilers in the enjoyment of a quiet day of rest; they curb the avarice of selfish employers; and they check the tyranny of those who live only for the pursuit of pleasure and amusement, and who have no thought or care for the great army of men, women, and children who have to toil on Sundays and week-days alike for their enjoyment.

CHARLES HILL.

## CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

### SCIENCE.

THE *Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1896*<sup>1</sup> is somewhat late in appearing, but contains much interesting information. The work of the Institution appears to be considerably hampered by want of funds, especially in connection with the National Museum, the resources of which are stated to be much inferior to those of some private museums. Nevertheless some important additions have been made to the museum during the year under review, especially in the ethnological department. Not the least interesting of the ethnological discoveries recorded is the use by the Indians of Texas of a species of cactus for stimulating and invigorating the system. Upon examination this cactus was found to contain three new alkaloids, producing effects similar to those of hashish, and these are expected to become important therapeutic agents.

In the General Appendix of the Report are a number of selected papers from various sources. Among these may be mentioned a preliminary report on the Pueblo Ruins of Arizona, by J. W. Tewkes, which is accompanied by excellent illustrations, and a translation from the German of an article on Bows and Arrows in Central Brazil, by H. Meyer. All of the other selected papers are good; but most of them are familiar to European readers.

We have received the first volume of a *Text-Book of Physics*,<sup>2</sup> by Messrs. Poynting and Thomson, which deals in a thoroughly practical manner with the phenomena and laws of sound. Unlike the writers of most text-books of Physics, the authors do not at once plunge into a labyrinth of mathematical formulæ which not only confuse the student, but also divert his attention from the real object of his study. On the contrary, Messrs. Poynting and Thomson rely upon the experimental part of Physics, referring the student to more elaborate treatises for the advanced mathematical methods. The illustrations and diagrams are good, and the printing and general arrangement of the book are far superior to the average of books intended for students.

<sup>1</sup> *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution to July 1896.* Washington. 1898.

<sup>2</sup> *A Text-Book of Physics. SOUND.* By J. H. Poynting and J. J. Thomson. London: Chas. Griffin & Co., Ltd. 1899.

Those interested in physics will await with impatience the issue of the other four volumes of this series, which are now in course of preparation.

Another useful text-book for students is *The Tutorial Dynamics*,<sup>1</sup> by Messrs. W. Briggs and G. H. Bryan. In it the fundamental principles of dynamics are explained and illustrated, and a number of problems are given for the student to solve. The answers to these are given in an appendix, and we have no doubt that any student who succeeds in solving the greater part of these problems will stand a good chance when the day of his examination comes.

### PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY.

It is a long time since we have read any philosophical work with so much pleasure as we have perused Mr. Bain's *Realisation of the Possible*.<sup>2</sup> Even if we agreed less than we do with Mr. Bain we should still have enjoyed his vigorous polemic against Idealism and the trenchant manner in which he dismisses popular philosophers.

"To speculate is human ; to define divine."

This is the keynote to this book. Speculation is only glorified ignorance and is the sources of innumerable errors. Definition alone is certainty, and until we define we can know nothing. This is where Aristotle comes in, according to Mr. Bain ; the English are not partial to dreamers, though we have had our share, but the *summum bonum* of an Englishman is the realisation of the possible. "You may epitomise the spirit of Aristotle and the soul of an Englishman in one and the same word—*doing, action, energy*." It is not either Bacon or Hobbes, Locke or Hume, Berkeley or Mill ; still less is it Kant and his school of dreaming ideologists ; it is Aristotle who has divined the soul, expressed the ideal, and methodised the life of the English nation. He is the true English philosopher ; he is more English than Greek : and yet they have thrown away this royal eagle, for wallowing hogs or blinking night-owls." The language is strong, but Mr. Bain's pages to some extent justify it.

In a short notice it is impossible to do justice to such a work as this, which covers so large a field of criticism ; one of the principal points discussed, on which many others hang, is the theory of sight, for here is the whole question in dispute between the Idealist and the Realist. Mr. Bain maintains that what we see is the external

<sup>1</sup> *The Tutorial Dynamics*. By W. Briggs and G. H. Bryan, London : W. B. Clive.

<sup>2</sup> *On the Realisation of the Possible and the Spirit of Aristotle*. By F. W. Bain, M.A. London : James Parker & Co. 1899.

object and not the sub-conscious image, and that sight gives us forms, figures, spatial determinations and relations. Nothing is intelligible by itself but only in its relation to other things. Thus the isolation of objects—taking them out of their relations, tells us nothing, and so anatomy and physiology cannot explain man. To go further, evolution according to Mr. Bain is organic and not mechanical, or in other words is the realisation of the possible. Spencer's view of evolution as a theory of biological differentiation, of development, of organic change, the gradual growth and unfolding of the simple and potential into the complex and actual, Mr. Bain is willing to accept, but Natural Selection as the *how* of evolution he scorns. These lines are perhaps sufficient to indicate the line Mr. Bain takes, and we sincerely hope that not only philosophers but scientific workers will give him the attention he deserves.

Mr. Washington Sullivan is one of the most eloquent preachers in the Ethical Church, if that is the right expression. In these addresses on *Morality as a Religion*,<sup>1</sup> Mr. Sullivan pleads for a reconsideration of the religious question, though we may remind him that at the present time no subject is receiving so much consideration. The chief difficulty is to get men to do what Mr. Sullivan wants them to do—shift the basis of religion from inscrutable dogmas to the facts of man's moral nature. This is coming, here and there, and many people put up with the dogmas for the sake of the ethical teaching which sometimes accompanies them. Our sympathies are entirely with the author.

"To weight the devotions of the Church with theological definitions must distract all and drive away some," says Mr. Page Roberts in *Conformity and Conscience*,<sup>2</sup> and, we may add, especially so if there is any considerable doubt about the truth of the theological definitions. There is more about Conformity than Conscience in these sermons, and the general plea is that worshippers in the Church of England ought to put up with things they do not like or do not believe in "our Prayer Book," for the sake of the general benefit attending religious worship. We do not agree with him.

The *Course of Conscience*,<sup>3</sup> is a simple and cleverly conceived argument in favour of the authority of the Pope of Rome. We do not say this intention is concealed, but reading the list of contents it would not strike the reader. Beginning with Conscience we are led to Religion, from thence to Revelation, the Transmission of Revelation, Association, Organisation and Head-quarters. Of course the Organisation is the Church and the Head-quarters Rome. The

<sup>1</sup> *Morality as a Religion. An Exposition of Some First Principles.* By W. R. Washington Sullivan. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1899.

<sup>2</sup> *Conformity and Conscience.* By W. Page Roberts, M.A. London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1899.

<sup>3</sup> *The Course of Conscience. Being a short Inquiry as to the Transmission of Revelation.* By H. J. Pys. London: Burns & Oates, Ltd.

book is simply written, but the reader must be simpler still if he concedes all Mr. Pye asks.

In an article reproduced from the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Dr. Ismar J. Peritz discusses the interesting but somewhat obscure question of the place of *Woman in the Ancient Hebrew Worship*.<sup>1</sup> We are all so familiar with St. Paul's dictum about women keeping silence in the churches and the ungallant thanksgiving of Jewish men that they are not women, and other signs of the subordination of the female sex amongst the Jews, that it is generally supposed that women were always excluded from participation in the religious practices of the Israelites. Dr. Peritz aims at showing that this is unfounded, and that there is a great deal of evidence in the Bible and in the customs of other Semites which points the other way. It is a question for scholars, and Dr. Peritz treats it in scholarly fashion.

---

#### SOCIOLOGY, POLITICS, AND JURISPRUDENCE.

*The Standard of Life and other Studies*,<sup>2</sup> by Mrs. Bernard Bosanquet, is a timely and valuable contribution to the study of some of the minor problems of industrial and social questions. A third of the book is taken up with the discussion of the standard of life and an explanation of its actual working as the basis of economic progress. It is impossible to give a rigid definition of this phrase. There are as many standards of life as there are classes of society. Nay, more, there are as many as there are functions, and as these become more differentiated in modern societies the differences in the standard of life increase. In these differences lies the importance of this question. With certain exceptions, including those who have not yet worked out their freedom from the lower range of desires, men in the modern state are striving to rise from one class to another, from a lower social condition to a higher, to a loftier conception of life, to a higher and improved social status—in a word, to a higher standard of life than that in which they found themselves. This tendency means progress, and in this progressiveness we find the importance of this subject. The spirit which prompts it is right. We must see to it that it does not end in more selfish individualism. Equality of opportunity is excellent for the individual and theoretically his right, and if used well is for the material

<sup>1</sup> *Woman in the Ancient Hebrew Cult.* By Ismar J. Peritz, A.M., Ph.D. (Harv.).

<sup>2</sup> *The Standard of Life and Other Studies.* By Mrs. Bernard Bosanquet. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1898.

benefit of the race. But something more than this is required for the healthy life of a nation. Man is a social animal and cannot be regarded apart from society. His improved material standard must be humanised by a higher moral and social standard. This side of the question Mrs. Bosanquet fails to sufficiently emphasise here, although it is dealt with at length in a subsequent chapter under "The Psychology of Social Progress." In the chapter entitled "The Burden of Small Debts," Mrs. Bosanquet has many sensible remarks, and her conclusion is that the amount and facility of credit given to the working classes is an almost unmixed evil. In referring to the loans made to cattermongers in London, on the strength of the personal knowledge and confidence of the lender, we should have expected some allusion to co-operative banks which have been so successful in Germany and even in this country. The chapters on "The Education of Women" and "The Industrial Training of Women" are marked by that practical knowledge of this side of social life as it actually exists, of which Mrs. Bosanquet so well knows how to make use.

*The New Zealand Official Year-Book, 1898*,<sup>1</sup> fully maintains its deservedly high reputation. The vital statistics are as carefully prepared as ever, with plates of comparative diagrams. A third of the annual is devoted to articles on special subjects which have recently been a leading feature. From these the English reformer will obtain innumerable useful hints on such subjects as the Land Question and Old Age Pensions.

---

## VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

IN *West African Studies*<sup>2</sup> we have a supplementary volume, by that intrepid traveller Miss Kingsley, to her *Travels in West Africa*, which she is pleased to regard as a mere "interim report." Indeed, Miss Kingsley is far too modest in her estimate of her own achievements and the manner in which they are reproduced here. It is true her literary style is capable of improvement, but that is a small thing provided you have the matter, and of this there is abundance and in sufficient variety to cater for all tastes. Miss Kingsley remarks that the first chapter showing life on a West Coast boat was crowded out of her first book, and intimates that perhaps it

<sup>1</sup> *The New Zealand Official Year-Book for 1898*. Prepared under instructions from the Right Hon. R. J. Seddon, P.C., Premier. By E. J. von Dadelszen, Registrar-General, Wellington, N.Z. By Authority: John McCreay, Government Printer. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode. 1898.

<sup>2</sup> *West African Studies*. By Mary H. Kingsley. With Illustrations and Maps. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1899.

would have been better left out here. For our part we think this one of the best chapters in the book. Miss Kingsley has a keen sense of humour, and her narrative is crowded with good things. Even upon such a serious subject as fetish she cannot refrain from quaint sayings which so aptly express her meaning. For instance, describing an evil spirit called a sasabonsum, she says evening walks are unpopular, because the bush paths are so narrow that it is almost impossible to avoid touching this spirit, and if you touch the one side of it which is rotting and putrifying you will never see home again. Such being the case it is wisest to stay at home, and, "if you are bachelor, sitting in the village Clubhouse listening to the old ones talking like retired colonels." The story of the purser who rebuked Miss Kingsley for the use of strong language is simply delicious. The cause of it all was a steam-launch which was somewhat out of sorts, in which Miss Kingsley and a friend had put out to a steamer, and arrived with tempers rather strained and strong observations. The purser thereupon remarked "that people who said things like those about a poor inanimate steam-launch were fools, with a flaming hot future, and lost souls entirely." "We realised," says Miss Kingsley, "that our observations had been imperfect, and so being desirous of improving ourselves we offered to put the purser on shore in the *Dragon Fly*. We knew she was feeling still much the same, and we wanted to know what he would say when jets of superheated steam played on him. He came, and they did, and when they did, you know, he said things I cannot repeat—nevertheless, things of the nature of our own remarks, but so much finer of the kind, that we regarded him with awe when he was returning thanks to the 'poor inanimate steam-launch;' but it was when it came to his going ashore, gladly to leave us and her, that we found out what that man could say; and we morally fainted at his remarks on discovering that he had been sitting in a pool of smutty oil. . . . Well, that purser went off the scene in a blue flame, and I said to my companion, 'Sir! we cannot say things like that.' 'Right you are, Miss Kingsley,' he said sadly; 'you and I are only fit for Sunday school entertainments.'"

This is only a sample of Miss Kingsley's stories, which to our mind are in no wise inferior to those of Mark Twain in *Tramps Abroad*.

But it is not by traveller's tales alone that this book must be judged. Miss Kingsley has a much higher and more serious object. She desires to direct public attention to the political situation in West Africa. West Africa, like our other tropical and unhealthy possessions, is governed under the Crown colony system, and, apart from climate, this system is responsible for the present financial depression in those regions. In West Africa at present there is no corruption, only maladministration. "Up to our own day," says

Miss Kingsley, "the Colonial Office has been, except in the details of domestic colonial affairs, a drag-chain on English development in Western Africa. It has not even been indifferent, but distinctly deliberately adverse." The system is un-English. In the first place because the Government is unrepresentative, and in the second ill-informed. The West African service is internally rotten, ill organised, and underpaid, and the majority of its officials chiefly engaged in looking after each other. Then, again, the evil worked by the missionary party, says Miss Kingsley, is almost incalculable.

The material prosperity of the colonies depends upon the solution of the labour problem and the co-operation of the natives. These will never be gained under the Crown colony system, "because," says Miss Kingsley, "it is too expensive for you and unjust to them, not intentionally, not vindictively, but just from ignorance. It destroys the native form of society, and thereby disorganises labour. It has no power of reorganising it."

The most successful government has been that of the Chartered Niger Company, under Sir George Taubman Goldie. Not that chartered companies are good *per se*, but they are better than the Crown colony system. "Surely," exclaims Miss Kingsley, "our constructive ability in statecraft is not at an end!"

Whether Miss Kingsley is right or not in her conclusions each must decide for himself. Her case is supported by evidence which at any rate shows that she knows what she is talking about, and she has the enormous advantage of having studied these questions on the spot. Judging from what we know of the maladministration of the Crown colony system in the West Indies and the corruption both there and at home, we are the more inclined to agree with Miss Kingsley. On the whole we think she is right in her political principles, and we see no reason to doubt her facts.

The appendices contain two valuable papers by M. le Comte C. N. de Cardi, on the "Natives of the Niger Coast Protectorate, with some Account of their Customs, Religion, and Trade," and a "Voyage to the African Oil Rivers Twenty-Five Years Ago," by Mr. John Harford, both experts in their own particular subjects. The third appendix, by Miss Kingsley herself, is on the trade goods used in the early trade with Africa, as given by Barbot and other writers of the seventeenth century. We can safely say that this is one of the best informed books of travels we have met with for many a long day.



## HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

ON November 15, 1848, Rome was the theatre of one of those tragedies which are as landmarks in the history of a people. Almost on the same spot where, eighteen hundred years before, the dagger of Marcus Brutus killed Cæsarism in Julius Cæsar, a descendant of Brutus killed, on the above-mentioned date, the political power of the Popes by striking a deadly blow at Count Pellegrino Rossi, the Pope's Prime Minister. Political crimes—as these murders are by some called—were then more frequent than now, yet for its incipient and far-reaching importance the assassination of P. Rossi startled the world. On the morrow of this crime a revolution broke out in Rome, and Pius IX. flew to Gaeta. A year after, by the help of foreign arms, he returned to Rome, but the days of the Temporal Power were numbered. The Roman Republic, otherwise engaged, neglected to pursue the trial against the alleged murderers of P. Rossi. The Pontifical Court of Justice took the matter in hand, laboured for about three years, and it thought that justice was met when Sante Costantini was beheaded by the Papal headsman, and Luigi Grandoni killed himself. The popular voice would not see in either of them the murderer of P. Rossi, whilst the name of the true murderer was ever since more or less confidentially mentioned in private conversation, both amongst the Liberals and the Clericals.

Scores of writers have since written on this very subject, and all, for want of a better guidance, tried to explain it with the not always wise principle of *ille fecit cui prodest*, and as the death of P. Rossi benefited all parties and factions, each writer came to the conclusion that that murder was due to the respective adverse party. Pius IX. had no doubt that P. Rossi was killed by order of the Government of Piedmont, and the Jesuits, who hate Piedmont above everything, have up to recent times charged Piedmont with being responsible for the death of P. Rossi. It was a mere conjecture. On the other hand, the Liberal party and the Republican party, as a kind of retaliation, maintained the assassination of P. Rossi was the work of the Jesuits. It is a singular fact that P. Rossi was hated by all parties, and that his death was mourned as much as his disappearance was greeted, for it was a relief to all.

Raffaello Giovagnoli, one of the most brilliant and accurate writers of Italy, spent many years upon the study of this crime, and as an outcome of his researches he published a well-pondered and ably-written book,<sup>1</sup> in which he gives a full and accurate account of the life and death of P. Rossi. As to his death, he does away with all sorts of legends, and clearly states that the crime was perpetrated by a young man, Luigi Brunetti, the son of Cicernacchio, the ringleader

<sup>1</sup> Raffaello Giovagnoli. *Pellegrino Rossi e la Rivoluzione Romana su documenti nuovi*. Roma: Tipografia del Senato. 1898.

of the Roman revolutionary party of 1848-49, and that it was a kind of national avenger, as P. Rossi had betrayed the patriotic expectations by insulting Piedmont, sending an army against Garibaldi, and intriguing with Naples and Austria. Giovagnoli of course condemns the crime, as it has been condemned by all other writers, but he leads the reader to think that without that crime Rossi would not have extricated herself out of the chaos in which she then found herself. We have before us but the first volume, which ends with the first part of the criminal investigation against the alleged murderers of P. Rossi, and we must therefore wait the second, whose publication is already announced, to see how it came to pass that Luigi Brunetti, the murderer, who was known by all as such, escaped punishment, and Sante Costantini was beheaded for a crime he had not committed. The book is splendidly and clearly written, but it is not the best of Giovagnoli; his masterpiece remains *Spartaco*, a work which stands deservedly amongst the best written books of our age, and which has had, in Italy and abroad, many editions.

Dr. Theodore Duka has vindicated the memory of a brave Hungarian, General Görgei, in his historical essay entitled *Kossuth and Görgei*.<sup>1</sup> This essay is based on the Hungarian work of Dr. Peter Busbach entitled *Egy Viharos emberötto*. It is contended that the final catastrophe of Villagos, in the campaign of 1849, was rendered inevitable by the military reverses incurred through General Dembinsky, and that Görgei had under the circumstances no alternative but to surrender. It is urged by Dr. Busbach, on whose authority Dr. Duka relies, that if Kossuth had handed over the conduct of the war absolutely to Görgei, he might have succeeded in the winter campaign in the Carpathians. Kossuth is thus blamed for the misfortunes which fell on his country—it appears to us rather unjustly. The essay places the Hungarian struggle for independence in a new light.

The concluding part of F. Ratzel's *History of Mankind*<sup>2</sup> deals with Asiatic forms of belief, with the Caucasian races, and finally with the Europeans. A rather complimentary reference is made to the Chinese, who are described as "the most tolerant of all the great Buddhist nations." The illustrations are excellent.

The *Life of Sir Charles Tilston Bright*<sup>3</sup> is a work which would have been more interesting if it were compressed into half the space, written in a pithy and lucid style, and freed from certain unnecessary details. Sir Charles Tilston Bright was one of the great pioneers of modern progress. To him is due the practical realisation of the Atlantic cable—a work which has revolutionised international rela-

<sup>1</sup> *Kossuth and Görgei*. Recollections of a "Stormy Period." An Historical Essay. By Theodore Duka, M.D., F.R.C.S. Hertford: S. Austin & Sons.

<sup>2</sup> *The History of Mankind*. By F. Ratzel. Illustrated. London and New York: Macmillan & Co.

<sup>3</sup> *The Life-Story of the late Sir Charles Tilston Bright, C.E.* By his brother Edward B. Bright and his son Charles Bright, F.R.S.E. Two vols. London: A. Constable and Co.

tions, and brought the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race into almost immediate touch with one another. It was in 1849 that the first submarine cable was laid off Folkestone in an experimental fashion. In 1854 Mr. Cyrus Field, an American, formed a syndicate and acquired the sole right of landing cables for a term of years on Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Maine. In 1856 he formed, with Bright, the Atlantic Telegraph Company. The cable was made in 1857. The laying-out was commenced in August, 1857, by the war-ships *Agamemnon* and *Niagara*. There were many obstacles, which rendered it necessary for the ships to give up the attempt. In June 1858 a second start was made. The two ships were to begin in the middle of the Atlantic. A terrible storm nearly capsized the *Agamemnon*, and one of her coils of cable got tangled up. Both ships returned and started once more, when forty miles were laid, but a fresh break took place. A fracture occurred in the cable some miles from either ship, caused either by a whale or a rock. In the later period of cable-laying the *Great Eastern* was employed. This was in 1865 and 1866, when a new cable was successfully laid. Sir Charles Bright's name will ever be associated with this colossal undertaking. He afterwards laid cables between Cuba and the United States. This formed, in fact, only the commencement of a vast submarine system, which he had for some time in view, for linking into the world's telegraphs the whole series of West Indian colonies, including the islands belonging to England, France, Denmark, and formerly to Spain, as well as Central America at Colon, Panama, and Georgetown, Demarara. The history of the West India cables occupies 150 pages in the biography. Sir Charles Bright died in 1888 at a comparatively early age. He is buried in Chiswick churchyard. The modern telegraph system owes much to him, and as long as the Atlantic rolls between England and America, its name and that of its first cable will be associated with that of Sir Charles Tilston Bright.

The translation of the great work of Ferdinand Gregorovius, *The History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*,<sup>1</sup> has been done by Annie Hamilton with great fidelity. Gregorovius takes a very comprehensive view of the subject, but, as might be expected, he is not entirely fair to the Papacy. On the other hand, the character of Frederick Barbarossa is painted rather as that of a great national hero than of an unscrupulous and cruel despot. In the six volumes into which the work is divided will be found an enormous amount of historical research.

The volume in the "Victorian Era Series" on *Charles Kingsley and the Christian Social Movement*<sup>2</sup> will be read with deep interest. The

<sup>1</sup> *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*. By Ferdinand Gregorovius. Translated from the German by Annie Hamilton. Two vols. London: George Bell and Sons.

<sup>2</sup> *Charles Kingsley and the Christian Social Movement*. By Charles Stubbs, D.D., Dean of Ely. London: Blackie & Sons.

portion of the book dealing with the relations between Frederick Denison Maurice and Charles Kingsley is very striking. It shows that the author of *Yeast* and *Westward Ho!* looked upon himself as a disciple of Maurice. We cannot agree with the exaggerated estimate of Kingsley as a poet which Dean Stubbs gives us in the closing chapter. The truth is, he was an enthusiast without any definite philosophy except a vague kind of Christian humanism. In literature his best work was as a novelist, and he is not exactly a writer of the first rank. . .

Mr. Jeremiah Curtin's work, *Creation Myths of Primitive America*,<sup>1</sup> has considerable ethnological importance. These myths form a complete system; they give a circumstantial account of the origin of the world and of its inhabitants. In the American scheme of creation man stands apart; he is quite alone. To the American myth-makers the white man was unknown. The system describes "the world of the first people" as living in peace and happiness up to the time when the minds of all, save a small number, were changed, when a period of conflict and struggle set in, which did not cease till the great majority of the first people were changed into the various kinds of living creatures that are on the earth except man. The legend of Norivan, which, in some respects, resembles the tale of Helen of Troy, shows the physical views of manly attractiveness which dominated the minds of Indian women, at least at the time when the legend had its birth. Norivan rejects one suitor because he has a bad breath, another because his legs are too short, and a third because he has too much breast. Mr. Curtin's introduction is erudite and full of valuable suggestions.

---

#### BELLES LETTRES.

IN his admirable volume, *Poetik*,<sup>2</sup> Herr Eugen Wolff deals luminously and comprehensively with the art of poetry and the illustrations of it furnished by men of genius. Shakespeare, Milton, Goethe, Schiller, and Byron are dealt with critically, and the author shows a knowledge of general literature which is very extensive. Wagner is also viewed as a poetic artist, and rightly so, for, next to Goethe, he is perhaps the greatest German creative genius. This work will attract many readers not only by its style but its masterly grasp of the subject. .

<sup>1</sup> *Creation Myths of Primitive America in Relation to the Religious History and Mental Development of Mankind.* By Jeremiah Curtin. Part I. London: Williams and Norgate.

<sup>2</sup> *Poetik: Die Geselseder. Poesie in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung.* Ein Grundriss. Von Eugen Wolff. Oldenburg und Leipzig: A. Schwartz.

Mr. Henry Arthur Jones is nothing if not adventurous. He has written plays dealing with nearly all sorts of subjects. In *The Physician*<sup>1</sup> he has attempted to portray a medical man of a romantic type, and not exactly with success. Dr. Lewin Carey has a love-affair with Lady Valerie Camville, a married woman living apart from her husband. She breaks off the affair, and he is disconsolate. Just as he is about to leave London, and to transfer his practice to his friend Dr. Brooker, Walter Amphiel, a sufferer from neurasthenia, comes to consult him. Amphiel is known as a temperance crusader, but is in reality a dipsomaniac. He is engaged to Edana Hinde, the charming daughter of the Rev. Peregrine Hinde, Vicar of Fontleas. By a curious coincidence, on the same day, the clergyman's daughter calls on Dr. Carey to ask him to look after her intended husband's health. Dr. Carey goes to Fontleas, an obscure parish, takes up his residence at the Abbot's Kitchen, where visitors can get comfortable rooms, undertakes Amphiel's care, falls in love with Edana, throws overboard his old flame Lady Valerie, and marries his patient's fiancée, the unfortunate Walter having previously died (how very convenient!) from the effects of a bad wetting caught during a long voyage. The character of Dr. Carey is that of a nympholeptic cad; but Mr. Jones tries to make it not only acceptable but attractive. Amphiel is entirely untrue to life. The entire play is artificial and absurd. Lady Valerie is the only character who can be said to possess any real human nature. The drama has absolutely no literary merit. It was, however, acted by Mr. Charles Wyndham at the Criterion Theatre, and played by Sir Henry Irving at the Lyceum. So much for public taste in England in matters theatrical at the present time!

Messrs. Ward, Lock & Co. have brought out a good edition of Whyte-Melville's well-known Assyrian romance, *Sarchedon*.<sup>2</sup> The frontispiece illustrates the scene described in the second chapter of a horsemen stumbling over the carcase of a lion gnawed by vultures. The volume is beautifully printed, and will be acceptable to those who have never read, or desire to re-read, this "legend of the Great Queen."

The Eversley Edition of Shakespeare's works, edited with introductions and notes by Dr. Herford,<sup>3</sup> is designed rather for the cultivated but not learned reader than for the professed Shakespearean or the examinee. The editor, it is to be feared, has shown too much regard for the "ignobile vulgus." In adhering to the old design of the plays into Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies, he has sinned

<sup>1</sup> *The Physician*. An Original Play in Four Acts. By Henry Arthur Jones. London: Macmillan & Co.

<sup>2</sup> *Sarchedon: a Legend of the Great Queen*. By G. J. Whyte-Melville. Illustrated by S. E. Waller. London: Ward, Lock & Co., Ltd.

<sup>3</sup> *Works of Shakespeare*. (The Eversley Edition.) Edited by C. H. Herford, in two vols. Vol. I. London: Macmillan & Co.

against logic and the higher canons of criticism. The four plays in the first volume are *Love's Labours Lost*, *The Comedy of Errors*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, and *The Midsummer Night's Dream*. The short introduction to each play is written in a luminous and masterly style. The text is clearly printed, and the notes are very useful.

A play entitled *Affinities*<sup>1</sup> has been written by a lady of unquestionable talent [Miss] Zula Maud Woodhull. The plot of the drama is original, striking, and thoroughly unconventional. Edmund Teslett, a distinguished physicist, lives a life of solitary study in Cambridge. He avoids the society of women, his father having conceived a passionate attachment to Lady Eleanor Carmnath, a sister of the Marquis of Camelot, and having come to grief over the affair. Lady Olga, the daughter of Lord Camelot, having heard of the story from her father, is most anxious to make Edmund Teslett's acquaintance. She speaks to Miss Teslett, the aunt of Edmund Teslett, about the matter, and proposes that she should be invited to his house as a guest under the name of Miss Tremaine. Miss Teslett falls in with this suggestion, and the supposed Miss Tremaine comes on a visit to Edmund Teslett's house. During her visit she meets Marco Palladini, a celebrated violinist, and Stella Colonna, a famous pianist, and some curious discussions are carried on between Marco, Teslett, and Lady Olga, with regard to the question of natural affinities. Teslett believes in magic, which he regards as a "higher form of common knowledge." He brings science to the aid of mysticism, and points out to Lady Olga that while ordinary electrical currents of low frequency would kill, currents of high frequency of a potential of 200,000 volts vibrating a million times a second could be sent through the body with impunity. To Lady Olga the physicist's investigations have an indefinable attraction. She desires that he should continue his experiments as if she were not present. He tries the experiment of exciting a tuning-fork to a certain pitch, whereupon another vibrates in sympathy. Even when one tuning-fork is damped, the other still continued to vibrate. Teslett points out to Lady Olga that this principle operates in the case of mental telegraphy. Teslett's enthusiasm has a magnetic influence on Lady Olga. She feels a mysterious change coming over her, as if a new birth were taking place within her. She listens to Marco playing on the violin and Stella on the piano in the adjoining room. She looks into Teslett's face, and exclaims: "I love you." He replies: "You are deceiving yourself or me." Lady Olga says: "Neither: mine is a nature not to be carried away by a passing whim."

The interview ends without any declaration of love on the part of Teslett. After he has gone, his aunt, Miss Teslett, comes into the room, and finding Lady Olga alone, asks her whether anything had

<sup>1</sup> *Affinities*. A Play. By Zula Maud Woodhull. 1899.

happened. Lady Olga confesses that she had told Edmund she loved him. Miss Teslett is surprised, but says it was only a momentary impulse, and that ere long the incident will be forgotten. Here is Lady Olga's answer: "Not so: to-night's experience I shall never forget. It is burnt in upon my brain." At this point a servant enters with a note for Miss Teslett from her nephew, stating that he had received a letter from a friend asking him to go and see him at once, and that he would be unable to return before Lady Olga leaves. Two years elapse, and in the last act we find Miss Teslett and Marco together in Edmund Teslett's house at Cambridge. Teslett has, in the meantime, been absent from England. Lady Olga has been married to Sir Hugh Pollexfen, one of her admirers, whom she deserted, and who thereupon drank himself to death. Teslett suddenly appears on the scene, looking sunburnt and in excellent health. He hears from his aunt and Marco about Lady Olga's marriage and separation from her husband. Teslett admits that he had loved Lady Olga, but adds that when he realised with what force this passion had taken possession of him, he determined to conquer it with all his strength. The result of the struggle he is unable himself to determine. All he knows is that the future is a blank to him. Marco and he now discuss the chemical theory of affinity. While they are talking learnedly, a knock is heard; the door is slowly opened, and Lady Olga enters and leans against the door, slowly swinging backwards and forwards. Thus by an unaccountable impulse both Teslett and Olga had come to the same place, and the play ends with a reunion of the lovers. The last words exchanged between Lady Olga and Teslett are these:

"LADY OLGA: And when I first met you, though I knew it not then, I could dream of no life in which yours did not form a part.

"TESLETT: We are, indeed, puppets moved by an unseen hand at the game."

The play is not exactly a reproduction of real life. People do not talk in modern society, or in any walk of life, like Lady Olga and Teslett. The writer of *Affinities* falls into the same error as Ibsen, who makes use of his characters as the interpreters of his own views on philosophy of existence. The play is, however, full of suggestiveness and indicates a daring order of intellect. We will not venture to pronounce an opinion on the matter-of-fact question as to whether *Affinities* would be successful as an acting play.





THE  
WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

VOL. CLI. No. 6.—JUNE 1899.

“FINANCIAL POLTROONERY.”

“WHIG” AND TORY.

THE Budget introduced by Sir Michael Hicks-Beach is of a piece with the essentially cowardly character of “the strongest Government of modern times.”

Contrary to general expectation, the financial year 1898–1899, more by good luck than by good management, closed with a realised surplus of £186,000—the revenue (exclusive of the Local Taxation Accounts) having been £108,336,000, and the expenditure £108,150,000. But the estimate for the current year, 1899–1900, showed a deficit of £2,640,000—estimated expenditure £112,927,000; estimated revenue (exclusive of Local Taxation Accounts) £110,287,000.

And how did Sir Michael Hicks-Beach meet this temporary deficit?

First and foremost he proposed a permanent reduction of the sum available for the payment of the National Debt. Two millions a year, which capitalised mean from £60,000,000 to £70,000,000 sterling, were to be taken from what Sir Henry Fowler truly described as the nation’s “strongest and most impregnable bulwark of defence financially.” “Our only war-chest,” said Sir Henry, “is this provision for the repayment of these large sums annually to the Debt. Not only is this war-chest powerful in enhancing our financial reputation, but it is powerful in that it would enable us to at once raise £200,000,000 or £250,000,000 without adding a penny to the taxation of the country.” Then £450,000 were to be raised by new or increased stamp duties, and £420,000 by new or increased wine duties; leaving a margin for contingencies of £230,000.



Sir Michael succeeded, as he was bound to succeed, in carrying his main proposals. The Government had a record majority, and that record majority did as it was told; but throughout the debate the Opposition had all the best of the argument, and the more independent members of their own party strongly condemned the Government policy.

The formidable indictment against the Chancellor of the Exchequer was admirably summed up by Sir William Harcourt, when in the debate on the second reading he said :

"He entered into office heir to a highly solvent estate. He has reduced it to a declaration of partial insolvency. . . . He inherited a large revenue. He has disposed of it merrily among a favoured few. It so happens that the funds of which he now stands in need, and for which he is going to rob the fund for the liquidation of the Debt, amount almost exactly to the sums he has bestowed on agricultural rates and on Voluntary schools."

But the matter was put even more plainly by the *Daily Chronicle* in the following statement of account which headed its leading article of April 14 :

THE TORY GOVERNMENT IN ACCOUNT WITH THE BRITISH PEOPLE.  
1893-1900.

Dr.	£	Cr.	£
Surplus of 1895-96 . . .	4,200,000	Increased Cost of Navy, } 1896-1900 . . .	6,900,000
Increase of Revenue, } 1896-1900 . . .	10,500,000	Dole to English Landlords . .	1,350,000
Reduction in fixed charge } of Debt . . .	2,000,000	" Scotch " . . .	450,000
Addition to Taxation, } 1899-1900 . . .	900,000	" Irish " . . .	750,000
		" West Indian Planters . .	225,000
		" Parsons . . .	625,000
		General Increase in Expen- } diture . . .	7,070,000
		Estimated Surplus, 1899-1900 .	230,000
	<u>£17,600,000</u>		<u>£17,600,000</u>

The doles to favoured classes amount, it will be seen, to an annual charge of £3,400,000, while the proposals to meet the deficit account for £2,900,000. "It is therefore," as the *Chronicle* points out, "as clear as the noonday sun that but for the vicarious generosity of a spendthrift Government there would be no necessity to tamper with Debt repayment, no need to increase taxation, and instead of a paltry surplus of £230,000, there would be a substantial one of three-quarters of a million." Sir Michael's contention that the increase in expenditure is mainly due to the great growth of our armaments is disposed of by the fact that "Army and Navy together only account for £9,000,000 out of the enormous increase of £17,600,000 in four years."

Throughout the Budget debate the Opposition most certainly had the best of the argument. The case against the raid on the Sinking Fund was put with overwhelming force, but there were several points, not only as regards the Government proposals, but also as

regards the financial record of the late Liberal Government and the present attitude of the Liberal "leaders" on matters financial, on which one would have expected to hear some plain speaking from Radical members.

A much stronger case, for instance, might have been made out against the injustice of indirect taxation.

"Sir Henry Fowler, speaking at Willenhall on April 6," says *the Westminster Gazette*, "gave an admirably lucid review of our present financial position, and of the incidence of taxation. . . . Excluding that part of the revenue which is in the nature of profit—e.g., the Post Office—the total income gained from taxes is £99,000,000. Of this, direct taxation gives £48,000,000 and indirect £51,000,000. The working classes practically pay no *direct* taxation; but in eating, drinking, and smoking they pay the great bulk of the indirect. Thus we have:

"(1) The 'masses' (two-thirds of the whole) pay £45,000,000 a year.

"(2) 'The 'classes' (one-third) pay £54,000,000. Where two working men pay together 5d., one 'black coat' has to contribute 6d. But it is certain that the black coat can better afford the 6d. than the individual workman can the 2½d."

It is very certain that he can do so, for according to the *Financial Reform Almanack's* table, "How the Wealth is Distributed," while *one-half of a per cent.* (0.5 per cent.) of the population—200,115 persons in all—have accreted to themselves £8,879,169,527 or 70 per cent. of the total property of the United Kingdom; 36,463,517 souls—92.4 per cent. of the total population, comprising 669,231 persons who own up to £100 worth of property apiece, 31,847,828 of the disinherited, 3,835,962 of the "submerged tenth," less 93,627 paupers and 11,869 criminals—own between them—such of them as own anything—£39,039,478 or 0.31 per cent. only of the total wealth of the United Kingdom! With such figures at their disposal it should have been possible for the Radical members of the House to give a simply damning exposure of the gross injustice of indirect taxation.

Then, again, it was apparently left to Sir S. Montagu and Mr. Broadhurst to voice the demand for the taxation of land values, though it may be that Sir William Harcourt dimly glimpsed at it at the close of his speech of May 2, when he said:

"I entirely agree with the right hon. gentleman the member for Bodmin that the lesson taught by the inquiry into the financial relations of Ireland is this—that a disproportionate burden of indirect taxation is a great injustice to a poor community. What is true in the case of Ireland is true of the poor communities scattered about in every part of the United Kingdom, and if we have a great and growing revenue it is for the relief of the burden of the poorer classes of the community that our wealth ought to be distributed. (Cheers.) We have done something in that direction, but there is more still to be done. I say, and indeed I know, there are classes of property which are still undertaxed. (Cheers.)"

Mr. Goschen's speech, as to "the connection between wages and

rent " at Deptford, afforded an opportunity, too, for a crushing refutation of the Tory denial that the Agricultural Rating Act is a Landlord Relief Act pure and simple. And did not Sir William Harcourt show on May 2 that even the dole to the clergy filtered through in large part into the pockets of the landlords? Speaking of the £600,000 allotted to Voluntary schools, Sir William said, "I am told also it has been *appropriated to the payment of rents*, and not to the improvement of education—('No, no!')—to a considerable degree. I believe, it has been diverted from the purpose it was avowedly intended for. ('Hear, hear!' and 'No, no!')"

Again, what a chance Mr. Purvis, in his speech of April 20, gave the opponents of "the policy of grab" to show that it is the landlords—and the landlords alone—who benefit by our lavish expenditure on "expansion," and that it is they, therefore, who ought to pay for it.

"If the time ever came," said Mr. Purvis, "that we should stand still in regard to expenditure on our Army and Navy, we would have to stand aside and allow a stronger nation to reap the fruits of empire. Then the grass would grow in the streets of our great cities, and the time of pastoral simplicity for which his honourable friend the member for Northampton sighed would have arrived. But until that time came we must make up our mind to bear the burdens as well as to reap the fruits of empire."

Oh that some Radical member had risen to his feet and pointed out that, if the grass were to grow in the streets of our great cities, it is the rent-rolls of the Dukes of Westminster, Bedford, and Portland, and all their kind, that would be chiefly affected! that by Mr. Purvis's own showing it is the landlords that "reap the fruits of empire," and that it is, therefore, but simple justice that, as in the old feudal days, the land should "bear the burdens."

It was not without some justification that Sir William Harcourt, on April 20, in the course of his denunciation of the suspension of the Sinking Fund, said:

"Sir, I venture to say that we on this side of the House have earned a right to condemn such a policy as that. We at least did not in our time succumb to the temptations to which you have so weakly yielded. No doubt we had our faults. (Ministerial laughter.) Yes; but we were incapable of your financial poltroonery. (Cheers.) We were in a very different position from you. . . . What was your temptation to suspend the Sinking Fund compared with that which was offered to us with all our political and all our financial difficulties in those days? . . . We presented a scheme to meet the national liabilities, which received the assent of the House of Commons and the approval of the country. ('No!') It was a financial scheme which by majorities of 13 we passed through the House of Commons, and which you, with your majority of 150, have not dared to alter. (Loud cheers.) . . . We trusted the public to make provision for our expenditure. You do not dare to trust the public, for you have shirked calling upon them to meet your liabilities."

Sir William certainly deserves credit for his determination at a

time of such difficulty to meet expenditure out of current revenue ; but even he cannot be entirely absolved from the charge of "financial poltroonery."

The Liberal Government of 1892-95 got into power on the Newcastle Programme, in which they were pledged to the hilt to the following financial reforms :

- Taxation of Ground Values—local and Imperial.
- Taxation of Mining Royalties.
- Returning Officers' Expenses to be placed on the Rates.
- Payment of Members.
- Equalisation of the Death Duties ; and
- A Free Breakfast-table.

Such were their promises. What was their performance ?

In his Budget of 1893, Sir William Harcourt simply "put a penny in the slot"—that is to say, a penny on the Income Tax. The three points of the "epoch-making" Budget of 1894 were : (1) Death Duties ; (2) the Principle of Graduation ; and (3) Increase of the Beer and Spirit Duties. That the alleged equalisation of the Death Duties was a sham Sir William Harcourt himself demonstrated when he said :

"Under the plan of the Government the increase of the Death Duties on personalty will be £2,130,000, and upon realty £1,320,000 (!). *But on the total of £1,320,000 put upon realty we have given compensation under Schedule (A) of the Income Tax amounting to £600,000.* That will leave the net additional charge upon realty £700,000, of which sum £350,000 or £400,000 is asked from the landed interests of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland as their contribution to the defence of the country, and to place their taxation upon an equality with that of other classes and interests"!!

And from his reply during the Budget debate of 1895 to those wolves in sheep's clothing, the landlords who have the hardihood to call themselves "the representatives of the agricultural interest," it would seem that Sir William actually contemplated "compensating" the land "owners" still further, so as to complete undoing with his left hand what he made such a parade of having done with his right.

"The honourable member for Hampshire," said Sir William (*Times* report, May 3, 1895), "complained that I said nothing to express sympathy and proposed no remedy for depression in the landed interest. It is not from any want of sympathy. I said nothing ; it was from a want of means. I take great interest in the depression of the landed interest ; but what can I say ? If I had any money to give away, they would be among the first persons who would be deserving of the sympathy of the House ; but I have *no money* to give away. The honourable member asked why I did not give away the Land Tax. How can I ? It is a difficult question. . . . But I have no hesitation in saying that I regard the Land Tax, in its present position, as altogether unsatisfactory."

The Land Tax in its present position is altogether unsatisfactory. It is supposed to be a tax of 4s. in the £ levied upon the true annual value of the land, but, as a matter of fact, it is levied on the values of 1692, instead of on the values of to-day, and it brings in £1,000,000 only, instead of the £32,000,000 to £42,000,000 that it would produce if levied, as it should be, on present values. That, however, is hardly what Sir William Harcourt meant when he said that "the Land Tax, in its present position, is altogether unsatisfactory."

It may be interesting to note in passing that the present Government's doles to the landlords—£2,550,000 in all—more than compensate them, not only for the increase in the Death Duties, but for the old Land Tax as well. Sir William Harcourt's recommendation of the landlords as "among the first persons deserving of the sympathy of the House" has borne good fruit!

In his Budget of 1895 our "Liberal" Chancellor of the Exchequer simply remitted the duty on spirits because it had brought in little or no revenue.

It may be urged that, with his small and precarious majority, Sir William Harcourt could not have passed a strong Budget. Granted; but would it not have been better to have courted defeat on a sound democratic Finance Bill, rather than go to the country on the paltry cordite issue? To have been defeated in the House on a Budget such as we suggest would have been the prelude to certain victory at the polls. The mere making of a Budget statement on such lines would have thrilled and electrified the country from end to end.

Sir William Harcourt escaped the pit into which Sir Michael Hicks-Beach has fallen. He avoided that particular form of "financial poltroonery." But who shall say that his repeated failure to redeem the clear and explicit financial pledges given in the Newcastle Programme did not constitute poltroonery equally heinous?

And that poltroonery, be it noted, is not a thing of the past. Sir William Harcourt, and the other "leaders" of the Liberal party—for they must all bear their share of the responsibility—have hitherto failed to give any clear and straightforward pledge that if returned to power at the next General Election they will make it their first business to redeem the Budget promises of the Newcastle Programme. That should be their first business for the sole and sufficient reason that *financial reforms are the only Liberal reforms that the House of Lords cannot block.*

To Sir William Harcourt's failure in his three successive Budgets to redeem the Budget pledges of the Liberal party—a failure which can only be regarded as deliberate and flagrant political dishonesty or as one of those blunders which are worse than crimes—is to be attributed the crushing defeat of that party at the last General Election. And by their failure to come out fairly and squarely on

a sound democratic Budget the Liberal "leaders" are now imperiling the chances of the Democracy at the next General Election.

The Liberal "leaders," either deliberately or through sheer incompetence, are betraying the Democracy of this country into the hands of the enemy—into the hands of monopoly and privilege. Did they do their duty and pledge themselves hard and fast to introduce in their very first session a truly democratic Budget, including Payment of Members and of Election Expenses, the Abolition of the Breakfast-table Duties, Old-Age Pensions, and the Taxation of Land Values (4s. in the £ on present values), and a Bill to Empower Local Bodies to Tax Land Values, the Democracy would rally manfully to their support, and the success of the Liberal party at the polls would be assured. But the "leaders" give no sign.

We must have Payment of Members and of Election Expenses in order that the Democracy may be truly represented in Parliament. Mr. W. S. Caine, M.P., very nearly hit the right nail on the head when, in a letter to the *Daily Chronicle* with regard to the failure of the Liberal party to find a candidate for the vacancy in the Aylesbury division, he said :

"If the Liberal party is to remain a living force in the country, it must cease to depend upon the dirty contents of a party war-chest; and, when next in power, put the legitimate cost of elections to Parliament on the Consolidated Fund, and pay members of Parliament £200 or £300 a year, not as a salary, but as a recouping compensation of their inevitable out-of-pocket expenses."

Had he advocated the payment of election expenses and payment of Members "out and out," he would have hit the nail squarely on the head.

"There is," said Mr. Caine in the same letter, "a common delusion that there are two mysterious offices in Westminster, belonging to the two great parties in the State, from which gold flows for political purposes at the turning of a tap. It is true that previous to a General Election each party raises a fund by methods such as have recently been made public by Mr. Hooley; but the Liberal party finds it more and more difficult to get its fund up to a working capital: a General Election exhausts it in very small grants to poorer candidates, and not a coin can be had for bye-elections. The party fund gets more and more meagre every election, for the buyers of peerages and baronetcies drift inevitably into the Tory shop, where the articles are cheaper and delivery of purchases more certain."

Vemily, the issue lies between "Hooleyism" and Democracy, and those who in this matter are not with us heart and soul are against us.

The Breakfast-Table Duties must be Abolished, for they are a gross injustice and an intolerable burden on every working-class household.

We must have Old-Age Pensions, for the Democracy can no longer

allow those who have borne the heat and burden of the day to end their lives in the workhouse while idle landlords roll in luxury.

We must have the Taxation of Land Values in order to appropriate sufficient of "the community's earnings" to meet these, the community's crying needs.

We must have Power for Local Bodies to Tax Land Values in order to solve the ever-intensifying housing problem. The vital necessity for the taxation of land and the absolute hopelessness of all attempts to improve the position of the working classes while leaving land monopoly untouched could scarcely be more strongly exemplified than in Mr. Goschen's reply to the motion by which, on April 14, Mr. A. H. A. Morton, Tory member for Deptford, called attention to the inadequate wages paid to labourers in Deptford Victualling Yard. Captain Norton, Liberal member for Newington West, had strongly supported Mr. Morton's motion, and contended that the Government did not pay a living wage :

"He could," he said, "give many instances of the hardships suffered by the men. One who had a wife and family paid for some time 10s. 6d. weekly for three small rooms. Somebody might ask why he did not remove. Because working men in South London were in a position precisely similar to that of the wretched cottars in Ireland some years ago. The landlord held them in the hollow of his hand. Not only would it be useless for the labourer in question to remove, but he recently received notice that his rent would be raised to 12s. This left him 8s. 6d. a week with which to keep his family and himself. To eke out a subsistence they were compelled to take into their wretched rooms a man lodger, who paid 3s. weekly for bed and washing. The labourer tried to earn a little extra by mending shoes after leaving his work at Deptford Yard. Another case was that of a labourer who paid 7s. 6d. a week for two rooms, leaving 12s. 6d. for the food and clothing of three persons. The houses in which he resided were insanitary. The state of these poor people would be less miserable if the Government would act up to the resolution of the House declaring that the average wages of the district should be paid. While the Government were giving as little as 19s. a week to the labourer, contractors were paying 26s., and yet Ministers had obtained power by talking about old-age pensions." (Cheers.)

Mr. Goschen replied, says the *Daily News*, that

"Captain Norton's own remarks showed the connection between wages and rent. If the condition of labourers in South London was what he had said, it was obviously due more to sweating landlords than to lack of another shilling or two in wages. While wages in the last ten years had risen 20 per cent., house rent had advanced 50 per cent.—(Hear, hear)—and he (Mr. Goschen) was informed that in these districts improvement in wages constantly went to a large extent into the pockets of landlords, who were already receiving high rents. (Hear, hear.) The housing of the poor in some of the districts had, he admitted amid cheers, reached a deplorable condition, both socially and economically, which ought, 'if possible,' to be remedied. While he suggested that the local authorities should move in the matter, he went so far as to express his willingness to see if the Government could do anything to house some 150 labourers, who were rated on the lower scale of pay."

Said the London *Echo*, commenting on the above :

"No one knows better than Mr. Goschen that the benefit does not remain with the 'owners of cottage property' unless they are the freeholders. As soon as the leases fall in the benefit accrues to the ground landlords. Mr. Goschen is an expert on questions of local taxation. Why does he not advise his colleagues in the Ministry to go in for the taxation of land values?"

That is, perhaps, too much to expect. But, in view of the Newcastle Programme, it is not too much to expect—we have a right to expect; nay, we have a right to demand—that the Liberal "leaders" shall recognise the vital importance of the taxation of land values, and at once inscribe that reform upon their banners as the battle-cry for the next General Election.

It may be thought that, in returning again and yet again to this subject, we are too persistent. We hold, however, that, in voicing a demand for fundamental justice, one cannot be too importunate. "Delenda est Carthago," declared Cato in the days of ancient Rome, and he stuck to his text till Carthage was destroyed. "Delenda sunt latifundia" shall be our watchword till land monopoly is no more.



## WILL THE LIBERALS REPENT AND BE BORN AGAIN?

THE Liberal Party, like Corin, is in a "parlous state"; and this is the way of it.

The present Government, when it took office, was under promise to give the country rest. The pace had been too fast. Tired out by his railways and telegraphs, his clanking engines and roaring factories, the "weary Titan" drooped, and voted for a party which would soothe him with "yet a little sleep, a little slumber, a little folding of the hands to sleep." The century of the Reform Bill, the Corn Laws, and Popular Education; of Peel and Bright and Gladstone; which saw the first bold blows struck at Church Establishments and the Drink Trade, and all but gave Home Rule to the families of the United Kingdom, rounded upon its past, and committed its dying years to the professors of political quietism. Since when, nothing but alarms and excursions!

By what means has this forsworn Parliament held on its way with so little loss to name and fame? The answer is blazoned on the Opposition benches, whose failures—as across the tennis-net—have gone to swell the victorious score. A discredited Government has been covered by a demoralised Opposition. The smash of the Liberal Party at the polls was followed by less searching of hearts and more sifting of programmes than was good. In the former exercise was health and hope, for it would have asked whether the Liberal Party had not lost sight of principles in the making of programmes, had not begun to value programmes by the votes they captured rather than the virtues they represented, had not welcomed candidates of the flat-fish order—with both eyes on one side of the head—the side next the polling-booth—had not withered under the delusion that the people cared more for material interests than great truths, had not traced success at the polls to the largeness of the bribe, had not set disaster down to a mere miscalculation of the wire-pullers rather than to religious sacrifice for conscience's sake. The after-criticism of the Newcastle Programme was almost wholly of the catch-vote order—few defending it as a religious attempt to front every responsibility, and plant the banner of reform on the outermost ramparts of the possible, but many denouncing it as a

fatuous attempt to give too many bribes at the same time. The Liberal Party was even invited to retrace some of its footsteps, drop some of its causes, and abandon the people in certain things that touched them nearly, at the very hour they seemed to be coming within reach. Like the youth whom Dante encountered in the realms of shade, the Liberal Party was tempted—and for the same reasons—to make the great refusal; and the great refusal might very well become the great betrayal. It perished at the polls because it had, for the time, ceased to be the party of ideals, the party of “causes,” the party of the people, the party of all that is abominable to the wire-puller and the whip; because many of its candidates were not Home Rulers at heart, not Local Vetoists at heart, not Electoral and Parliament Reformers at heart, not Labour men at heart, not Educationists at heart, not Economists at heart; because every one of these great ends was held open to nullifying compromise with Capitalist gold, or Second Chamber prestige, or Unionist alliance. If it will, for a little time yet, postpone the making of programmes, and give itself to the searching of hearts, the Liberal Party will find that it was good for it that it was afflicted; that its greatest danger is not Conservative reaction, but Liberal demoralisation; that it must repent and be born again, or pass the tools of reform to some new combination of political elements, leaving its great Puritan to sum up its history and write its epitaph in the biography of William Ewart Gladstone.

The possibility of a new party, resembling the “Populist” party of W. J. Bryan, is emerging out of the general flux, and is foreshadowed by signalings and cipher-messages between Liberals and Unionists, and, on the other side, by conferences between Radicals and Labour men. If a re-union between Chamberlainites and Rosebervites should be effected, it could be only on the basis of the new Imperial-Liberalism, and would definitely mark the abandonment of “Populist” causes to the Radical and Labour men, who would be drawn together on the basis of the old Radical doctrines with new applications—the doctrines of Peace (including anti-Imperialism), Retrenchment (including Economy and adjustment of Taxation), and Reform (including Constitutional amendments and Social developments). This new party would inherit the work, if not the name of the Liberal Party, and has its first leader already appointed by destiny; for if, as is most probable, Morley’s *Life of Gladstone* is published about the time of the Government’s resignation, the event would mark out the distinguished writer as the heir of Gladstone’s political ideas, the executor of his policies as well as his biography, and, in conjunction with his new character of Liberal Puritan and Protestant,\* would place him by divine right at the head of the Radical Populists. The rise of such a party, either by this process of natural affinity or by violent disruption, can be prevented by one

thing only—the repentance and re-birth of the Liberal Party, its return to first principles, its conversion from Baal and Tory Imperialism to Democracy, from the policy of Foreign Expansion to one which may best be described by the Carlylean compound—The-Development-of-the-People-Policy. In this process of regeneration the Liberal Party would, by necessity, have to put off a good many of its old men with their deeds; but it would take its rightful and historic place as the bringer of glad tidings to the poor, liberty to the captive, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound; as a liberator rather than a place-hunter; as the party of progress and of the people, of principle as opposed to expediency; and to that extent, and joyfully, the party of political martyrdoms.

Will the Liberal Party repent and be born again? Its day of grace is passing, but not yet past: it has yet time to get oil for its lamps; to choose whom it will serve—Imperial Baal or British Democracy. It was Napoleon who said that between the moving of troops and their actual contact with the enemy, a quarter of an hour must elapse, and that victory depended upon an accurate calculation of the moves of that brief period. The Liberal Party has a year or two in which to make its dispositions ere it engages the enemy at the polls: if, in the interval, it can interpret the conscience of the nation, and marshal its forces of progress, it need not grudge a spell of Conservative “rest” to the dying century, secure of the glorious spoils of the twentieth.

The Liberal Party must at once begin to bring forth fruits meet for repentance, and the first fruit will be a new consecration to the cause of constitutional reform. Reform of the political machine, though not always greatest in value, must generally be first in time. The first duty of Liberals is to the Constitution, amending that which time has thrown out of gear, and removing that which progress has rendered obsolete. Since the day when recreant Liberals refused to follow their glorious chief against the House of Lords, and permitted the shoutings of their mighty captain to fall dead upon their stony hearts, their sin has been visited upon them in the form of ever growing apathy and weakness. Was it a dispiriting feeling that the old policy was played out? Was the unfulfilled programme of Constitutional reform so slight as to evoke no enthusiasm and call for no sacrifice? Was the one world of the House of Lords too paltry to unsheath the sword of the conquering Alexander? Why was it that the old watchwords, with which the faithful were wont to hearten one another in the days when the unfulfilled programme looked glorious, began to lose their meaning just upon the hour of fulfilment? How was it that the once living creed had drivelled down to a shibboleth, and the old flag begun to look ridiculous? Why did the old war-cry fail to stir the blood of the old guard? Why were the elect people so sensitive to the rejoicings of the Tory Philistine

and the triumphs of the uncircumcised Socialist ? There can be but one answer that goes to the root of the thing—the Liberal Party had lost its faith—its faith, first, in itself, then in the times, then in its measures, until, like the Speaker in Browning's *Pauline*, it lapsed into a welter of political pessimism :

First went my hopes of perfecting mankind,  
And faith in them, then freedom in itself  
And virtue in itself, and then my motives, ends,  
And powers and loves, and human love went last.

The first sign of reviving faith will be a renewed consecration to the first of all Liberal works—Reform of the Constitution. The House of Lords will be deprived of its obstructive veto by direct enactment won through whatever struggles ; and no Liberal leader will be tolerated again who goes up and down the country damping down the agitation by ostentatious proclamation that he is a “second chamber man,” and suggesting to proceed by watery “resolution.” Religious equality will be brought to a timely birth out of the throes of the conflict between Parliament and Anglican Romanisers ; and the anomaly will not again be witnessed of a Liberal leader framing indictments in the *Times*, and delivering philippics in the House of Commons, without once mentioning the magic words “Disestablishment” and “Disendowment.” Home Rule will be admitted frankly and finally into the Liberal family as a legitimate child of those Liberal principles which embrace Nationalism as the fount and origin of order, progress, development, and contented citizenship. Local Veto must no more be discussed by disdainful editors and angry parliamentarians, as a concession to a set of powerful fanatics, but accepted as a measure of pure democracy, an application of Local Government to special local conditions. Electoral reform will steadily proceed till the machinery of the democratic vote is perfected—till there is a vote for every man, and no more than a vote for any man, and till, by adequate payment of members, legislative functions cease to be the monopoly of the rich. Readjustment of taxation—including taxation of ground values and mining royalties—should go hand in hand with reduction of expenditure ; and the Liberal Party, like a new and nobler Robin Hood, should curb the wild expenditure on army and navy, on pensions and offices, in order to give old-age pensions to the poor. A converted Liberal Party will, above all, renounce a strumpet Imperialism, with all the bedizenments which prank her out, and return to Nationalism, its lawful love ; will wash the paint and tear the paddings off the charmer ; will show that the path of dalliance leads inevitably to extravagance abroad and impoverishment at home, to the dominance of military ideals and the consequent decay of the ideals of industry, to the exaltation of the soldier over the citizen, to a deceptive expansion of the outer circle, and a too real contraction of inner resources ; will denounce an Imperialism

which sinks the Nation in the Empire, and proclaim a Nationalism which exalts the Nation that it may maintain the Empire; will bring the British people back from a policy which squanders means, men, and morals abroad, to a policy which fosters the home-life, develops the men, cultivates the fields, expands the industries of these British Islands, and, by making the base of our operations strong, sufficient, self-supporting, give the surest warrant of success and safety to our movements abroad.

It is thus that Constitutional Reform runs into the questions connected with Social Reform, and presents new opportunities to the growing consciousness of the Liberal Party. Candidates of a certain order have not mastered the vocabulary which has been coming into vogue these late years, and have been puzzled by the extraordinary virulence of the Socialist attack upon their flank. Socialists themselves understand the matter perfectly. Some years ago there emerged from the waste of Socialist literature a tract so terse and vivid that it sent many votes to the Independent Labour Party, and stupefied many Liberals whom it did not wholly convince. It set itself to show that a purely political programme would not "fill the bill," for that America, which had payment of members and Home Rule all round, which had no House of Lords and no Established Church—even America was far from industrial freedom and social justice! The blow fell on some minds like a sledge hammer; for though Nunquam would, no doubt, have admitted that reform of the political machine was the prelude to effective social legislation, he would have differed from the average Liberal candidate in the emphasis with which he declared that it was *but* the prelude. And the man must be bat-blind with prejudice who does not see that, as a demonstration of the inadequacy of a purely political programme, it is complete. Patent reaping machines and model bakeries are very well, but they must be followed by bread. Improved political machinery must stand first always in the Liberal programme, for it is thus that latent powers and fallow possibilities are called forth, that the fetters are struck from the limbs of democracy, and that the handicapped and unprivileged groups are brought into that sphere of free rivalry in which alone is the hope of progress; but this process must be accompanied and followed by positive and constructive social effort: your model bakery must also cheapen bread, and get it to the mouths of those who suffer honest lack.

Now that the Socialists of Great Britain have—according to their latest pronouncement—given over grimaces and swear-words, and settled down to practical politics, it will be necessary for the Liberals to readjust their attitude to them and to social legislation. Amongst all the noises that arose after the last smash, none was so gruesome as the assertion that their "socialist" proclivities had brought Liberal candidates to grief, by driving into the Tory fold many who had

formerly voted Liberal ; and the temptation to avoid disaster at the polls by refusing to "tamper" with social and labour questions was loudly voiced by disappointed landlords and angry capitalists. Socialists themselves were much to blame for this temporary fall from grace. They fancied their hour had come, and openly boasted of their determination to smash the remnant of the old Liberal guard, and play themselves off against a dismayed and submissive Conservatism. The Trafalgar Square orator invoked the red spectre of the barricades, by suggesting the looting of bakers' shops, and the presentment of naked bodies to the bullets of the Queen's infantry. The high-and-dry Liberal got into a funk, and could see the further ends of Liberal policy only through the distorting shadow of State Socialism. Terrorised by a name, he was ready to throw away the wheat with the chaff ; to abandon the prize to bolder hands for no better reason than that the crowd which hung on the outskirts of the political race-course was loud, insolent, disorderly. But that phase has passed : the Socialist has announced a programme that runs roughly parallel with Radical politics : the Liberal has begun to see that social legislation and Socialism are different things. The idea—partly confusion of thought, and partly a fretful prejudice—that social legislation was merely a truckling to Socialism, that the shout of the shiftless and thriftless for a Parliament to be their providence justified the refusal to nourish a truly human life in the democracy, that the noisy avowal that he meant to vote for his "class" was worse in a labourer than in a lord—that idea is, happily for the fortunes of the Liberal Party, tending to extinction, and thus leaving room for reviving hope in the future. For Liberalism cannot live upon the mistakes and madness of Socialism ; nor, scared by the menacing shadow, must it drop the precious substance of social reform. It is provoking, no doubt, to be assured by this handful of extremists that Liberalism is dying while Socialism is growing ; but the way to prevent the fulfilment of the prophecy is to take it to heart. The Liberal Party will certainly die if it permits itself to be terrorised by a bugbear, if it can but blindly hug the capitalist, and as blindly hang the socialist, if it will not face the new adaptations of the old principles. As, on the side of foreign politics, its dedication to the new Imperialism, so, on the side of home politics, its abdication of a social, constructive Radicalism, will mutually result in the handing of the 'key of the future to a "Populist" party which will carry the grand old doctrines of Peace, Retrenchment and Reform to new and more splendid developments.

It is not intended to suggest that there are no differences between Socialism and Radicalism, or that the Liberal Party should adopt the principles and aims of Socialism. Far from it. The differences are deep and great. But just as, in the sphere of theology, men who differ *toto cœlo* in their views of the divine nature, or human destiny,

or the sacraments and priesthood, can yet unite in the practical works of righteousness, charity, and good citizenship, so, in the sphere of politics, the Socialist who talks about equality of condition, and the Liberal who talks about equality of opportunity, can unite in the practical measures which, for many a day to come, will be common to both. It is for this reason that Liberals should welcome the recent declaration that Socialists will, henceforth, cease vapouring and wrecking, in order to join hands with those who would construct and develop.

A working alliance between Socialists and Liberals, up to the inevitable though still distant parting of the ways, would be good for both; it would deliver the former from a policy of waste and wreckage, and the latter from increased working-class suspicion and secession. The discomfiture of the Independent Labour Party at the polls must not be taken to mean that Socialism as a destructive and critical force is played out; but only that the mass of working men still believe in the fitness and willingness of the Liberal Party to follow up its programme of political liberation by a policy of social development. To avow such a policy boldly would fuse the masses into an enthusiastic army, and bring the bashi-bazouks into line; while to shirk it would as certainly mean a burial and a birth—the burial of the old Liberals, and the birth of the new People's Party.

It is the duty of Liberals to recognise that Liberalism has itself created new conditions which, in their turn, lead to new developments. Enfranchisement and free-trade have not worked out exactly as they were expected to do; the very progress of society has created facilities for new and ingenious exploitations, by which great numbers have been left destitute of true liberty and of every opportunity that is not a mockery of their misery. If Liberalism is not to be devoured by the offspring of its own loins, it must not shirk the obligation to control them in the day of their larger growth. To replace mediæval feudalism by industrial feudalism; to substitute a parvenu plutocracy for an ancient aristocracy; to create through free-trade a more ingenious form of protection by rings, syndicates, trusts, and what not; to transfer from birth to wealth that enormous influence in the press and at the polls which secures the monopoly of education, privilege, representation; to give power into the hands of the many while leaving property in the hands of the few, and thus to leave the State upon the edge of a slumbering volcano;—surely it was for other and higher ends than these that Radicalism was born. Its further task is to facilitate the acquisition of property, so as to make possession co-terminous with power; to multiply opportunities for saving, and for earning something to save; to protect labour and thrift from the stupendous frauds made possible by a capitalistic system; to have everywhere a clear eye for the making of manhood, and hence to minimise temptations to drunkenness, and wage perpetual war against

the social conditions which foster shiftlessness, physical depression, industrial incompetence, social inefficiency, despair of life, and sullen, smouldering revolt. The ancient devil of inequality has entrenched himself behind modern reformed conditions, and Liberals are called upon to drive him out and back, that freedom, equality, opportunity may be more than names. It is idle to talk about interference with established rights. A people who have thrust Factory Acts between employer and employed, Land Acts between landlord and tenant, Debtors' Acts between debtor and creditor, Railway Acts between companies and customers, Parish Acts to compel the sale of private land; who have abolished private companies in telegraph and postal services, in municipal gas, water, and tramway—such a people will be slow to fix a line beyond which Governments may not go in restraining the predatory instincts of monopolies, revising private contracts in the interests of a community, devising means to facilitate the equitable distribution of the total earnings, freeing the handicapped classes for even competition with the classes above them, employing the general resources to equip the exploited classes for more effective participation in the rivalry of civilisation, and putting all, finally, upon the same platform of free and equal opportunity. Nothing short of judicial blindness can have overtaken Liberals who do not see the difference between legislation which tends to restrict, benumb, and enslave, and that which seeks to remove the pressure of a dominant class, to give hope, interest, and energy to the worker, to liberate individual powers and social forces at present in restraint, to develop the energies of every member of the community to their maximum, and then to bring all the members into the field of free and open rivalry, bringing, by these means, the total productivity up to its highest possible point, and plucking the full and final fruits of democracy. Liberals have pronounced many invocations to Liberty, in the sacred name of which it may be necessary to invite public interference; for some forms of industrialism have worked out so badly for the labourer that the ends so ardently desired by the older Radicals can, it begins to appear, be realised only by the means they so much dreaded. Liberty can be secured only by law—the making of new laws and the abolition of old, bad laws. If the older Liberals struck the fetter from the limb of the labourer, the modern Liberal must break the girdle that binds his body to the wall; if the former set free his feet, the latter must plant at his feet a ladder of opportunity. It is no libel upon the fathers to say that they mistook a preliminary process for a final position; and it gives no glory to the children to shrink from dealing with a rehabilitated industrial feudalism as courageously as the fathers encountered that of an earlier day. Other men laboured, and we have entered into their labours. These transforming developments cannot, it is true, take place unless the Liberal Party is prepared to face the historic penalties of reaction, schism, and secession;



unless it is prepared to compel privilege and monopoly to make an orderly retreat before the advancing forces of equality and opportunity; unless it returns loyally to the root-principles of peace and retrenchment abroad and reform at home. There are happy signs that Liberals are returning to the faith. They may be "parlous," but they are not yet "dampned."

Will they repent and be born again?

TOUCHSTONE.

## A PLEA FOR ADDITIONAL COM- MISSIONERS IN LUNACY.

THE Lunacy Bill is again in evidence, and it would be a great blunder if opportunity be not taken to reconsider the construction of the Board of Lunacy and the nature of the appointment of the Commissioners. Attention has at different times been directed to this, but with no visible result. Ever since the author of *Hard Cash* drew attention to the benevolent incompetency of the Commissioners in Lunacy, probably no body of public servants has been subjected to so much and varied, amounting often to scurrilous, abuse. It is with no intent to distort or vilify that we again recur to the theme; but a prolonged observation and a close perusal of Blue-books has convinced us that there is a screw loose somewhere—that the relationship of smoke to fire has yet to be disproved. Reform seems to be the order of the day. The army, navy, House of Lords have been weighed in the balance. The Church even appears to be on the brink of a volcano, and an attempt has just been made to make the bishops toe the line. Would it, then, be misplaced if a suggestion were offered that the Board of Lunacy be not left out in the cold, but considered with a view to reconstruction and improvement?

The Commissioners, for reasons best known to themselves, but which it is not our intention to formulate in any statement, on evidence merely supposititious or hearsay, have not as yet taken the initiative nor shown any desire to do so. One would have thought that facts which are self-evident and for long have been widely commented upon would be quite as apparent to them as to others. But it is evidently contrariwise. For, after the lapse of nearly half a century, the Board still retains its childhood—remains in *statu quo* as regards numbers and efficiency. It is inconceivable—impossible, and that with all due recognition of individual ability and energy in its members—that a Board, whose numbers have remained the same since its formation, can with any chance of success expect to cope with the additional work which an increase of 80,000 lunatics of necessity entails. That such a state of matters should have existed so long is almost incredible; and any Bill to amend the Lunacy Act that does not deal with the exigencies which such a condition

imposes will fall far short of being complete. We advocate reconstruction, then, as being a distinct gain; and when we state that, in addition to numerical insufficiency, the same narrow principles are still adhered to in the matter of its constitution and characterise its appointments, the suggestion may not appear unreasonable.

Other departments have had their staff increased as occasion demanded, but as yet there is no sign that a like addition has ever been considered, much less seriously contemplated, in the case of the Board of Lunacy. In urging any radical change, it is always a difficult matter to hit the happy mean between overstating and understating—in other words, to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth—so as to convince. And if the truth is so bad as to seem well-nigh incredible, paradoxical as it may appear, the end in view may be better attained by judicious understatement. Still, we will risk the mere recital of actual facts and trust to common sense to recognise the imperativeness of reform. The question is an important one, and thoroughly deserving of the most careful consideration. To avoid any appearance of exaggeration, we will take our facts from the Blue-books, in effect quote the statements and figures of the Commissioners themselves. In so doing we do not, however, deny ourselves the right of legitimate criticism.

In 1856 the number of officially-known lunatics was little short of 22,000. At that time the number of visiting Commissioners was six—three medical and three legal. Twenty years later the number of lunatics had increased by nearly 43,000, and still the number of Commissioners remains the same. According to the last Blue-book, the total number of lunatics was estimated at close on 102,000, but no addition to the staff of the Commissioners is recorded. Their number is returned as six, and in the same proportion of medical to legal as formerly. One cannot but be struck by the apathy and indifference which facts such as these indicate. To attempt to gloss them over would be simply to perpetuate the evil of which we complain—the numerical deficiency of the Commissioners. For, if we admit that such is not the case, then we are forced to the other conclusion, that all these years there have been too many—that the Board of Lunacy has been overstaffed. Hence our protest and insistence on a thorough consideration of the entire question; for certain it is that, if not now, at some other date it is bound to come up for discussion, and we do not see that any possible benefit can accrue from procrastination. Speaking generally, we may say that during one portion of the year the Commissioners are engaged in visiting the asylums and other institutions, registered or licensed, for the reception of lunatics. Throughout the other portion they are occupied at Whitehall in the work of compilation and preparation of their annual report. The total number of institutions for the insane, exclusive of lunatic wards

in workhouses, is about 170. Now, what can be the nature of but one yearly visit, at most not extending over two days, to such a number, and many of them containing over 2000 inmates? We need not enlarge upon this item, but only mention it as strengthening the demand for additional Commissioners. Yet another circumstance we would allude to before passing on to the consideration of the constitution of the Lunacy Board, and that is that many of the newer asylums are characterised by the Commissioners in their report as insanitary—and that when they themselves have passed the plans of the very buildings they now condemn. We do not complain of the obligation to submit plans to the Commissioners either for the erection of new asylums or for additions to old ones; but we cannot acquit them of some *iota* of responsibility, when, on their first visit mayhap, they find fault with the site, the arrangement of the drains, &c., which they themselves have approved and passed. It is unnecessary to indicate where, in our opinion, lies the fault, but it will serve as an example of the inconsistencies which, to put it mildly, from time to time characterise the Board of Lunacy.

As already intimated, the visiting Commissioners are six in number. They are appointed by the Lord Chancellor, whose choice does not always fall on those most fitted for the post; but at this we are not surprised, more especially if his decision is in any way influenced by the opinion of the Lunacy Board. Sect. 151 Cl. 2 of the Lunacy Act states that vacancies among the Commissioners are to be filled up by persons of the same profession. But what the Act does not say is that every medical practitioner elected to the office must have asylum experience. It explicitly lays down, however, that the legal Commissioner shall be a practising barrister "of not less than five years' standing. Why such a stipulation should attach to the one set of Commissioners and not to the other we fail to see. And further, it is the custom in the appointment of the medical ones to alternate asylum experience with no asylum experience; in other words, if the last appointed Commissioner be an asylum superintendent the next one is a consultant physician. Here, again, we fail to grasp the object to be achieved by such a procedure. Further, the necessity of so many legal Commissioners appears to us unwarranted. That a legal practitioner should be on the Board goes without saying, but that he is indispensable, or even necessary for the purpose of visitation and inspection of asylums, is open to doubt. In Scotland, for example, there are four visiting medical Commissioners and no legal ones, and these for considerably under 20,000 lunatics. It is, however, not our purpose to contrast in detail the constitution of the Lunacy Boards in the two countries, though our opinion is that that for Scotland is based upon more intelligent and common-sense principles; but at the risk of repetition we cannot avoid again

emphasising the fact that in England for 102,000 lunatics there are but six Commissioners, three only of whom are medical men, and one, sometimes two, of these with no asylum experience.

Thus far the construction of the Board of Lunacy has alone been dealt with and its weak points touched upon. Let us now turn to the question of superannuation allowance, for to this the attention of the Legislature might be profitably directed. No exception can be taken to the salary of the Commissioners; but objection may be reasonably urged to the terms accorded to them as regards superannuation by the Superannuation Acts 1859 and 1887. These Acts authorise in computing a retiring allowance "a number of years not exceeding twenty, to be specified in the said order or warrant, shall be added to the number of years during which he may have actually served, and also that the period of service required to entitle the holders to superannuation may be a period less than ten years, to be specified in the order or warrant." To put it more plainly, should a Commissioner, say after five years' service, choose to retire, he may, and with a pension of one-sixtieth for each year of service *plus* the same for each year of the number of years (ten is, we believe, the usual number of years added to those of actual service) that the Superannuation Act permits to be added on in fixing the amount of his retiring allowance. The term of years thus added on is what is known as unearned increment of service; and the reason assigned by the Act for the expedience of this gratuity is the professional or other qualifications implying appointment at an age exceeding that at which public service usually begins. This we consider a misplaced piece of generosity. It could be easily remedied by making appointments at an earlier age than at present is customary. More often than not Commissioners are appointed at an age somewhat over fifty. Now, if five years' standing is sufficient for a barrister with no experience of the insane or asylum administration to qualify for the office of Commissioner in Lunacy, it is surely no extravagance of reason to expect that at least the same term of years—years, moreover, spent in the special investigation of insanity and its requirements—should be considered sufficient for the other profession. But no! for so far as the medical Commissioner is concerned, his appointment has hitherto conveyed the idea that he must either have no practical acquaintance with insanity, or have spent at least twenty or more years in this particular calling. There seems to be no call for younger and more energetic men, better qualified in every way than barristers of five years' standing, consulting physicians, and veteran superintendents of asylums. Only the aged and those without asylum experience need apply appear to read the advertisement. As previously indicated, a revision of the Superannuation Acts dealing with unearned increment seems desirable, and would be of advantage not only to the Board of Lunacy, but to Lunacy in general.

By reducing the number of legal Commissioners and substituting medical men with sufficient, but not too prolonged, asylum experience, the Board would gain in efficiency, and the visitation of asylums would be more frequently and thoroughly carried out. And, if that portion of the Superannuation Act authorising unearned increment were repealed, the Board of Lunacy could be yet further strengthened by the appointment of Deputy Commissioners, as obtains in Scotland, the money at present devoted to the payment of unearned increment being employed as salary to these Deputy Commissioners, and this without further demand on the Treasury. It would, at all events, be sufficient to furnish salaries for at least two such appointments. In thus drawing attention to what we think is desirable to remedy, we emphatically disavow any spirit of captiousness, but have simply stated facts which any one can verify, and offered such suggestions as appear to us advantageous.

HAGUCH.

## VOLUNTARY *VERSUS* STATE PENSIONS.

THERE are many reasons for thinking that much of the strength of the present agitation for State pensions is derived rather from an idea that the resources of private effort have been exhausted than from any very general faith in the virtues of public interference.

In the following lines it is proposed, as briefly as possible, to consider whether there is really any solid foundation in fact for this belief.

It is all the more necessary that there should be no mistake on the point that we have not here to deal with, as is so often assumed, a mere matter of political experiment involving possibilities of gain and none of loss; but with one in which there is a very great probability that any system of money grants on the ground of old age may weaken the activity of that private sympathy which in the last resort must always be the true defence of the helpless and the suffering against neglect and oppression. This is no danger of the imagination alone. From Germany come bitter complaints that a slackening of private benevolence where it is most needed has followed the institution of State pensions.

Remembering this, the first step to be taken is to get a clear understanding of what the advocates of State pensions actually propose to do.

The end aimed at is neither more nor less than the abolition of undeserved institutional aged pauperism.

It is true that the boon offered is commonly represented as if it were intended to provide every member of the working classes with a fixed annuity on attaining a specified age; but, stripped of verbal colour, it will generally be found that the proposals made actually amount to nothing more than this; and that, therefore, regarded as a commercially insurable risk, it is not the provision of a settled amount subject only to the chance of an earlier death that is in question, but the totally different matter of the provision of the same sum only in case of need and fitness.

Now the present pauper population of England and Wales over 65 years of age is generally stated as numbering 402,000.

These figures include recipients of medical relief, repeated applications, imbeciles and lunatics, infirmity patients, recognised loafers and idlers, friendless old people unable to care for them-

selves, and the riff-raff of the leisure classes, who have only accidentally during their journey to destitution become dwellers in the labouring world. Clearly none of these classes are suitable for a free money grant, and we may therefore fairly treat the deductions to be made for them as at least equal to 75 per cent. of the whole.

The problem before us may, therefore, be given as involving: Firstly, the immediate provision for 100,500 paupers of an annuity such as may be sufficient to enable them to end their days in tolerable comfort; and, secondly, the ultimate provision of an annual insurance fund sufficient to attain the same end for the on-coming generations.

Most of the State pension schemes give 5s. a week as the needed sum, and taking the Post Office rates for our guidance we find that an immediate annuity of £13 can be purchased for 100,500 males of 65 years of age for £12,629,500. Further we find that, granting that the practice of insuring against pauperism became general, the annual cost would gradually fall until the same annuity of £13 payable at 65 for the same number of men commencing to insure at 30 could be secured for £2,482,350.

The present membership of the Friendly Societies exceeds 5,000,000. The number outside their ranks to whom some provision against the probability of pauperism in their old age would be attractive for reasons of prudence if it could be made on reasonable terms must be very large. There must also be very many who from pure motives of charity would gladly subscribe to any sound system that promised to lessen the worst features of old-age misery. Taking all these classes into account, there can be no very great fear of exaggeration in calculating that a general and vigorous effort by all the thrift associations at present at work would easily secure an aggregate of 10,000,000 subscribers to unite in joining in any plan that seemed sufficiently hopeful to secure their interest.

But £12,629,500 divided among 10,000,000 people would be but £1 5s. 4d. a year, or not quite 6d. a week each member; whilst £2,482,350 divided in the same way would equal but a little over 1½d. a week.

It is true that for women the rates are slightly higher, but it must not be forgotten that in both cases the estimate is on extreme figures, and that it is very possible that it might be discovered in practice that to some extent, need being an item of calculation, the longer continued working power of women would counteract their more extended probabilities of life. In any case the difference would be more than covered by an additional 1d. a week in the first case, and an additional ½d. in the second.

Can it be seriously claimed that such weekly sums are beyond



the power of voluntary effort in this wealthy England of ours to provide?

There can be but one answer to this question: If the public feeling is intense enough to justify the imposition of taxation for the purpose of providing State pensions for paupers, it must be clear that it only needs that pension associations should be developed on moderate lines for all that it is proposed to do by public means to be financially within the scope of the people's free initiative.

No doubt anything less than 10s. a week falls below the average that should be considered an adequate income for any one under modern conditions of town life. But even on the supposition that the weekly subscriptions should be doubled, it is still difficult to believe that the expense would not be well within the compass of voluntary action.

As to the superiority of local committees of subscribers of all classes guided by the intimate knowledge that long association can alone give, over officials without any personal interest in the points to be decided for the purpose of administering the pension grants so as to secure in each case the form of help most wanted and to discriminate the fitness of the applicants for the free control of money, it is impossible to imagine any serious question being raised.

It is probable that the country is already very near, if not over, the line of safety at which it can safely take direct care of the people's savings; but, granting there are special reasons for allowing objections on this score to be outweighed by the prospect of a real amelioration in the condition of the old, it would undoubtedly immensely facilitate the formation of voluntary pension funds if the Post Office were authorised to accept from thrift clubs payments intended to form a premium account, out of which the latter might nominate members for annuities at their discretion according to the regular Post Office scale as regards rates and ages; such annuities being secured on individual members' lives, but being distributed by the committees of the clubs according to individual needs.

Were such a method of insuring against pauperism to become general, might we not fairly hope that the effect would not merely be limited to a kinder and better treatment of old age, but even that the causes producing aged pauperism might be sensibly weakened? If pensioners themselves took part in the decision of the cases that came before the committees, the knowledge that would follow of troubles worse than their own would almost certainly enlist their sympathies in keeping the charges on the fund down to the lowest point, so as to leave the largest possible amount free for the benevolent help of those who from continuous poverty or misfortune had clearly never been able to become more than

temporary or nominal members; and as ignorance and thoughtlessness are perhaps far more often the sources of preventable poverty than wrong-doing, surely no method could be imagined better suited to bring home to the classes most in danger of the workhouse the effects that follow thriftlessness and folly, than that of leading them to take an active part in considering applications that would picture before them in the lives of others all the dangers, trials, and temptations that peculiarly surround the poor man's life.

J. TYRRELL BAYLEE.

## FOREIGN INVESTMENTS IN RUSSIA.

THE times are moving and, it seems, in the right direction. It was as recently as 1896 that M. de Witte, the Russian Minister of Finance, in a speech at the dinner given in his honour by the manufacturers at Nizhni-Novgorod, defied all the Russian free-traders, telling them that he did not care for their opinion, and although they possibly were in the majority, he was not one who listens to the opinion of majorities. This high-handed defiance of the Russian free-traders was evoked by the decision of the Conference, which held, in the summer of 1896, its sittings at Nizhni-Novgorod, under the chairmanship of an official of the Ministry of Finance, and consisted of merchants, landowners, and men of science. It declared by a majority of two to one the necessity of remitting the import duties on machinery, especially agricultural machinery and tools, at the same time expressing a general opinion in favour of free-trade. As this Conference was officially arranged, its members being nominated by the Government itself, and its proceedings being under the guidance of a high official, its decisions had to be taken as decisive. But M. de Witte thought then otherwise, and he took the first occasion to publicly snub his own official and the majority of the Conference. This defiance did not continue very long. Hardly a year passed when M. de Witte, under the pressure of the agricultural crisis, was compelled to practically adopt the recommendations of the Conference, and to remit a part of the protective duties on agricultural appliances. This was a step which did much honour to the Minister, who undoubtedly wishes well to his country, although he may sometimes be led away by the counsels of some of his manufacturer-friends, with whom he is closely connected by his previous career as a railway director.

We now come to the next step, and M. de Witte now seems to have altogether turned round upon his old protectionist friends. In a speech which has been only briefly reported in the English Press, he described them by various epithets, finally putting them on a level with the most reactionary forces who fought against the reforms of Peter the Great. The speech was made on March 18, at the Conference summoned by the Government in order to discover means of improving the export of Russian grain. M. de Witte then declared that the only true policy worthy of a statesman is the simultaneous

development of all the branches of national trade and commerce, that protection of manufactures is an evil of which the sooner one gets rid the better, and that to neutralise the evil effects of protection it was necessary to introduce into Russia foreign capital; and in answering the cries of the protectionists who wished to retain the monopoly of the Russian market all to themselves, he continued:

"Self-interest often steps forward under the disguise of patriotism. They talk of robbing the natural riches of our land, of enslaving the population by foreigners, &c. It is not the first time we have met, under the cover of patriotic denunciations, pure self-interest, which is quite contrary to the national well-being. Peter the Great, in his mighty yearning to 'cut a window towards Europe,' had to fight against the so-called patriotic defence of the old fossilised conservatism, of ignorance, of isolation—in a word, all those shackles by which the Russian giant was fettered, and which hindered him from displaying fully his dormant power."

Now, there is no doubt that M. de Witte is quite right in denouncing this so-called patriotism, and in proclaiming the interests of the State to be based on the equal treatment of all industries; but we cannot help saying that his conclusion to neutralise the evil effects of protection by the introduction of foreign capital brings us no nearer to a really good economic policy for Russia.

It is difficult to understand how a man of such strong intellect as M. de Witte—a man who has accomplished an almost herculean task in fixing the value of the Russian rouble on the foreign markets—could suppose for one moment that foreign capital, working under the safeguard of high import duties, will sell any cheaper than has been done by native capital. If the foreign capital does not get better prices than it can get at home it will certainly not go to Russia for investment. The interests of the consumer will not be served by foreign capital, and the result of its competition with native capital will only be to crush out the feeble and small capitalists, whether native or foreign, and to establish a monopoly for the big foreign manufacturer, who will certainly reap all the benefit of the protective system. Capital has no national features, and coming to a foreign country works in the same manner as the native capital, only with this difference, that whereas the dividend of the native capitalist remains in the country, that of the foreigner runs away over the frontier.

This appeal to foreign capital is not a new step in Russia. It is only new in form. We are not accustomed in Russia to ministerial public declarations and long speeches, especially at dinner-tables and in conferences. M. de Witte, as a man of great intelligence and daring character, boldly broke down the old official reticence, and took the public and the Press into his confidence. This is the only thing new in this appeal to foreign capitalists; but the idea of benefiting Russia by attracting foreign money and foreign enterprise is a

very old one, and, practically, the whole legislation of Russia concerning foreigners is a striking example of the appreciation by the Russian Government of foreign capital. Speaking generally, the Russian law is rather hard to the foreigner personally, and especially to foreign Jews. It is quite true that, according to Article 2 of the Russian Commercial Code, of 1887, foreigners have equal rights in commercial transactions with Russian subjects. Article 6 of the statutes of the Moscow Exchange explicitly puts the foreigner on the same level with the Russian. The same favour is allowed to the foreigner on the Nizhni-Novgorod Exchange during the annual fair, where, according to Article 59 of the statutes of that Exchange, "persons of every standing and all nations have the right of admission." Foreigners are allowed to do all kinds of commission business connected with the customs (Art. 57, Commercial Code, 1887). They are allowed to repair and build ships just like the Russian (Art. 106), but cannot engage foreign mechanics, if there are sufficient Russians (Art. 115). Foreigners can also be sailors and officers on Russian ships, but in case their number on a vessel amounts to more than three-fourths of the whole crew, the owner of the vessel pays for each foreigner 25 roubles to the fund for maintaining the naval schools (Note to Art. 190). They are also entitled to lease land, but have no right to own land outside towns; no foreign company can have ships on the Caspian Sea (Art. 166); and according to a recent regulation, no foreign ship can carry on coasting trade in Russia, be it even from Odessa to St. Petersburg. There are, besides, certain limitations for foreigners concerning the service on the railways, the directorship of banking establishments, and many others too numerous to mention.

Concerning the foreign Jew, one may say that practically he has no rights whatever in Russia worth speaking of. He is not allowed to reside there even within the pale of the Jewish settlement. No Russian citizenship can be accorded to him, as he is not admitted to naturalisation except he be a capitalist; and, curiously enough, the Russian law puts him on the same level with the Mohammedan dervish, who, according to Article 994 of Volume IX. of the Russian Code, is not admitted for naturalisation.

But although foreigners, and especially foreign Jews, have not many rights in Russia, their capital is perfectly welcome and honoured. A foreign Jew banker, or head of an important firm, according to the law, can visit Russia and even reside; he must only get a passport from the Russian Consul or Embassy. What is more, although no foreign Jew can aspire to become a Russian subject, even be he the greatest scientific man or the greatest artist, a millionaire like the Rothschilds or Bleichröder, who signs a promise to build a large manufactory, except a brewery, is entitled to naturalisation. But the

millionaire must hurry up with the accomplishment of his promise, otherwise he is liable to expulsion. According to the paragraph 1010 of the fourth division of the ninth volume of the Russian Code of the year 1876, the promised manufactory must be erected within three years.

Thus one can see that the eagerness for foreign capital in Russia is not a new departure, and it already had its full display and due effect.

You have only to look at the names of the biggest manufacturers in Russia to see how foreigners predominate in her economic life. During the great *national* exhibition in 1896 at Nizhni-Novgorod, which was arranged with the sole purpose of showing how Russia had grown and how Russians had become independent of foreign manufacturers, the best prizes and the most conspicuous successes were obtained by firms of foreign origin. Surely the Russian Minister of Finance cannot complain that foreign capital has not been utilised in Russia. On the contrary, with the exception of a very few Russian firms, the whole industrial enterprise comes from abroad, from Germany especially. And still the poverty of the people is growing, the condition of the factory hands is abominable, and the cry continues for more foreign capital. Is it not time for the Russian economic policy to start on a broader, more direct, and surer route, and to recognise once for all the fallacy for curing the disease of protection, by inducing foreigners to compete among themselves and with the native capitalists in Russia for the good of the consumer?

If protection proved to be useless, if not harmful, and foreign capital does not help, why not try free-trade? Surely it cannot make worse the economic condition in Russia than we have it now. On the other side, there is good reason to believe that free-trade, in freeing the country from hordes of officials and unnecessary restrictions, and in cheapening the consumption of the people and making it self-dependent, will greatly increase its energy and resources. But, besides free-trade, there is a far more important point which touches the root of the economic question in Russia, and of the terrible poverty of her population. The first question which one naturally asks is, What inducement is there besides protection for foreign capital to go to Russia? Why should foreign capitalists expect that they should make more money in Russia than at home, say in England, France, or Belgium? The answer is a very simple one: because the wages in Russia are lower, and the reason why they are lower is, not that the Russian workman does not ask for more, or that his appetite is not so strong or his necessities not so great as those of his fellow-workers in other countries. You have only to inquire in order to see that it is not the fault of the Russian workman that his wages are so much below the standard of other countries. It is the

fault of the Russian Government, which forbids any legitimate claim on the part of the worker for higher wages and shorter hours. The same M. de Witte, who denounces so much the "*patriotes*" for their greed to tax the customer, stifles in the most effective manner any cry, any attempt on the part of the workmen to improve their position. If one attempts to organise a union, he is punished by deportation to Siberia. No strikes are allowed under any circumstances. A workman can leave the factory and give up his work personally, but if he induces any of his fellow-workers to follow him he is punished most severely, and all are flogged by companies of Cossacks. This is the real inducement for foreign capital to go to Russia; this helplessness of the Russian worker, this cruelty of his treatment, is the true stimulant to the foreign capitalist to go to our country and to squeeze out of the poor Russian miner, spinner, engineer, and labourer 20 per cent. on his capital.

It is not my business to tell the English capitalist how to invest his money profitably. But, speaking on foreign capital in Russia, which really in this case means English capital, I cannot refrain from asking the foreign capitalist whether there is not plenty of room for him still in Western Europe? Even on this little island of Britain there is sufficient room for honest investment. We are told by men of great authority in agricultural matters, such as Prince Krapotkin and Sir Arthur Cotton, that the agricultural industry in England is dying for want of capital. Why cannot the searchers after investments see a way out for their surplus capital in this direction? Perhaps it would not (perhaps it might, by the way, who knows?) yield 20 per cent., but certainly it would give an honest income, and would be a most useful investment, which would enrich England and make it a brighter and happier country.

Again, if the only inducement to invest money in Russia is the prospect of getting cheap labour, what benefit will accrue to Russia from these foreign investments? The working population—*i.e.*, the bulk of Russia—will more and more lose physically and morally. The factory life grinds them down like a millstone. They become emaciated from overwork, under-feeding, bad sanitary surroundings, and lose character, intelligence, and moral feeling in this hopeless struggle for life. Will Russia become richer, will it improve her economic condition if the foreign capitalist, by drawing annually his big dividends and spending them abroad, at the same time drags the life out of the working people?

Thus, foreign capital is not only useless for improving the condition of Russia, but it positively does harm.

At the same time the foreign capitalists are greatly mistaken if they think there is a great field for their exploitation of Russian labour. The labourer, being the consumer, constitutes the real market for the products of his labour; but being badly paid, or, as Professor

Marshall would say, only obtaining a very scanty share of the "national dividend," he is not able to consume enough to create a big market.

The first remedy for the improvement of the economic condition in Russia is, therefore, political freedom—the right of the working population to claim its legitimate share from the "national dividend." The second in order is certainly free-trade, free import of everything which the population thinks it worth while and desirable to buy. Then, and only then, if foreign capital thinks it of any use to come to Russia it will be welcomed, not only by M. de Witte, but by every right-minded man.

There is a very well-known saying of Baron Louis, the French Minister of Finance: "*Faites moi de la bonne politique et je vous ferai de bonnes finances.*" This is true, whether one speaks of politics in the narrow sense, or whether one uses it in its wider meaning of statesmanship. It can hardly be a good economic policy to drive out of the country thousands of the most industrious peasants, like the "dookhobors," on account of their disbelieving in the Greek Orthodox Church, or to stifle by all means the claims of the factory workers and mechanics for better wages and shorter hours, or to restrict the rights of citizens of Jewish faith, and to go, like a beggar, with hat in hand, round Europe asking for foreign capital. It is bad economic policy on the part of M. de Witte, and no self-respecting, civilised European nation has ever done such a thing. On the other hand, this same arbitrariness of the Russian law, this absence of righteousness and fairness in a Government's dealings with its own people is a very bad security for investments of foreigners.

As the appeal of the Russian Minister is intended especially for English capitalists, it seems, in fact, that he invites them to become Russians. There is no mistake about that. You must become a Russian, or in the end lose your millions by some unexpected ministerial circular or ukase of the Tzar. Whether the English capitalist is going to listen to M. de Witte's invitation is a matter for himself to decide. But it is right that he should be warned.

A RUSSIAN JOURNALIST.



## BETTER TIMES BEGINNING.

IT is satisfactory to see from reports in the papers that the prospects of trade and commerce in this country are very much better looking than they have been in years past. This improvement is no doubt owing to the plentifulness and cheapness of *money*, which is the *prime mover* of trade. In our article on "Open Doors for Trade," in the March number, we expressed the opinion that the best way to make openings for trade in all directions, at home and abroad, is to adopt free trade in banking, and to allow all banks to issue their own notes, on the security of Consols lodged with the Treasury, and to abolish all the old banking monopolies. In place thereof, as many banks, large and small, as might be required, should be established, when authorised and regularly registered, in the different towns in the country. These new banks should gather in deposits of cash from business men and capitalists, and the spare savings of the people. On the other hand, these banks should lend out that same money amongst the same classes in the discount of business bills, or in advances on cash-credit accounts to trustworthy customers, to carry on business with and give employment to all parties. It is the main purpose of banks to find and provide money to carry on business with, as well as to get good investments for the capitalists. Banks are required to assist and encourage all trades and industries, and when they are left free to follow their own ways of doing business, then they generally do most good.

Banking was always so free in Scotland up to 1845 that they could issue as many notes as they required; but that privilege was taken away by the Bank Act of 1845, greatly to the disadvantage of Scotland and against the wills of the Scottish people. But the English bankers could not bear to see the Scotch bankers having a free note issue while they had not got the same. It would have been better, however, to have given the English banks a free note issue as well as the Scotch banks, and it is to be hoped that the whole banks in England, Scotland, and Ireland will soon be set free. Is it not scandalous to see the Old Lady of Threadneedle Street has got such an evil influence over trade and commerce as she has by her bank monopolies? The old Bank Act should be at once repealed, and a new system of free banking and currency introduced in Great Britain to give free trade fair play at home and abroad. *Provided always that we make*

*free trade in gold also*, so that we may prevent foreigners from getting the better of us in the foreign exchange, as they do at present, for, as if to favour foreigners, we give them liberty to get our gold in exchange for their corn, cotton, &c., *cheaper* comparatively than the regular prices of our goods; thus we allow foreign nations to *mulet* us through our own stupid Bank Act, which causes us *a ways* to deal in gold bullion at a *fixed price*, whereas we should deal with gold as we do with other metals, at the *market price* of the day. This is the key to complete free trade over the wide world!

As a matter of course, this change of our currency system would take the country back to the better monetary system which existed in Pitt's time, and which brought Britain safely through the great war, and would have brought it on still further with flying colours if free trade had been then carried out after the peace, and had Bank of England notes continued to be the legal or standard money for circulation in this country. Then there would have been good trade and better times. But the currency was then curtailed by about £10,000,000, which caused the awful distress from 1816 to 1821. Britain has suffered greatly and frequently from the money panics which have come upon the country ever since; Peel's Bank Act of 1844 made matters still worse when foreign runs for gold came on. All these runs for gold could have been met and got over easily if Britain had just let foreigners know that gold would henceforth be bought and sold here only at market price, not at a fixed price.

Statesmen have stated that the privilege of issuing paper money is "a Crown right," like the issuance of coin. If so, that is a good reason why the Government should now take up the issuance of national notes by a British National Bank, and pocket the profit thereof, instead of letting it all go into the pockets of the Bank of England proprietors, who are too much pampered and protected by law already. Any person who knows what a great bank should be can see that this predominant bank is a burden on Britain and far behind the age. It is even inferior in its management to other national banks. The present writer had the pleasant opportunity of having an interview with the Treasurer of the United States Bank in 1878. There were then in that establishment 1200 clerks and tellers; 800 of them were ladies—they are the best counters of notes I was told. I was shown through the principal departments, and was astonished to see the exact manner in which the circulating notes, or "greenbacks," were printed and issued and brought back to cancel when soiled. There are £75,000,000 of these notes always out in circulation, which is all gain to the nation; there are a lot more of national bank notes besides. That shows how much shrewder the American financiers are than our English bankers are. \*If we did right, there should be a large amount of national notes issued for circulation in this country by the authority of Parliament, which would be ample

security for any amount of currency required, and would cost this nation nothing. So the sooner Britain establishes a National Bank to manage all its banking business, so much the better will it be for this country, and it will be a great gain, too, as a sound paper currency, authorised by our Government, would be infinitely better and more economical than the gold currency. If there is any prejudice remaining in England against one-pound notes, the sovereigns might remain until people tire of them—gold could always be had at market price for exportation when wanted. It would be an immense advantage to Britain to let gold coin go out of use, and to introduce a British national note system instead of gold. A *one-pound national note* would be the *standard payment*; all money would be reckoned accordingly, and would be convertible into gold or anything else in regular trade at home, or for export if wanted, provided always that Britain makes free trade in gold our law. Foreign nations would then be driven to lower their tariffs to meet ours, and adopt complete free trade with this country, whether they will or no! This is our right!

Supposing the British Government establishes a National Treasury Bank to transact its own financial business, in the first place, and to issue a national note currency, in the second place, with the authority of Parliament, it would probably be thought proper to appropriate and set aside an amount of Consols to cover or stand against the amount of national notes to be issued to the public. This could be done very conveniently, as there is no less than £162,000,000 of Consols held by the Government departments, as stated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his Budget speech. That would balance as many national notes as would be likely to be issued to the public. There would be a great gain to the nation upon these national notes, as they would be lent out in the way of banking loans and credits at the current bank rates. This additional amount of financial accommodation, which would be offered to all trustworthy parties who could make a good use of money, would bring in much better times for the people of this country than we have ever yet experienced. Political economists have often said that this country might be made doubly more productive than it is if money were not so much locked up by big banks as it is!

Now we are brought face to face with the startling fact that many of the large banks have deposits and capital in their tills lying hoarded and idle, rather than letting it be lent out for use at such rates as they can get in regular business. This is no doubt owing to the combination existing amongst the monopolist bankers to keep up their rates by all means, and it is very suspicious like that many of the "City" papers are continually calling out that there is likely to be a scarcity of gold soon, when the truth is there is a plethora of gold in the world now, and if it were not for France, Germany, Russia, and

some other Governments accumulating millions of that metal to fill their war-chests, as it is supposed, gold bullion might fall in price as quickly as silver fell. However, this hoarding up of gold cannot go on much longer; and if the Peace Congress turns out to be such a success as it is hoped to be, the demand for gold may suddenly cease, and that will make money still more plentiful, and bring down the rate of interest, and *cheap money* will then, as a matter of course, develop peaceful trade and industry in this and other countries, for

"Peace hath her victories  
No less renown'd than War."

To bring this article to a practical conclusion it may be suggested (1) That all the restrictive and monopolist Bank Acts should be repealed, and Free Trade in banking introduced. (2) That there should be a British National Bank established to do all the Government banking business. (3) That bank should print and issue enough of national notes to supply the public with a sufficient circulation of ready money, and also supply notes to any other banks to circulate with their own bank name on them, these banks lodging Consols with the National Bank to cover their note issues. These Consols would suit better and be more economical than having to keep gold, and the Government would derive a part of the profit on the circulation, while the banks would derive still more, as they could do a considerable amount of business by lending out their notes. (4) The trustees' saving banks and all saving banks that so desired should be allowed to form a smaller class of banks to gather in the savings of the industrious and thrifty classes, and, on the other hand, to lend out that money to the same classes to enable them to engage in any industry or business for themselves, or in co-operation or in company with others, with the object of raising their condition and giving the lower classes opportunities of getting better on in the world, and turning all the resources in land or otherwise to the best account for their own interests as well as for the public good.

Our Government should and could, by means of the system of banking and currency here proposed, do much to spread wealth more widely among the people of this land, which would be a general boon to all. Daniel Webster, the great American statesman, said: "A free Government cannot long endure where the tendency of the laws is to concentrate the wealth of the country in the hands of a few, and to render the masses poor and dependent." There was nothing I saw in America more worthy of imitation than their very serviceable system of banking and currency. And I would like to see a popular reform of the banking laws of Britain so as to give free trade fair play, and the lower classes a fair chance of raising themselves in the social scale.

The *Financial Times*, of April 19, says some of the big London

banks have introduced a new facility in banking : they are cashing cheques upon other banks hundreds of miles away, and charging nothing for doing so. That shows how banks can facilitate business if they please. Wholesome competition in banking will doubtless bring about improvements and greater facilities for trade and commerce and better times. Bank cheques may be used as bank notes.

ROBERT EWEN.

POSTSCRIPT.—Since my writing of the preceding article the Chancellor of the Exchequer has made his Budget statement, and made important financial proposals with regard to the reduction of the National Debt, as to which there have been different opinions expressed. It strikes me that the right hon. gentleman has missed a most magnificent opportunity of making a mighty reformation in the financial system of Great Britain. This year there is the largest national income ever realised, and there is also a balance over with little necessity for extra expenditure except to please the Jingo and the Unionist Party. How to meet the usual payment for the Sinking Fund appears the trouble. It is a muddle. This Budget seems to be more like a clumsy scheme of Mr. Goschen's than like the systematic schemes of Mr. Gladstone or Sir William Harcourt, which invigorated the State. The fearfully big figures involved in the national account are staggering. But the principles involved in the reduction of the National Debt are simple and understandable. Let us suppose that a large State bank has an enormous amount of deposit money on hand, which is not payable for several years, nor anything till 1902 and 1904 except the yearly interest. The question is, how are the payments to be provided for? The sum of £7,000,000 of debt falls in two and four years hence. The large bank can prepare for paying off these amounts at the due time by taking the money as it comes in from the income and lending it out at 3 per cent. interest, and let the capital and interest accumulate till it is required to pay what falls due; thus the Government will utilise the Consols without having to buy them up at a premium of 11 per cent., as is being done. This will be most economical. This buying up of Consols by the Treasury may be carried far further by transferring the £162,000,000 of Consols held by the Government in different departments, to a central national account with the Treasury, into which all national money should be paid in and out of, and which would act as the National Bank of Great Britain for the issue of the national currency on national security.

As for the savings banks, the trustees should cease their connection with Government and start banking independently as limited liability companies, to take in the savings of the people and lend the money out again among the same classes under responsible shareholders and directors. These banks might make good dividends and be an immense benefit to the public as I have seen and known from experience.

R. E.

## HYMENOPTERA ACULEATA :

ANTS, MOSSORES (DIGGERS), WASPS, BEES, AND  
DARWINISM.

## INTRODUCTION.

THE following pages are limited to the inquiry whether certain statements made by Darwin, Sir John Lubbock, and others, in reference to the above-mentioned insects, in their relation to the general principles of evolution, are, in some particular instances cited by them, substantiated by the actual facts connected with the habits, form, and instincts of these insects. If, therefore, we should, in the following pages, call in question some of the facts and theories of eminent naturalists, we can only say that in some aspects their observations on the Hymenoptera aculeata do not accord with what we have ourselves observed, and that consequently their theories built thereon are not, in our opinion, substantiated by the real nature of the facts.

If a more minute observation of, and inquiry into, the natural history of these most interesting insects is even in a small degree elicited by the following observations and criticism the object of these papers will be amply fulfilled.

Before we pass to the more immediate subject of this paper, we would make a few introductory remarks on the insects included under the above designation of Hymenoptera aculeata. This designation includes within its terms the most interesting class of insects to be found in Nature, on account of their varied habits and marvellous instincts. Sir John Lubbock writes of the ants, and his words, in some special aspects of their economy, might be almost equally applied to the rest. "It must be admitted that they have a fair claim, exceeding that of the anthropoid apes, to rank next to man in the scale of intelligence;" and that "they present the most promising field for observation and experiment."<sup>1</sup>

These insects—the Hymenoptera aculeata—are classified under the four following divisions, and contain in the British Isles the following number of species :

<sup>1</sup> *Ants, Bees and Wasps*, pp. 1 and 6.

Heterogyna, or Ants	20	species.
Fossores (Diggers), or Sand Wasps	127	"
Diploptera, or True Wasps	23	"
Anthophila, or Bees	204	"

In all . 374 species.<sup>1</sup>

Though the Hymenoptera aculeata are thus divided into four different divisions, yet they all have certain characteristics which are common to the whole. These common characteristics are—to mention only two or three—that they all have, as a rule, in their

Antennæ—13 joints in the males, 12 in females and neuters.

Abdomen— 7 segments        "        6        "        "

They all, excepting the worker ants, as a rule, have four wings. The number of joints in the antennæ, and the number of segments (exposed) in the abdomen are so characteristic of these insects, that if any one should take up an insect, and should find the joints of the antennæ to coincide with the number given above, he might set the insect down at once as belonging to one of the divisions mentioned. The most frequent forms to be seen are the ants, or the hive bees, or humble bees. The number of joints in their antennæ, as they would usually be workers, would be twelve. These would give a good example for all the 374 other species numbered as Hymenoptera aculeata in Great Britain.

Some of these insects are solitary, that is, they live in pairs of male and female: others are social, and live in larger or smaller communities.

The first named—the ants—are entirely social. The Diggers, on the other hand, in contrast to them, are entirely solitary. The wasps and bees are in some of their species solitary; in other of their species, as the common wasps, the hive bees, and humble bees, they are social. All the social ones, ants, wasps, bees, have a third member of their communities, besides male and female, called workers, or neuters, and are infertile females. These latter in all the communities contribute nothing, as a rule, to the increase of the communities, but do all the work of the community; they build the nest or combs, as the case may be; they provide the food, and tend and raise the young of the community. In the ants these neuters are wingless, the neuters of the wasps and bees have wings. The female, or queen, ant has wings at first, but does not retain them; when she settles in the nest they fall off, or are bitten off, either by herself or by the workers.

All the solitary bees, wasps, and diggers form for their habitations

<sup>1</sup> This table is taken from Edward Saunders's last edition of his *Hymenoptera Aculeata of the British Isles*. This most excellent work of Mr. Saunders describes every species of the four divisions above found in Great Britain, accompanied with analytical tables. Supplementary to this we might also mention the late Mr. Frederick Smith's (of the British Museum) Catalogues, containing full descriptions of all the species of British *Hymenoptera*.

cylindrical burrows in a variety of ways, as in the banks of light earth or of sand) in soft or hardish sandstone, in trodden pathways, in wooden posts, in decaying trees, or in mud walls. A sloping or perpendicular bank of soft or hardish sandstone is, perhaps, their most favourite habitat. We have seen such banks a perfect mass of burrows. In the same bank many kinds will sometimes live side by side—friends, foes, and thieving enemies. Others, again, are gregarious, like rooks, and all the burrows will be occupied by the same species. Nor need we go far to find these insects. Every hedge bank bare of vegetation, and especially of a sandy character, and with a southern, south-eastern, or south-western aspect, will supply them. Their burrows, by the uninitiated, are most frequently mistaken for worm-holes. But any one may be assured that, if he passes a bank of hardish sand or sandstone, with no vegetation on its sloping or perpendicular sides, pierced with round holes, such holes are the burrows, not of worms, but of solitary bees, solitary wasps, or diggers. In these holes they make their nests and lay their eggs during the summer months—that is, chiefly from the beginning of April to the end of August. These holes will be stored with food, either insect or vegetable, for the rearing of the grubs, or larvæ, after the eggs which the parent has laid are hatched. The food of all bees is universally vegetable, consisting of pollen, or of pollen mixed with honey; the food of the fossorers, or diggers, in their perfect, or winged, condition is likewise universally vegetable, but, on the other hand, the food stored by the parent diggers for their larvæ, or young grubs, is universally animal. The ants and wasps are both vegetarians and animal feeders.

All the Hymenoptera aculeata are day fliers. None are known to fly by night, except the hornets. These, on a clear, warm, and moonlight night, have been observed to continue their work at night as briskly as during the daytime.<sup>1</sup>

The Hymenoptera aculeata obtain their first name of Hymenoptera from the membranous character of their wings. The two wings on each side are also united in flight. On the first rib of the posterior wings there are from five to ten small hooks, like very diminutive fish-hooks without a barb. These hooks, when the insect rises for flight, catch on the hindermost rib of the front wings, and so the two wings are fastened together, and are thus securely and firmly looked for the purposes of flight.

The other name, “aculeata,” is given them because the females of these insects, with very few exceptions, are armed with a sting.

The chief exceptions to the possession of a sting are the Formicidæ, a family of the ants.<sup>2</sup> Among the Formicidæ are our largest ants,

<sup>1</sup> Smith, *Vespida*, p. 222.

<sup>2</sup> Our English ants are comprehended, with only one or two exceptions, in the two families, Formicidæ and Myrmicidæ. The former family are destitute of stings; the latter possess them. Other distinctions will be mentioned below.



the Wood or Hill ants (*Formica rufa*), as they are called, and the slave-making ants (*Formica sanguinea*). These two species are only found in the neighbourhood of pine-woods. To the family of the Formicidæ belong also our much smaller species, the common little black-brown, or garden, ant, and the yellow ants. The Formicidæ have no sting, but only a poison-duct. They attack with their jaws, and bite, and then, if they have the opportunity given them, they turn their tails, and attempt to inject the poison into the wounds. All the other small species of ants not included in the Formicidæ, as the little red ants, have stings. All our indigenous species of ants may consequently be regarded as harmless, as the larger ants have no stings, and the sting of the smaller species is so feeble that it is scarcely perceptible.

These insects will doubtless appear to many very insignificant, and as worthy of but little study or observation. But, insignificant as they may seem, it was a strange experience with Darwin that these insects presented to him greater difficulties in his theory of evolution than even the passage of the ape into a man. "I shall not enter here," says Darwin in reference to the variety of their instincts, "on the several cases which appeared to me at first insuperable, and actually fatal to the whole theory."<sup>1</sup> And, again, when speaking of the different castes of neuters in the same nest, he says, "This is by far the most serious special difficulty which my theory has encountered" (p. 218). Similar statements in reference to these insects are frequently repeated by him. The importance of their position in the theory of evolution is therefore established by Darwin's experiences. Around these seemingly insignificant insects it is consequently not improbable that some of the sharpest contests in future years will be waged between the supporters and opponents of evolution.

#### HUMBLE BEES.

We would first refer to an opinion of Darwin concerning the "struggle for existence" among the humble bees, as these insects are very familiar to every one. It is given by Darwin as an instance of the constant and unceasing warfare which is at work influencing and modifying the order of Nature. It occurs in the third chapter of his *Origin of Species*, entitled "Struggle for Existence." If correct it would be a very curious and involved instance of such struggle:

"The number of humble bees," Darwin says, "in any district depends in great measure upon the number of field mice, which destroy the combs and nests; and Colonel Newman, who has long attended to the habits of humble bees, believes 'That more than two-thirds of them are thus destroyed all over England annually.' Now the number of mice, as every one knows, is largely dependent on the number of cats, and Colonel Newman says, 'Near villages and small towns I have found the nests of humble bees more numerous than elsewhere, which I attribute to the number of

<sup>1</sup> *Origin of Species*, p. 213 (1897).

cats, which destroy the mice.' Hence it is quite credible that the presence of a feline animal in large numbers in any district might determine, through the intervention first of mice, and then of humble bees, the frequency of certain flowers in a district" (p. 53).

Now, without discussing on this occasion the influence of bees on the existence of flowers, we doubt very much indeed the accuracy of Darwin's other statement, "that the number of humble bees in any district depends on the number of field mice."

The humble bees have two very different habits as to their method of nesting. A large section of them are underground builders, making their nests in stone heaps, in holes in banks, or in clefts of rocks, or of ruins. The other section are surface builders, making their nests above ground, in any depression or hollow of bank or pasture field, making a dome-shaped nest, chiefly of dry bents of grass, or of moss, but not lined, as some have written, with any covering of wax. These latter humble bees are known familiarly as "Carder bees."

According to Mr. Saunders, in his *Hymenoptera Aculeata*, there are fifteen species of humble bees in Great Britain. Of these five species are either Scotch, or very rare, or local (*Bombus Smithianus*, *pomorum*, *lapponicus*, *Cullumannus*, and *Jonellus*); five are underground builders (*B. hortorum*, *Latreillelus*, *soroensis*, *terristris*, and *lapidarius*); five are surface builders (*B. venustus*, *agrorum*, *sylvarum*, *Derhamellus*, and *pratorum*). Now it is only the latter class that could be affected by the presence of mice, and so influence the number of humble bees in England. The first class are too rare, or too local, existing only in special localities, to affect the question on hand. Into the underground dwellings of the second class no mouse would ever venture to enter. The two sets of humble bees are very different as to their characteristics and pugnacity. No one can venture to disturb an underground builder's nest with impunity. They are vigorously pugnacious in self-defence. The surface builders, on the other hand, show no signs of pugnacity when their nests are disturbed by man, but in their fright they either take their flight or lie upon their backs and kick. Yet though this is the characteristic difference between the two sets, we doubt very much whether the surface builders would allow a mouse to enter their dwellings with impunity. Kirby and Spence, in their book on Entomology, refer to an experiment of Huber's as to their treatment of an intruder. "When the death's-head moth was introduced by Huber into a nest, they were not affected by it, like the hive bees, but attacked it and drove it out of the nest, and in one instance their stings proved fatal to it" (K. and S. p. 424). Mr. Saunders also, under *B. agrorum* (one of the surface builders), relates how Mr. Sladen "found a mouse's nest in an old shoe, occupied by a colony of *agrorum* in full work, and this, too, at the most necessitous time of the mouse, when she

was rearing her young. Such nests, when the surface-building humble bees have become weak and helpless during a rainy season, may probably be destroyed by mice, as such nests, in such seasons as Mr. Smith tells us, are often reduced to seven or eight inhabitants.

But no very noticeable effect would be produced upon the number of humble bees even if such nests were destroyed in multitudes. The underground builders' nests are very much more populous than those of the surface builders. Mr. F. Smith gives the average strength of the nests of the surface builder, *B. agrorum* (Saunders), as 120, and the average strength of the underground builders as 340. Mr. Smith says of two of these underground builders—*terrestris* and *lapidarius*—that these are “more populous and abundant than any other species.” These undergrounders are not subject, as the surface builders, to be destroyed by mowers at the very height of the season; not to have their nests in pasture fields trodden down by cattle; nor, which is more important, are they subject so much to the weather; they also survive the surface builders by several weeks in the autumn.

Not only should this state of the case dissipate the idea of the influence of cats and mice on the existence of humble bees (and so of flowers, as Darwin imagined), but it also disposes, as far as the case goes, of another theory of Darwin's, as to “natural selection” leading “to the extinction of less progressive and less favoured races.” If this theory is applied to this case, the surface builders should long since have been exterminated. “If any one being,” says Darwin, “varies ever so little in habits, and thus gains an advantage over some other inhabitant of the same country, it will seize on the place of that inhabitant” (p. 24). And again, “as natural selection acts solely by the preservation of profitable modifications, each new form will tend in a fully-stocked country to take the place of and finally to exterminate other less favoured forms with which it comes into competition” (p. 125). But the surface builders have survived through the countless centuries, and show no tendency to disappear, and, fit or unfit, the beautiful surface builders (*B. venustus* being one of the handsomest of the humble bees) still survive and flourish. But not only, as we shall see further on, should, as the late Bishop Harvey Goodwin says, the hive bee with its superior architecture have extinguished the humble bees, but here, in this instance, one race of humble bees should have extinguished the other.

#### WASPS.

We would now pass to what the late Professor Romanes called “the philosophy of drone-killing.” In his book on *Animal Intelligence* Professor Romanes makes the following remarks:

“I think drone-killing even more difficult in the case of the wasps than in that of the bees; for, unlike the bees, whose communities live from year to year, the wasps all perish at the end of autumn, with the exception of a

very few fertilised queens. As the season of universal calamity approaches, the workers *destroy all the larval grubs*—a proceeding which, in the opinion of some writers, strikingly represents the beneficence of the Deity. Now it does not appear to me easy to understand how the presence of such an instinct in this case can be explained. For, on the one hand, the individual females which are destined to live through the winter *cannot be conspicuously benefited* by the slaughter of the grubs; and, on the other hand, the rest of the community is so soon about to perish *that one fails to see of what advantage it can be to it to get rid of the grubs*. I have not seen this difficulty with regard to the *massacring instinct of wasps* mentioned before. The only solution which has suggested itself to my mind is the possibility that in earlier times, or in other climates, wasps may have resembled bees, and the grubslaying instinct is in them the survival of one which was then, as in the case of the bees now, a clearly beneficial instinct.”<sup>1</sup>

Now this paragraph absolutely teems with errors, and contains almost as many errors as lines. It is the climax of confusion between the instincts and habits of two very different sets of insects, the wasps and the bees. Their instincts and habits are totally distinct, and yet entirely in each case closely in accordance with their economy. The hive bee destroys the full-winged drones, because they have served their purpose in the hive, and are, at the time of their destruction by the bees, of no further utility. They become then profitless citizens. They make no contribution to the storage of the hive. “As to the drones of the hive bee, no one has yet discovered that they take any share in the business of the hive; their great employment indoors is to eat” (K. and S. p. 381). The bees, in consequence, to save their store for their winter supply, kill them off when there is no further need of them. The bees destroy their drones, and the larva and pupæ of their drones, but not the larval grubs generally, as Mr. Romanes states. “Not content with killing the drones, they attacked such *male pupæ* as were left in the cells, dragged them forth, and cast them out of the hive” (K. and S. p. 381). The bees know that they will have store enough for the workers during the winter. On the other hand, the wasps, which make no store, do not destroy the drones, nor even their grubs, as the ordinary rule. As the wasps make no store for winter, and the female wasps, which alone live through the winter, need none, so there is no necessity for the destruction of the wasp drones, as there is with the bees. The drones are thus permitted to live in the wasps’ nests their allotted time. But not only so, they are more useful to the community than the drones of the hive bee. The latter do nothing at all for the hive, but, on the contrary, the drone wasps, though “they do not assist in the building of the nest, or in the care of the young brood, yet they are the scavengers of the community, and carry off the filth; they also remove the bodies of the dead. As they make themselves so useful, they are not, like the

drones of the hive bee, devoted to universal massacre" (K. and S. p. 349).

Such sanitary action is closely in accordance with the instincts of all the social Hymenoptera. The Hymenoptera are exceedingly sanitary in all their arrangements: they remove from the nest all decaying matter or dirt; "no particle of dust of any kind being suffered to strew their dwelling."<sup>1</sup> The bees have been known, when they could not remove a dead slug or snail from the hive, to embalm it with propolis, and so prevent all offensive odours to their detriment" (K. and S. p. 394).

Now this is exactly the office which the drones of the wasps fulfil. Mr. Romanes says that the wasps destroy the grubs. We very much doubt the correctness of that statement. We believe that the grubs which they remove are dead grubs, famished by the inability of the workers to provide them with food. This carrying out of the grubs never takes place with them till the very end of the season, that is, at the end of September, or the early days of October, "as soon as the first sharp frost of October has been felt" (K. and S. p. 211). The workers become then partially benumbed, as they are very sensitive to cold or wet, and so are unable to work with their customary vigour. The time when the wasps carry forth their grubs from the nest differs distinctly from the time when the bees destroy their drones. With the hive bee the drones are usually killed by the middle or end of July, but even as early as July 4 the massacres have taken place. "Huber, on July 4, saw the massacre going on in all the hives at the same time, and attended by the same circumstances" (K. and S. p. 381). Their instinct told them that more storage would thus be saved. On the contrary, the wasps and hornets do not destroy, as we have said, the drones, but the drones themselves carry forth the grubs when, as it is probable, they have already perished; or, if they were destroyed by the wasps first, as Kirby and Spence relate (p. 211), their instinct warned them that food would fail, as the wasps have no store. "Such scenes as those related by Kirby and Spence could only be occasional, induced by some pressing necessity."<sup>2</sup>

We curiously chanced last autumn to witness the operation of the removal of the grubs from a nest of hornets. We had observed for some weeks two nests of hornets in the same lane, one in a bank, the other in an oak-tree partially decayed at the bottom, and affording a large opening near the ground, which extended upward into the trunk of the tree. The nest in the bank was a very weak one, the nest in the tree a very strong one. Standing one morning by the weaker nest observing the hornets, an underkeeper came by, and we unfortunately mentioned to him the stronger one in the oak, which he had passed, but not observed. Passing the latter nest a few

<sup>1</sup> Smith, *Vespidae*, p. 213.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 214.

days later we found that the keeper had lighted a fire with sticks at the bottom of the hole, and had attempted to burn the hornets out.<sup>1</sup>

The nest, as we have said, was a very strong one, consisting of from two hundred to two hundred and fifty members.<sup>2</sup> After the fire there was still a weak remnant left. Passing the nest again after an interval of four or five days, we found the hornets engaged in removing the grubs. The fire doubtlessly had killed them. This was on September 11, much earlier than in the ordinary course of events it would have taken place. Now, Professor Romanes thought that the removal of the grubs was a "great difficulty." We see no difficulty in it at all. It was a mere sanitary process. We need not, therefore, seek so far-fetched an explanation as Mr. Romanes suggests—to wit, that it is "the survival of an instinct from earlier times"—the utility of which has now passed away—"an instinct which was then, as in the case of the bees now, a clearly beneficial instinct."

Moreover, Mr. Romanes says that "he fails to see of what advantage it can be to the wasps to get rid of the grubs." The wasps' instincts led them to a different conclusion. The surviving wasps—males and workers—could not live out their allotted time with the dead grubs festering in the nest, nor could the queens—the old and the young—which were destined to live through the winter for the continuance of the species, have continued to live in the nest over the winter as they frequently do. Thus, Kirby and Spence say, "the nest is not entirely finished many weeks before the winter comes on; when it merely serves for the abode of a few benumbed females, and is entirely abandoned at the appearance of spring" (page 284). The males and workers for a time, and the queens for the winter, are consequently "conspicuously benefited" by the removal of the grubs. Perhaps the late Professor Romanes was a little too ready to draw conclusions from a very imperfect knowledge of facts:

<sup>1</sup> We say "unfortunately" above, as such exquisitely beautiful insects (especially when seen in flight and with the sun glancing on them) are quite inoffensive and harmless if let alone. If insect destruction were the only offence committed by keepers it would be well. Through their habitually destructive habits, unchecked, with fewest exceptions, by their more educated employers, our owls and kestrels—mainly mice and beetle feeders—and many other exquisite birds, as jays and magpies, are rapidly becoming exterminated. The buzzard is gone, even the kite is now near to its last pair in England. We are old enough to remember in our early boyhood the kite with its royal (*Milvus regalis*) peerlessness of circling and towering flight. Unless the heirs and might-be heirs of landed estates are impressed at our public schools in boyhood that there is something worth preserving beyond partridges, the utter destruction of all such exquisite birds in England will not be long delayed. True sportsmen, one would have thought, would have had some sympathy and interest in these no less noble sportsmen of the air. The loss of a few partridges, we should have thought, would have been amply compensated to them by the sight of such graceful ornaments to their estates.

<sup>2</sup> Réaumur (quoted by K. and S., p. 389) says that one-twelfth of the inhabitants of a hive pass in on a sunny day in a quarter of an hour. As hornets are equally industrious as bees, the same calculation applied to them would most probably give an accurate estimate of the number in a nest.

"Some writers" would say of the above paragraph of Professor Romanes that it "strikingly represents" the late Professor's ignorance of the different economy of wasps and bees, and also his boldness in philosophising quite irrespective of any careful accuracy as to the facts.

#### FORMICIDÆ, OR DISUSE AND LOSS OF STINGS.

We have previously alluded to the absence of stings in the Formicidæ, a family which includes our largest English ants. All the other families of English ants possess stings. The Formicidæ, Sir John Lubbock states, "possess only a rudimentary structure representing a sting, but it seems to serve as a support to the poison-duct—I am disposed to regard the condition of the organ in Formica as a case of retrogression, contingent upon disuse."<sup>1</sup>

Now, most persons who are at all acquainted with Darwin's theory will be well aware of the importance which Darwin placed on disuse of members, as conducing to the modification of species. The disuse of members in Darwin's view leads ultimately to merely a rudimentary retention of such members, or to their entire and absolute disappearance.

Now we think that the virtue of the disuse of a sting, though so charitably attributed by Sir John, in the above passage, to his friends, is the very last quality that could reasonably be credited to the Formicidæ. No one could accuse them of any inclination to give up the use of a sting if they ever possessed one. Let any one take up the large wood ant, and examine its face with a pocket magnifier. He will see sourness, malignity, and cruelty almost written on its features, if features give any index to character at all. But if not satisfied with what could be no more than a matter of opinion in that test, let him place his hand on one of their large nests, when they are in hundreds sunning themselves upon the top of it. Immediately his hand will be covered with them: they will fasten their mandibles in his flesh, and turn their tails to the wound inflicted, in order to inject the poison of their gland. In their constant conflicts with ants of a different species from their own, or with ants of their own species, but of a different nest, there would be no opportunity for disuse. A more pugnacious set of insects with all but those of their own household does not exist. Even the little yellow ant—one of the Formicidæ—if it once seizes the legs or antennæ of a stranger, will not leave its hold, till the one, or the other, or both are dead. Sir John states as the results of his own observations that with them "hatred is a stronger passion than affection": "that their relations to other animals are generally hostile" (p. 68). Yet notwithstanding all this testimony to their characteristics, Sir John entertains a most generous opinion of them.

<sup>1</sup> *Ants and Bees*, p. 14.

But not all Sir John's white-washing of his friends, and his charitable desire, even after what he has said of them, to eliminate their disagreeable characteristics, by telling us that they have lost their stings by disuse, will ever persuade us to believe that so amiable a feature ever belonged to them. Nor do we think that Sir John is happier in the reason which he suggests for their stings being allowed to fall into disuse. "First, those species which fight with their mandibles might find it most convenient to inject their poison (as they do) into the wounds thus created; secondly, if the poison itself is so intensified in virulence, as to act through the skin, a piercing influence would be comparatively of little advantage.<sup>1</sup>

This opinion of Sir John's we can by no means accept. You may place your hands upon a nest, and have them covered with ants, and may allow them to remain for some time, biting with all their might, and turning their tails to inject the poison, and it will amount to nothing more than a scarcely perceptible irritation.

We will give the experiences of a keeper, whom we have mentioned before in reference to the hornets. He told us that for several weeks each year he was daily engaged from the middle of June to the second or third week in July gathering the eggs of the *Formica rufa*—the Wood ant—to feed with them the young pheasants. He said they went miles to collect them, though they had large numbers in their own woods. The process consisted in his lifting off all the top of the nest, and taking out with his hands all the centre of it. The nests were frequently so large that the portion containing the eggs would fill half a sack. He said that when he lifted the top off the nest the ants would eject their poison all over his hands, and that it would even reach and cover his face, which would be about a foot and a half above the nest. He said that from the numbers he took he suffered at the time from great irritation of the skin of his hands, and that the irritation in a measure continued for a couple of months. Pointing to his hands (it was in September) he said: "It has not gone yet, and next spring the skin will peel off." I asked him, "But how would it be if the ants had a sting?" "Oh," he replied, "that would make it a very different matter: it would be impossible to take them with our hands."

What the *Formicas* would be, if they had a sting, may be well imagined from what is said of some of the Australian ants. We are told of one that rivals the scorpion in its sting and bite (K. and S. p. 65).<sup>2</sup> There is another which goes by the name of the "bulldog," which inflicts a most painful sting. Farren White records how a party going into the country twenty miles from Melbourne "were warned off the blackberry bushes by the determined attack of the "bulldogs." If Sir John is still of opinion that "a piercing

<sup>1</sup> *Ants and Bees*, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> *Ants and their Ways*, p. 232.



influence would be of comparatively little advantage," then as a test we commend him to the "bulldogs."

Moreover, the Formicidæ are structurally different in another respect from the other ants, Myrmidicæ, which possess a sting. An ant if taken up will generally be found to have between its thorax and abdomen, either a thin wafer-like scale or two knots, like knots on a thin piece of string.<sup>1</sup> The Formicidæ have the thin wafer-like scale: the stinging ants, Myrmidicæ, have the double knot. Now Sir John is, himself, he says, disposed to correlate the double knot with the possession of a sting! that is, where a double knot is found, there also will be a sting as well. Though this may be generally true, yet Mr. Smith says, "this mode of subdivision is only applicable to the British species" (*Formicidæ*, p. 3).

Now if this marked difference can exist generally between the ants, as a thin scale in one division, and two nodes in the other, why another should not exist as well, the one having no sting, and the other possessing one, we fail to understand, especially as Sir John Lubbock himself correlates the double knot with the possession of a sting. If so, why should not also the wafer-like scale be equally correlated with the absence of it, bespeaking in the descendants of to-day its original condition?

This divergence of the Formicidæ from the other families in the matter of a sting disturbs the evolutionary theory of Sir John, that all the other Hymenoptera aculeata, "such as the wasps and the bees," derived their stings from a common ancestry with the ants. But not only so, but we are of opinion that it disturbs also the theory that the Formicidæ and the other families of the ants had a common original as well: "for if the rudimentary structure of the Formicidæ," to quote Sir John, "represents a hitherto undeveloped organ, then the original ant was stingless" (*Ants, Bees and Wasps, &c.*, p. 15). If so, and if there was no original sting-possessing ant as well, then it has to be shown, with the natures of the two races exactly similar, how the other set of ants alone in contrast to the Formicidæ developed these stings.

We feel assured that as the Formicidæ are to-day, so they have ever been. To attribute the loss of the sting to the Formicidæ by disuse utterly belies the innate nature of this fighting and most pugnacious race; a race whose "hatred is a stronger passion than affection," and "whose relations to other animals are generally hostile."

#### A FIELD NATURALIST.

<sup>1</sup> Both the thin wafer scale and the two knots in each division of the ants respectively are segments of the abdomen, and must be so counted in the number of the segments of the abdomen, as given at the commencement of this paper.

## SOME CURIOSITIES OF LITERATURE.

A GOOD story is told in a recently published autobiography of a hostess who one night after dinner handed the guest of the evening an album containing a copy of some verses which were written by him many years before, and asked his opinion of them. He laughed lightly and pronounced them "dreadful drivel." His hostess flushed. "I don't mind your laughing at me," she said, "but pray don't laugh at verses that came from the very heart of my husband when we first knew each other, and which I will treasure to my dying day." The guest had faced perils in many forms, but it is said that the worst quarter of an hour ever spent by him was that forced upon him by the plagiarism of his hostess' husband. We are not told if the plagiarist was present, but as Coleridge says that plagiarists are always suspicious of being stolen from, we shall assume that he was "found out" in a double sense.

Now plagiarism, *pur et simple*, is neither more nor less than "flat burglary as ever was committed," according to the laying down of the learned Judge Dogberry, as to taking money under false pretences in the noted Shakesperean case of our Sovereign Lord the King, plaintiff, *v.* Conrade and Borachio, defendants. Unquestionably it ought to be included in the criminal statute; but clever special pleading might so confound judge and jury that they would find it difficult to distinguish between *bona fide* theft and accidental appropriation.

That eminent, practical kleptophilist, Ancient Pistol, indignantly repudiates the vernacular *steal*. "Convey, the wise call it," says he; "steal!—foh! a fico for the phrase." But the fellow is not consistent. By-and-by we find him saying "Bardolph hath *stolen* a pix of little price." Let us, for the sake of argument, adopt the Pistolian modification, and inquire a little how far *conveying*, in this sense, has been a favourite practice in the widely extended republic of letters since the early days of literature. Time-honoured it is, and most likely will so continue while time goes on and books multiply, until the hand of the great anarchy, Dullness,

"Let's the curtain fall  
And universal darkness covers all."

It is not easy to draw the correct line between plagiarism and

accidental imitation—two literary offences unequal in degree and often confounded. The first is a premeditated invasion of property—the act of a purloiner, who filches the fruit which others have gathered, and then throws away the basket; the second is an unintentional inroad on the said property. Then follows the mania for alteration and amendment, peculiarly characteristic of dramatic innovators, the more so when the original owner is no longer present in the flesh to claim the protection of the Maiming Act.

When the mysterious Beefeater in the *Critic* makes his first appearance, he introduces himself with the following outburst relative to his passion for the fair Tilburina: "Perdition catch my soul but I do love thee!" Whereupon Sneer observes to the author, "Mr. Puff, haven't I heard that line before?" "No, I fancy not: where, pray?" "Yes," interposes Dangle, "I think there is something like it in *Othello*." "Gad!" admits Puff, "now you remind me of it, I believe there is; but that's of no consequence; all that can be said is, that two people happened to hit on the same thought, and Shakespeare made use of it first, that's all." And so he clinches the argument quite to his own satisfaction.

There is yet another process connected with this inquiry: amplifying, expanding, or improving a thought not originally our own. "If this be a crime," as Falstaff says of growing old and fat, "Heaven help the wicked!" for the category of offenders includes nearly every great name in prose and poetry. Commentators of repute have assured us that Homer contains everything, and that all subsequent writers have copied from that illustrious and somewhat mythical personage.

And now let us turn to a few instances in the three degrees mentioned, taken at random, and without attempt at chronological arrangement. In *Twelfth Night* (act i. sc. 1.), Shakespeare writes of music:

"That strain again!—it had a dying fall:  
Oh, it came o'er my ear like the sweet south,  
That breathes upon a bank of violets,  
Stealing and giving odour."

In *Comus* we find the passage adopted by Milton:

"At last a soft and solemn-breathing sound  
Rose like a steam of rich distill'd perfumes,  
And stole upon the ear."

The Knight, in Spenser's *Faërie Queene* (Book iv. canto 6), at the sight of Belphebe

"Fell humbly downe upon his knee,  
And of his wonder made religion."

Dr. Young, one hundred and thirty years later, has transferred

this to Don Alonzo in his tragedy of *The Revenge*, with reference to the personal attractions of Leokora :

“Where did'st thou steal those eyes ? from Heaven ?  
Thou did'st ; and 'tis religion to adore them !”

There are straight-laced critics who might question the decorum of this admiration of female beauty by a divine.

Nothing is more easy of detection than mere verbal plagiarism ; and nothing more difficult to disentangle than the relative degree of proprietorship where the same idea is expressed by different words. When Pope says, in *Eloisa to Abelard*,

“Ye grotts and caverns shagg'd with horrid thorn,”

we can have no hesitation in declaring that he borrowed from Milton's line in *Comus* :

“Ye grotts and caverns shagg'd with horrid shades,”

written eighty years previously. But when he (Pope) writes

“Eternal smiles his emptiness betray,  
As shallow streams run *dimpling* all the way,”

it is more difficult to decide whether or not he filched from Drayton :

“As dimples in a river clear  
Need not to tell the bottom near,  
Because the pebbles we can spy ;  
Thus each expression in her eye  
Her superficial nature speaks,  
Though she represses dimpled cheeks.”

Ben Jonson, the ablest of Shakespeare's contemporaries, makes the elder Kno'well, in *Every Man in His Humour*, say

“Get money ; still get money, boy ; no matter by what means ; money will do more, boy, than my lord's letter.”

While Pope, in his “Epistle to Lord Bolingbroke” (*Imitations of Horace*) has.

“Get place and wealth, if possible, with grate ;  
If not, by any means get wealth and place.”

There are various poetical images which for their beauty have been universally admired, and from having been called up to mind on appropriate occasions, are become, as it were, common property, and used by every author to whom they occur. Two remarkable instances may be quoted from the works of Pope and Collins. In Pope's *Elegy to the Memory of an Unfortunate Lady* we find—

"By foreign hands thy dying eyes were closed,  
 By foreign hands thy decent limbs composed,  
 By foreign hands thy humble grave adorn'd,  
 By strangers honour'd, and by strangers mourn'd !

\* \* \* \*

What though no sacred earth allow thee room,  
 Nor hallow'd dirge be mutter'd o'er thy tomb ?  
 Yet shall thy grave with rising flowers be drest,  
 And the green turf lie lightly on thy breast ;  
 There shall the morn her earliest tears bestow,  
 There the first roses of the year shall blow."

Turn to Collins's *Ode on Patriots who fall in Battle*, and we shall find it runs thus :

"How sleep the brave who sink to rest,  
 By all their country's wishes blest !  
 When Spring with dewy fingers cold  
 Returns to deck their hallow'd mould,  
 She there shall dress a sweeter sod  
 Than Fancy's feet have ever trod.  
 By forms unseen their dirge is sung ;  
 By hands unseen their knell is rung ;  
 There Honour comes, a pilgrim gray,  
 To deck the turf that wraps their clay ;  
 And Freedom shall awhile repair  
 To dwell a weeping hermit there."

Here are the same images, expressed almost in the same terms. It is difficult to determine which passage is the most beautiful ; but as Pope's claims precedence in point of time, we may give it the praise of earlier if not superior originality, although it would be going too far to say that Collins stole from the Bard of Twickenham. Byron has engrafted Collins's line,

"Honour decks the turf that wraps their clay,"

into the first canto of *Childe Harold*, without any apology, or even the slight acknowledgment of inverted commas to imply a quotation. But he pulled up his poetical brethren unceremoniously<sup>1</sup> when they mistook dates, misapplied or misquoted passages ; as in the case of Campbell with respect to Anstey, Smollett, Cowper, and Shakespeare.

"A great poet," writes Byron,<sup>2</sup> meaning Campbell, "quoting another should be correct ; he should also be accurate, when he accuses a Parnassian brother of that dangerous charge 'borrowing' ; a poet had better borrow anything (excepting money) than the thoughts of another—they are always sure to be reclaimed ; but it is very hard, having been the lender, to be denounced as the debtor. As there is 'honour among thieves,' let there be some amongst poets, and give each his due."

As the unfortunate and gifted Collins was dead more than a

<sup>1</sup> See Byron's Letter to Murray, May 20, 1820.

<sup>2</sup> See "Diary," Jan. 1821.

quarter of a century before Byron was born there can be no doubt as to who was the "lender" and the "borrower" of

"Honour decks the turf that wraps their clay."

In Smollett, the idea of Pope and Collins, noted above, is repeated with a variation:

"Wilt thou, Monimia, shed a gracious tear  
Of the cold grave, where all my sorrows rest?  
Strew vernal flowers, applaud my love sincere,  
And bid the turf lie easy on my breast."

It meets us again in the *Man of Feeling*, by Henry Mackenzie:

"Light be the turf on Billy's breast,  
And green the sod that wraps his grave."

In the last act of *Hamlet* Laertes says, in his passionate outburst over fair Ophelia's grave:

"And from her fair and unpolluted flesh may violets spring."

Tennyson evidently admired the idea so much that the reflex became incorporated in his mind, and he unconsciously adopted it as his own in his beautiful *In Memoriam*:

"'Tis well; 'tis something; we may stand  
Where he in English earth is laid,  
And from his ashes may be made  
The violet of his native land."

—Stanza xviii.

This, we conjecture, would be the late Laureate's defence, could he be summoned into court to stand trial for his trespass on Shakespeare.

Here follows another remarkable parallel passage from Gray's *Elegy* and Cowper's *Boadicea*:

"Perhaps in this neglected spot is laid  
Some heart once pregnant with celestial fire;  
Hands, that the rod of empire might have sway'd,  
'Or wak'd to ecstasy the living lyre."

—GRAY.

"Such the bard's prophetic words,  
Pregnant with celestial fire;  
Bending, as he swept the chords  
Of his sweet but awful lyre."

—COWPER.

Nat Lee, the insane dramatic poet, says of that mournful calamity:

"There is a pleasure in being mad,  
Which none but madmen know."

Cowper paraphrases the idea with a different application :

"There is a pleasure in poetid pains,  
Which none but poets know."

Did Cowper intentionally purloin these passages? Perhaps not. In one of his own letters he says, "Parallel passages, or, at least, a striking similarity of expression, is always worthy of remark."

In Gray's *Pindaric Ode*, the last Cambrian Bard bewails his departed companions thus :

"Dear as the light that visits these sad eyes,  
Dear as the ruddy drops that warm my heart."

This is precisely what Brutus, in *Julius Caesar*, says to Portia :

"You are my true and honourable wife ;  
As dear to me as are the ruddy drops  
That visit my sad heart."

And in Otway's *Venice Preserved* we have :

"Dear as the vital warmth that feeds my life ;  
Dear as those eyes that weep in fondness o'er me."

It has been said that in Brutus' glowing words Shakespeare anticipated Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood. That he had intuitive perception on the subject of the blood's course through the body, witness not only the above passage, but also the expressive one in *Measure for Measure* where Angelo exclaims,

"Oh, heavens! why does my blood thus muster to my heart ?

Turning again to Gray's *Bard*, we find that

"They mock the air with idle state "

is Shakespeare's

"Mocking the air with colours idly spread."—*King John*.

In the *Fatal Sisters*, Gray writes :

"Iron sleet of arrowy shower  
Hurries in the darken'd air."

This is Milton and Shakespeare combined :

"Behind them shot sharp sleet of arrowy shower."  
—*Paradise Regained*

"The noise of battle hurtled in the air."

—Julius Cæsar.

In the *Ode on Eton College*,

"And, redolent of joy and youth,  
To breathe a second spring,"

is reminiscent of Dryden's

"And bees their honour redolent of spring."

—*Fable on the Pythag. System.*

In the same poem, of Gray's :

"Moody Madness laughing wild  
Amid severest woe"

is again Dryden's

"Madness laughing in his ireful mood."

—*Palemon and Arcite.*

Verily, although Gray wrote sparingly, he conveyed liberally.

All students of Shakespeare are familiar with the magnificent speech of Prospero in the fourth act of *The Tempest*, on the evanescence of created matter. The most accurate of chronologists have decided that *The Tempest* was written between 1609 and 1612. But in 1603, William Alexander, first Earl of Sterling, published in Edinburgh "*Monarchic Tragedies*." In one of these, *Darius*, he has precisely the images and nearly the expressions of Shakespeare in the "Cloud-capp'd towers," etc. Almost every schoolboy can repeat Prospero's lines by heart. Lord Sterling's lines are less accessible, so we may give them.

"Let greatness of her glassy sceptres vaunt,  
Not sceptres, no, but reeds, soon bruised, soon broken;  
And let this worldly pomp our wits enchant;  
All fades, and scarcely leaves behind a token.  
Those golden palaces, those gorgeous halls,  
With furniture superfluously fair,  
Those stately courts, those sky-encountering walls,  
Evanish all, like vapours in the air."

A comparison of the two passages must carry conviction to the minds of all that Shakespeare remembered and used, while he surpassed the ideas of his predecessor. But they are finely expressed, and would have been entitled to permanent quotation on their own merit, had they not been eclipsed by those of a greater and succeeding genius.

Bacon, in the second book of his *Advancement of Learning*, has :

"The sun, which passeth through pollutions, itself remains as pure as before."



Forty years later Milton, in his *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, gives it to us in this form :

"Truth is as impossible to be soiled by any outward touch as the sunbeam,"

and five years after comes his reverence Jeremy Taylor, in *Holy Living and Dying*, with

"The sun reflecting upon the mud of strands and shores is unpolluted as his beam."

In the correspondence of Baron Grimm we find the following amusing anecdote of a noted plagiarist of his day, whose name he does not give at full length, but who was famed for frequent poaching on the preserves of Corneille, Racine, and Voltaire. Reading one of his tragedies to the Abbé de Voiseron, the latter rose from his seat perpetually, and made a profound obeisance. "What ails you," said the poet, "with all your bows?" To which the malignant little priest replied, "A man ought to be polite, and salute his old acquaintances when he meets them."

In the *Lady of the Lake*, canto ii. verse 34, the Douglas exclaims:

"Chieftains, forego!  
I hold the first who strikes my foe."

We meet it in this fashion in Home's tragedy of *Douglas*:

"Hold, I command you both. The man that stirs makes me his foe."

It may be unnecessary to say that the last quoted was written some fifty years before Scott's masterpiece.

Again we find:

"His eye is sternly fixed on vacancy"

in canto vi. (v. 21), *Lady of the Lake*, which is certainly reminiscent of the Queen's remark to Hamlet, in act iii. scene 4; and

"The sickening pang of hope deferr'd,"

in *Lady of the Lake*, c. iii. (s. 22), makes us open our *Book of Proverbs* at c. xiii. (v. 12), where we find—

"Hope deferr'd maketh the heart sick."

The foregoing may be vulgarly called plagiarisms, perhaps they are only accidental resemblances.

It would not, we think, be easy to detect more palpable plagiarism than the subjoined lines exhibit. In Blair's *Grave*, published in 1747, we have, *à propos* to visits:

"Like those of angels, short, and far between."

Campbell, in his *Pleasures of Hope*, half a century later, writes :

“ Like angels’ visits, few and far between.”

Besides pilfering, Campbell, in altering the expression, spoiled it, as “few” and “far between” are the same thing. It was Hazlitt who first exposed this theft, and Campbell, it is said, never forgave him for it. It is not profane to say that the style and thoughts of the Reverend Robert Blair’s *Grave* are strongly tinged with the Shakespearean flavour. The grave-digger is clearly a lineal descendant—and not a degenerate one—of our old friend in *Hamlet* :

“ See yonder maker of the dead man’s bed,  
The sexton, hoary-headed chronicle :—  
With hard unmeaning face, down which ne’er stole  
A gentle tear. With mattock in his hand,  
He digs, through rows of kindred and acquaintances,  
Mostly his juniors. Scarce a skull’s cast up  
But well he knows its owner and can tell  
Some passage of his life. Thus, hand in hand,  
The sot has walk’d with death twice twenty years;  
And yet no youngster on the green laughs louder,  
Or clubs a smuttier tale. When drunkards meet,  
None sings a merrier catch, or lends his hand  
More willing to his cup. Poor wretch!  
He minds not  
That soon some trusty brother of the spade  
Shall do for him what he has done for thousands.”

Justice has not been rendered to the author of this fine poem. The subject and title perhaps were deterrent ; it missed immortality for lack of readers.

Dr. Johnson, in his preface to Shakespeare, observes that no one has discovered in his works any imitation of the Italian poetry, although at that time it was in high esteem. Berni, who remodelled Matteo Boiardo’s *Orlando Innamorato*, and died in 1536 (eighty years before Shakespeare), has the subjoined passage in the 22nd canto of the second book of Boiardo’s masterpiece :

“ Chi ruba un corno, un cavallo, un  
anello,  
E simil cose, ha qualohe discrezione,  
E potrebbe chiamarsi ladroncello ;  
Ma quel che ruba la riputazione,  
E del, altrui fatiehe si fa bello,  
Si può chiamare assassino e ladrone,  
E di più odio e pena è degno

Quanto più del dover trapassa il  
segno.”

“ He who steals a horn, a horse, or a  
ring,  
And such like things, shows some dis-  
cernment,  
And might be called a little thief.  
But he who robs me of my good name  
Or arrogates to himself the labours of  
others,  
May well be called an assassin and a  
robber,  
And merits the greater hatred and  
punishment  
In so far as the reality exceeds the  
counterfeit.”

Shakespeare makes Iago say to Othello :

"Who steals my purse, steals trash; 'tis something, nothing;  
 'Twas mine, 'tis his, and has been slave to thousands;  
 But he that filches from me my good name  
 Robs me of that which not enriches him,  
 And makes me poor indeed."

Is this imitation or not? The close resemblance is extraordinary. We present both passages and leave the reader to determine for himself.

Every one who has looked into the sources from which Shakespeare took the stories of his plays must know that in *Julius Caesar* and *Coriolanus* he has taken whole dialogues, with remarkable exactness, from North's translation of Plutarch. One remarkable parallel passage is worth quoting:

PLUTARCH:—"I am Caius Martius, who hath done to thy selfe particularly, and to all the Volsces generally, great hurt and mischief, which I cannot denie for my surname of Coriolanus that I beare. For I never had other benefit or recompense of the true and painefull service I have done, and the extreme dangers I have bene in, but this onely surname; a good memorie and witnesse of the malice and displeasure thou shouldest bear me. Indeed, the name only remaineth with me; for the rest, the envie and crueltie of the people of Rome have taken from me, by the sufferance of the dastardly nobilitie and magistrates, who have forsaken me, and let me be banished by the people. That extremitie hath now driven me to come as a poor suter, to take thy chimnie hearth, not of any hope I have to save my life thereby. For if I had feared death, I would not come hither to put myself in hazard."

Turn we now to Shakespeare:

"My name is Caius Martius, who hath done  
 To thee particularly, and to all the Volsces,  
 Great hurt and mischief; thereto witness may  
 My surname Coriolanus: The painful service,  
 The extreme dangers, and the drops of blood  
 Shed for my thankless country, are requited  
 But with that surname; a good memory,  
 And witness of the malice and displeasure  
 Which thou should'st bear me; only that name remains;  
 The cruelty and envy of the people,  
 Permitted by our dastard nobles, who  
 Have all forsook me, hath devour'd the rest;  
 And suffer'd me by the voice of slaves to be  
 Whoop'd out of Rome. Now, this extremity  
 Hath brought me to thy hearth; Not out of hope,  
 Mistake me not, to save my life; for if  
 I had fear'd death, of all men i' the world  
 I would have voided thee."—*Coriolanus*, act iv. sc. 5.

Bacon, in his *Apophthegms*, says to My Lord St. Albans, that, "Nature did never put her precious jewels into a garret four stories high, and therefore exceeding tall men have very empty heads." Fuller, the historian, in his *Andronicus; or, the Unfortunate Politician*,

written about twenty years after Lord Verulam's death, *conveys* his remarks on intellect in very tall persons in this manner: "Often-times such who are built four stories high are observed to have little in their cock-loft." Is not this "flat bunglary"?

"Worqy" Wordsworth—as Byron dubbed the Lake poet—may tell us in his notes to *We are Seven* that Coleridge owes to him the line,

"And listens like a three-years child,"

in the fourth verse of the *Ancient Mariner*, but he omitted to put

"Another morn risen on mid-noon"

in inverted commas in his own *Prelude*, considering that it is verbatim from *Paradise Lost*, Book v. line 310.

"A man is here to-day and to-morrow he is vanished; and when he is taken away from the sight he is quickly out of the mind." So said Thomas à Kempis in the twenty-third chapter of his immortal book. A hundred years after him comes Lord Brooke in his *Sonnets*—

"Out of mind as soon as out of sight."

We cannot find that Shelley borrowed much, but the following is a fair specimen of the gentle art of conveying as practised by him.

"Princes," says Bacon in Essay xix. on Empire, "are like heavenly bodies, which cause good or evil times, and which have much veneration, but no rest." Turn to *Hellas* and we have Shelley's thus: "Kings are like stars—they rise and set—they have the worship of the world, but no repose."

Dr. Johnson's real or affected depreciation of Shakespeare enraged Garrick perhaps more than his strictures on the insignificance of acting and the self-importance of actors. He said, but not to Johnson's face, "that it proceeded from want of feeling and ignorance of human nature, of which the sage understood nothing but what he had learned from books." "All he writes," added Garrick, "comes from his head: Shakespeare dipped his pen into his own heart." Sir John Hawkins, in his life of Dr. Johnson, observes that when Garrick uttered that forcible and just expression it reminded him of Shakespeare's profound knowledge of man in every possible variety of his complicated attributes; and that his imagination supplied him with thoughts and words suitable to characters and situations with which he never could have been practically conversant. Hawkins then illustrates his conviction by the following anecdote:

When he was Chairman of the Quarter Sessions for Middlesex, a young sailor was brought before him for knocking down another with a handspike in a fray, and thereby inflicting on him a serious injury. "Why did you do this?" asked the magistrate. The

prisoner, looking him full in the face, replied, calmly and resolutely, "He and others with him attacked me without provocation. What I did was in self-defence; and if you had been in his place, and your old grey locks hadn't put me in mind, as they do now, of my own father, I would have knocked you down too."

Here was the very sentiment that restrained Lady Macbeth from the murder of Duncan with her own hand. "Had he not resembled my father as he slept, I had done't." The criminal at the bar was no plagiarist; he had probably never heard of Shakespeare, much less have read his tragedy; but the same great teacher, Nature, prompted them both. Yet there are not wanting expositors by the score, who try to convince themselves and all who waste time in listening to their crudities, that, because Shakespeare knew, felt, and described everything, he must, in his mortal career, have been the very thing he so inimitably delineates. It is true, he tells us himself that one man in his time plays many parts; but it is equally true that he limits them to seven.

It would be interesting to know whether the creator of "Sherlock Holmes" ever read a certain anecdote recorded by the Jesuit traveller Charlevoix, who died in 1761. The story is of a Red Indian from whose wigwam a piece of meat had been stolen, and who promptly set out to catch the thief. He had not proceeded far before he met some persons, of whom he inquired whether they had seen a little old white man with a short gun, accompanied by a small dog with a short tail. Asked how he could thus minutely describe a man whom he had never seen, the Indian answered: "The thief I know is a little man by his having made a pile of stones to stand upon in order to reach the venison; that he is an old man I know by his short steps, which I have traced over the dead leaves in the woods; and that he is a white man I know by his turning out his toes when he walks, which an Indian never does. His gun I know to be short by the mark the muzzle made in rubbing the bark off the tree on which it leaned; that his dog is small I know by his tracks; and that he has a short tail I discovered by the mark it made in the dust where he was sitting at the time his master was taking down the meat."

This is so much like the ratiocination of Sherlock Holmes in *A Study in Scarlet* or *The Sign of Four* that it reads like a parody of it. This incident will be found quoted from Charlevoix in the recently published *Exploits of Myles Standish*. It is a remarkable literary coincidence, and only exceeded by that extraordinary resemblance between Mr. Rider Haggard's *She* and Tom Moore's *Epicurean*, which created such a storm in the world of authors a few years ago.

La Fontaine was an eminent conveyancer; but he was also an honest one. He freely confesses that he transplants from others

whatever he finds of peculiar excellence for the purpose, and endeavours to hide it by giving his lawful ideas the same air and complexion. Molière also avowed his multiplied robberies. Speaking of wit, he says: "It is the only property I have, and I take and claim it wherever it is to be found." Byron was equally frank when it suited him to forestall a charge, or apologise for bringing one. Moore tells us that, sailing with him in his gondola one day during his visit to Venice in 1819, he observed a volume with a number of paper marks between the leaves. He inquired what it was. "Only a book," he answered, "from which I am trying to crib, as I do wherever I can, and that's the way I get the character of an original poet." On taking up the book and looking into it, Moore adds, "I exclaimed, 'Ah! my old friend *Agathon*, by Wieland!'" "What!" cried Byron archly, "you have been beforehand with me there, have you?" Of course, "my dear Tom" says that in imputing to himself premeditated plagiarism, Byron was but jesting. When charged as a plagiarist with copying the shipwreck and other descriptions in *Don Juan* from published accounts, Byron said, in a letter to Murray, "almost all the poem is *real* life, either my own, or from people I knew. I laugh at such charges, convinced that no writer ever borrowed less, or made his materials more his own." "Much is coincidence," he says, in the same letter, "for instance, Lady Morgan, in her excellent book on Italy, calls Venice an *Ocean Rome*; I have the very same expression in *Foscari*."

Massinger, who began to write plays within six years after the death of Shakespeare, has many coincidences with his great predecessor, which appear too close to be accidental. Take the following as specimens:

"What you deliver to me shall be lock'd  
In a strong cabinet, of which you yourself  
Shall keep the key."

—MASSINGER: *Duke of Florence*.

"'Tis in my memory lock'd,  
And you yourself shall keep the key of it."

—*Hamlet*.

"These sponges that suck up a kingdom's fat,  
'To be squeez'd out by the rough hand of war."

—MASSINGER: *Duke of Milan*.

"ROSENCRANTZ: Take you me for a sponge, my lord?"

"HAMLET: Ay, sir, that sucks up the king's countenance, his rewards, his authorities. . . . It is but squeezing you, and, sponge, you shall be dry again." —*Hamlet*.

"My eyes would keep you company as a forlorn lover, but that the burning fire of my revenge dries up those drops of sorrow."

—MASSINGER: *Bashful Lovers*.

This is plainly an ingenious reversal of Shakespeare's image in *Hamlet*, where Laertes says :

"I have a speech of fire that fain would blaze, but that this folly drowns it."

Poets, teeming with imagination often repeat themselves. The repetition proceeds not from poverty, but what our French friends call *embarras de richesses*. The subjoined instances are culled from a host. What is this? Not plagiarism or pleonasm. It is simply the overflowing of the cornucopia.

#### WOMAN.

"She is a woman, therefore may be woo'd,  
She is a woman, therefore may be won."

—*Titus Andronicus*.

"She is beautiful, and therefore may be woo'd,  
She is a woman, therefore may be won."

—*Henry VI., Part I.*

"Was ever woman in this humour woo'd?  
Was ever woman in this humour won?"

—*Richard III.*

#### LIGHTNING.

"LYS: Brief as the lightning in the collied night,  
Which ere a man hath power to say 'behold!'  
The jaws of darkness do devour it up."

—*Midsummer Night's Dream*.

"JULIET: It is too rash, too unadvis'd, too sudden;  
Too like the lightning, which doth cease to be  
Ere one can say—It lightens!"

—*Romeo and Juliet*.

#### CHILDREN.

"CAPULET: Wife, we scarce thought us bless'd  
That God had lent us but this only child;  
But now I see this one is one too much."

—*Romeo and Juliet*.

"LEONATO: Grieved I, I had but one?  
Chid I for that at nature's frugal frame?  
Oh, one too much by thee."

—*Much Ado About Nothing*.

#### CALUMNY.

"DUKE: No might nor greatnees in mortality  
Can censure 'scape; back-wounding calumny  
The whitest virtue strikes."

—*Measure for Measure*.

"Be thou as chaste as ice, as pure as snow,  
Thou shalt not escape calumny."

—*Hamlet*.

## COMPULSION.

"They have tied me to the stake; I cannot fly,  
But bear-like, I must fight the course."

—*Macbeth*.

"GLOSTER: I am tied to the stake, and I must stand the course."

—*King Lear*.

## EFFECTS OF ILL NEWS.

"CONSTANCE: Fellow, begone! I cannot brook thy sight,  
Thy news hath made thee a most ugly man."

—*King John*.

"CLEOPATRA: Though it be honest, it is never good to bring bad news.  
Go, get thee hence. Hadst thou Narcissus in thy face, to me thou wouldst  
appear most ugly."—*Antony and Cleopatra*.

## RESIGNATION.

"YORK: Things past redress, are now with me past cure."

—*Richard II*.

"LADY MACBETH: Things without remedy  
Should be without regard."

—*Macbeth*.

## INEFFECTIVE PRAYER.

"ANGELO: When I would pray and think, I think and pray to several  
objects; heaven hath my empty words, while my invention, hearing not my  
tongue, anchors on Isabel."—*Measure for Measure*.

"KING: My words fly up, my thoughts remain below;  
Words without thoughts never to heaven go."

—*Hamlet*.

## POSTHUMOUS FAME.

"BENEDICK: If a man do not erect in this age his own tomb ere he dies,  
he shall live no longer in memory than the bell rings, and the widow  
weeps."—*Much Ado About Nothing*.

"HAMLET: There's hope a great man's memory outlive his life half a  
year; but by'r lady he must build churches then."—*Hamlet*.

## OBJECT OF IMITATION.

"OPHELIA: The courtier's, scholar's, soldier's eye, tongue, sword,  
Th' expectancy and rose of the fair state,  
The glass of fashion and the mould of form,  
Th' observed of all observers."

—*Hamlet*.

"LADY PERCY: In speech, in gait,  
In diet, in affections of delight,  
He was the mark and glass, copy and book,  
That fashion'd others."

—*Henry IV., Part II*.



Not only that he repeats himself, but copies liberally from others. Castalio says, in *The Orphan* :

“ Does this appear like a false friendship,  
When thus with open arms and streaming eyes  
I run upon thy breast ? ”

Belvidera says precisely the same in *Venice Preserved* :

“ Does this appear like change, or love decaying,  
When thus I throw myself into thy bosom,  
With all the resolution of strong truth ? ”

In the same play occur these lines :

“ Let us draw our swords and search the house,  
Pull him from the dark hole where he sits brooding  
O'er his cold fears, and each man kill his share of him.”

The similarity between this sentiment and the subjoined one in Jasper Mayne's *Amorous War*, written thirty years earlier, is so close that it could scarcely be the effect of chance :

“ Arm'd with our swords and justice of our cause,  
We'll seek him in the hole where he lies lurking,  
And each one kill a part of him.”

In Richard Sheil's tragedy of *The Apostate* we find :

“ Do not weep ;  
Or if you do, like dew on morning roses,  
Your tears must dry in the warm light of love.”

This passage has been greatly commended as equally original and poetical ; but we have it nearly a hundred and forty years before, in Otway's *Orphan* :

“ . . . Monimia weeping !  
So morning dews on new-blown roses lodge,  
By the sun's am'rous heat to be exhal'd.”

We shall conclude our somewhat rambling notes by remarking that those on the look-out for plagiarism would do well to temper their zeal and restrict their conclusions. On this point Dr. Johnson has a passage in the *Rambler*, which may be studied with advantage :

“ The author,” he says, “ who imitates his predecessors only by furnishing himself with thoughts and elegancies out of the same general magazine of literature, can with little more propriety be reproached as a plagiarist, than the architect can be censured as a mean copier of Angelo or Wren, because he digs his marble out of the same quarry, squares his stones by the same art, and unites them in columns of the same orders.”

ROBERT M. SILLARD.

## THE NEW LUNACY BILL AND ITS PENSION CLAUSE.

"WITH what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again" is a text whose practical application we would, even at the risk of being termed vindictive, like to see enforced in the case of the Lord Chancellor when his period of retirement arrives. This pious, or impious, wish, if you will, to which we have just given expression has been called forth by our perusal of the pension clause (21) of the new Lunacy Bill. Introduced by the Lord Chancellor nearly two years ago, the Bill has from the first been severely animadverted upon as cumbersome and in parts even ludicrous in its unconscious cruelty. It is matter for little wonder, then, that its resuscitation was looked forward to with some misgiving, which, as it happens, has been more than justified.

More especially is indignation aroused by his treatment of the question of superannuation. For not only is the clause distinctly less favourable to asylum officials than that in the Bill as it appeared last year, but we are thunderstruck to learn from a recent announcement that, to please a conscientious objector, the Lord Chancellor has struck it out entirely. And this barely forty-eight hours after his exceedingly rash and inaccurate statements that the Bill was in exactly the same form as the previous ones, and that it introduced no controversial matters! We congratulate the Lord Chancellor on his meritorious achievement, and cannot but admire the light and airy fashion in which he disposes of one of the most important, and also one of the most controversial, clauses of the Bill. Superannuation in connection with asylum officials has always loomed big in lunacy legislation, and so important does it seem that we think it desirable to make a criticism of the clause, just ruthlessly struck out, a means of conveying a general idea of the grounds upon which asylum officials, justly we consider, base their claims for a definite pension allowance. The evident misconception of the arduous and deteriorating nature of the duties of these officials, together with the lack of anything like an equitable, to say nothing of a just, appreciation of "diligence and fidelity" in the discharge of such duties, punctuates the pension clause with unmistakable emphasis. On each occasion of the reintroduction of the Bill this clause has been

altered, and, as a study in evolution, it may not be uninteresting to give the sum and substance of it as it originally appeared, as also its subsequent modifications.

Introduced for the first time in 1897, the Bill then proposed to apply the Poor Law Officers' Superannuation Act 1896 in the case of asylum officials. Shortly put, this meant a service (unless incapacitated by illness or infirmity) of forty years, failing which the applicant for a pension must have attained the age of sixty-five, and the allowance to be at the rate of one-sixtieth of salary and emoluments for each year of service. For reasons which need not here be entered upon, but which are obvious to those with the most superficial knowledge of the management and treatment of the insane, the Bill, passed in the House of Lords, was withdrawn in the House of Commons. We may venture to assert *en passant* that few, if any, could have withstood the strain of forty years' daily attendance upon the insane. In the following year the Bill was again introduced, and we note in the clause dealing with superannuation a better appreciation and a more general recognition of the trying duties of officials in this special calling, the Bill making compulsory the optional pension clause of the present Lunacy Act which permits retirement at the age of fifty if at least fifteen years have been served. As a matter of fact, at that age the period served is almost always one of twenty-five or thirty years, as appointments in asylums are usually made between the ages of twenty and twenty-five. We thus see that at the age of fifty asylum officials have more than completed the period of service (fifteen years) laid down by the Act and formerly pronounced by a Committee of Parliament to be sufficient, considering the nature of the employment. Another redeeming feature of the clause in last year's Bill was that, although it made obligatory the allowance of one-sixtieth for each year of service, it also gave latitude for a more generous interpretation by asylum committees, "the allowance shall not be less than one-sixtieth," who could, if they chose, pension on the terms of the principal Act. This, in the case of the more poorly salaried officials, was a concession for which those whose salaries are insufficient to make provision for old age must have been truly grateful. But, alas! such a hope was short-lived and doomed to bitter disappointment. For not only has the Lord Chancellor altered the pension clause for the worse, but on a solitary protest has withdrawn it altogether. Let us quote *in extenso* the clause:

"It shall be the duty of the visiting committee of every asylum to grant to such of their officers and servants as are engaged in the care or treatment of lunatics superannuation allowances under section 280 of the principal Act, and it shall be the duty of the County Council to confirm the grants so made, and the allowance to be granted to an officer or servant under that section shall be at the rate of one-sixtieth of the value of his salary and emoluments for each year of service in every case in which he has served with

diligence and fidelity to the satisfaction of the committee. Where an officer or servant has not served with diligence and fidelity the committee may grant him such allowance of less amount as they think proper."

In other words, if the committee elect to question the existence of "diligence and fidelity" on the part of an official who has served twenty-five or thirty years the Bill permits them to do so, and to award, if they be so minded, what might be scarcely outdoor relief. We cannot understand why the Lord Chancellor has seen fit to adopt such an attitude towards asylum officials, whose duty compels them daily to associate with the insane for fourteen hours at a stretch. In no other calling where the duties are so exacting, and the mental strain so constant, would so many hours of labour be tolerated. No eight hours' labour holds good in asylums, but almost double; and we can imagine the storm of indignation and opposition that would arise were a fourteen hours' movement proposed in some other vocations. With salaries too meagre to make provision for old age, and with such a number of working hours, surely the asylum official merits in these days of old pension schemes and comfortable work-houses for the thriftless a better treatment than that laid down by the Lord Chancellor. Nor, again, can we perceive any justifiable reason for his withdrawal in this year's Bill of the permissive element of the pension clause of last year's, "the allowance to be granted shall not be less than one-sixtieth." In this year's Bill the allowance to be granted is specifically stated to be one-sixtieth and one-sixtieth alone; and further, where an official has not served with "diligence and fidelity," it may be much less. We may be allowed a passing comment on the utter absurdity of this saving clause. It surely goes without saying that any official who failed to perform his duties with "diligence and fidelity" would never be retained. The compliment implied to a committee who would tolerate anything like the lack of such on the part of any official for a period long enough to qualify for a pension is, to say the least of it, a doubtful one. We are morally certain, however, that whatever views may be held by different committees in regard to superannuation, not one would be found ungenerous enough, or so lost to the sense of justice, as to take advantage of this most iniquitous proviso. The public do not grudge the Lord Chancellor his princely salary, nor yet his prospective large pension, and we cannot help contrasting with this the attitude he adopts and the nature of the terms he proposes to apply to others. If the importance which the Lord Chancellor attaches to the pension clause is to apply to all the others, it does not say much for the necessity of the Bill which he has introduced. That one objector should so influence him as to omit the clause only serves to confirm our opinion that the Lord Chancellor is quite indifferent to the claims which asylum officials have just cause to prefer. As an example of the mode of dealing

that some counties follow in the treatment of asylum officials, we may state that in Yorkshire it is compulsory before engagement to sign a document renouncing all right to a pension. We are convinced that such is legally not worth the paper it is written upon, but none the less does the procedure show a disposition to take a mean advantage of what the law recognises as just, but has not as yet enforced. We trust that when the Bill comes before the House of Commons a pension clause will be insisted upon, and the matter placed once and for all on a clearly defined and equitable footing.

F.

## FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE SEXES.

"This above all; to thine own self be true,  
And it must follow, as the night the day,  
Thou canst not then be false to any man."

—SHAKESPEARE.

WHY is it that women cannot be allowed by the world at large to have male friends? And Echo answers, why? Of course it is only repeating a truism to say that, taking the sex as a whole, women have been unjustly treated in this respect ever since their creation. Therefore, it only stands to reason that it is quite time they made a decided stand for their rights, in more senses than one. This question of friendship between the sexes affects the women more than the men, because it is always the unfortunate woman who has to brave the scorn of the world if she is rash enough to declare in public that she possesses a male friend. The startling information is generally received in significant silence, afterwards followed by no less significant smiles and glances, and a sort of "we could an if we would" air. The unwritten law of those who consider the proprieties of life as being of far more consequence than immorality of any kind stands thus: A woman shall not be allowed to have a male friend, not because there is any particular harm in such a friendship, but because Society (and Society with the big S, if you please) decrees that platonic friendships do not satisfy the claims of propriety. Says Charlotte Brontë, in her preface to *Jane Eyre*, "Conventionality is not morality," and one does not need to live so very long in the world to prove the truth of the saying. Naturally, however, it would never do to suggest a course of indiscriminate friendships between the sexes. There are men, and their name is legion, who have the bump of self-conceit so well developed that, if a woman happens to show the slightest interest in them or their concerns, they immediately think that she has designs on them. Just as there are women who, if a man should bestow on them one admiring glance, jump to the conclusion that he is in love with them. Miss Worboise, an authoress who is voted slow and old-fashioned in these enlightened days, says in one of her books, "I hate the foolery that makes a man into a lover directly he pays the slightest attention to a woman," and this sentiment will be heartily endorsed by all

sensible people. This sickly sentimentality seems to pervade all classes, and even children cannot play together without apeing the airs and affectations of engaged couples. Men are very apt to think that women are like so many ripe peaches, ready to drop into the masculine arms as soon as the tree is shaken, while the vanity of the women cannot rest contented with a mere friend and comrade, but must have a lover.

Mr. Ruskin is rather hard on women in general for not using their influence to make men better than what they are. But Mr. Ruskin does not make enough allowance for the conventionalities of life with which women have to contend, and the weight of which hangs round their neck like a millstone and continually drags them down. In spite of the march of civilisation, and in the midst of modern education, Mrs. Grundy rules the world as relentlessly as ever she did, and Mrs. Grundy's commands are obeyed to-day as unquestioningly as in the days of our grandmothers. But why this all-powerful lady, she-who-must-be-obeyed, has put her veto on friendship between the sexes is beyond the comprehension of those who only happen to be blessed with an ordinary share of intellect. Friendships between men and women are quite permissible in art and literary circles, but why it is confined to these two circles has not yet been satisfactorily explained. Women would very often be only too glad to stretch forth a helping hand to their brothers in distress but for this bugbear of social life, "What will Mrs. Grundy say?"

Dean Swift's regard for Stella, Dante's love for Beatrice, and other instances too numerous to mention, are proof positive that friendship pure and simple can exist between man and woman, as well as between man and man or woman and woman. Of course, a friendship of this kind requires a great deal more self-sacrifice on the woman's part than on the man's. It is not by any means a position in which any woman likes to place herself, least of all when, as often happens, the man is found to be not worth a good woman's friendship. People are never behindhand in whispering evil reports, which very often do not reach the woman's ears until her reputation is tarnished, perhaps beyond repair; and the man whom she has tried to befriend seldom has the moral courage to stop the whispers until the damage is done. Somehow or other it flatters the masculine vanity to have it said that a pretty, clever, or attractive woman would only be too glad to become Mrs. So-and-so; and the man, with characteristic selfishness, entirely ignores the stain cast upon the woman's good name, and generally continues his amusement at her expense. The only safe way to deal with some men is to be coldly polite and distant in manner towards them, for, should you happen to show the faintest interest in them, or be a trifle more cordial and free than usual, they at once conclude that you give them

licence to go any length they choose. A woman's good name is the most valuable of her possessions, and men, as a rule, are not careful enough to guard a woman's honour, although they profess to call that woman by the sacred name of friend.

Surely it is possible that a woman can admire and respect a man without being under the necessity of falling in love with him, or at all desiring him as a future husband. A woman is required by modern society to give up the innocent pleasure of spending a profitable hour with an intelligent male friend, because, forsooth, propriety is shocked at the bare idea of such a thing. She must never be seen to walk out with a man unless she is engaged to him; otherwise her name will be in everybody's mouth. It looks simply ridiculous on the face of it to suppose that a woman cannot be allowed to enjoy a friendship with a man unless a score of ill-natured tongues are set wagging by the act. But such is the fact. People are always ready to believe evil of those who attempt to stray, even by the proverbial hair's breadth, from the beaten tracks. Strong-minded women say, "Oh, let people talk, and take no notice." Yes, that is a very comfortable doctrine to accept in theory, but, like a lot of theories, it is anything but comfortable when put into practice. And, unfortunately, the members of the feminine gender are not all strong-minded, and those who are possessed of sensitive feelings never like the idea of being talked about, in public. It is not given to all of us to be *sans peur* in this matter, even if we are *sans reproche*. If there were more genuine friendships between the sexes there would be fewer unhappy marriages. Wordsworth says, "True knowledge leads to love," and it is the lack of this true knowledge, or want of real friendship before marriage, that causes so much misery in after life. A large amount of good would be done to both sexes if this question could be satisfactorily settled once for all. The women would not then be so sparing in their efforts to do unselfish actions for the benefit of mankind in general, and the men's conceit would be lulled to rest by the assurance that a woman could take an interest in them without having designs on their state of single blessedness.

• Pure and innocent friendships between the sexes would do away with a lot of the silly prudery that is so prominent a feature of modern society. If a man needed help and encouragement, he could turn to his female friend, and no doubt he would find her as true and faithful as the best male friend that ever lived. This arrangement would prove beneficial to both sexes. A male friend, morally and intellectually higher and stronger than herself, would be a great boon to any woman worthy of the name. And in like manner, a woman who is refined and modest by nature rarely spends much time in the company of men without influencing those men for good. If women in the past have been strong enough to confess their friendships for good and brave men, and have said to all



scandalmongers, "Evil be to him that evil thinks," why should they not do so again? The remedy will have to originate with women themselves if anything is done, and surely the women of the nineteenth century are not less true to the principles of womanhood than were their ancestors. They must show to the world that they do dare to claim, and acknowledge the friendship of good men, independent of the sexual questions with which we are deluged nowadays. And then, perhaps, in the dim and distant future the relations of the sexes may be what Olive Schreiner pictures it in *Dreams* :

"And I dreamed a dream. I dreamed I saw a land. And on the hills walked brave women and brave men, hand in hand. And they looked into each other's eyes, and they were not afraid. 'And I saw the women also hold each other's hands. 'And I said to him beside me, 'What place is this?' And he said, 'This is heaven.' And I said, 'Where is it?' And he answered, 'On earth.' And I said, 'When shall these things be?' And he answered, 'In the future.'"

PRISCILLA E. MOULDER.

## ORIGIN OF FREEMASONRY.

WHEN so many attempts are made to recover the ritual of Ancient Egypt it is a little surprising to be assured that some survival of it is still practised in our midst. Yet there are good grounds for believing that this is really the case. Freemasonry, although now mainly a brotherhood of good-fellowship, morality, and charity, was originally a philosophy and a religion. Symbols have usurped the place of the things signified, important doctrine has got buried under forms, and divers modern rituals have more or less displaced the old ; but what remains, and especially what is least understood, is a curious survival of a system which was once instinct with life. Freemasons are awaking to the fact that they have had a past which mounts up far beyond the time of Solomon. The Quatuor Coronati Lodge especially has laboured at this problem and tried to square the circle of puzzling symbols. The various published addresses of William Simpson, artist, traveller, and Master-Mason, are a notable contribution of this kind : his essays on *The Worship of Death* and on *The Orientation of Temples* for example. Melville's *Veritas* was an earlier effort by a member of the craft, but not so successful. And now we have Dr. Churchward, a Past-Master, proclaiming that after long study he has come to perceive that the ritual of the Freemasons reproduces the teaching of the Ancient Egyptians, especially in relation to the last things.<sup>1</sup>

The author has attained to the eighteenth degree, and so far he has found a correspondence in forms, symbols, pass-words, and teaching between the ritual of Freemasonry and that of Ancient Egypt. The one seems to him to be but a modernisation of the other. The closeness of the resemblance leads Dr. Churchward to look upon the Egyptian system as actually a system of Freemasonry, in which there were rites of initiation and an advance into higher degrees, with symbolic vestments and with pass-words.

"To know Osiris in his forms of manifestation was the secret of power ; to understand Osiris in all his names, all his places, conferred the Crown of Illumination. But in the attainment of that knowledge there were

<sup>1</sup> *Origin and Antiquity of Freemasonry, and its Analogy to the Eschatology of the Ancient Egyptians, as witnessed by the "Book of the Dead" and the Great Pyramid of Ghizeh, the First Masonic Temple in the World.* By Albert Churchward M.D., M.R.C.P., M.R.C.S., F.G.S., P.M., P.Z., 18°, &c. London : Sir Joseph Causton & Sons.

many stages which must be traversed by the finite mortal; many grades which must be achieved by the holy departed. . . . The Postulant, with upraised arms, must be re-created in incorruption, and the soul must be born anew before the Postulant could be initiated into things divine. . . . As we have it, the Initiate must pass through the fiery ordeal and be approved as adept, like Paul, who was epept and perfect, thus showing that Paul was a Mason and initiated into the highest degree. The Adept must be justified in the Tribunal of Truth before he could emerge from the shadow of the halls of death into the immediate presence of the Source of Light. The Justified must become the Illuminate. The Illuminate must be consummated as Master before he could obtain the innermost mansion in the divine house."

Dr. Churchward thinks that Moses knew the Egyptian mysteries and handed down the principal sacred signs, symbols, and tenets. But the Ritual is much older even than Moses. R.A.M.s who are taught the present tradition will be interested to learn of a chapter which was discovered, after being lost for untold years, about 4266 B.C. Our author thinks that many of the forms, words, and symbols now in use may probably date from 10,000 years ago, or earlier. Relying on Le Plongeon's work in Mexico, and on some relics which are rather widely scattered, he infers the universality as well as the vast antiquity of the Masonic Brotherhood. A comparison of pictures shows the same ideas to have prevailed in Egypt, Assyria, and Mexico. The temples represented heaven and the priests were representatives of the Divine Master. There was an evident connection with the circle of the sun's path: the Gilgal circle of stones was a figure of the zodiac, and the P.Z. jewels of the modern Masons are a clear reminiscence of the same. Of course the triangle and the Trinity come in for consideration. The point within a circle is regarded as the symbol, first, of the Pole-star—the primordial all-seeing eye—and afterwards of the sun. The Great Pyramid is claimed as the first Masonic temple. It corresponds in stone to the *Book of the Dead* in writing, so that a study of the Ritual reveals the intent of the pyramid architecture. By its passages and chambers it shows symbolically what occurs to the departed dead before the soul is finally united to its *ka*, or double, in the Grand Lodge above. To learn these things the Postulant was conducted through its portals, corridors, and halls, beginning his progress blindfold. It was plainly like the ceremony of our entered apprentice—Passing, Raising, M.R.A., and 18°.

To help the reader's apprehension, the pyramid passages are shown in Dr. Churchward's book, and the symbols treated of are graphically figured in colours.

There are some points in the Egyptology which we should be inclined to explain differently, particularly the mound or mount of seven steps, on which the god Shu stood or knelt when he upraised the heavens. It seems to us that it should be located at the

western horizon, and not at the Pole. Nor can we think that "the ten circles about Ra" are to be made intelligible by the suggestion that the observation of the stars extended over so long a period that the proper motion of the sun had changed the general appearance of the heavens.

The chief interest of this book will be for Freemasons. But the origin of essential Christian teaching should have an interest for all, especially when it includes the rule of life, the manner of the judgment, and the mode of the hereafter. In ancient time, as now, the meaning of the rites and teaching of the Brotherhood was truth, justice, morality, and charity. The end of Masonry was to show the sort of life that must be led on earth to attain to the throne of glory, and the trials the spirit would be subject to until that was accomplished.

G. S.

## ·IS HOME RULE DEAD?

HOME Rule has ceased to be fashionable, even as a Liberal doctrine. For the moment it is relegated to obscurity, and to mention its name now in certain circles stamps the speaker as a Yaddist. Mr. Chamberlain once said that Home Rule was as dead as Queen Anne. Unfortunately for his reputation as a political physician, he mistook, or affected to mistake, the real nature of the case. It is not unusual for a medical man to pronounce a patient dead, when he is really only in a state of coma. Neither is it unusual for political physicians to describe a cause as dead when it is in a state of suspended animation. We shall attempt briefly to show those interested that Home Rule as a cause is, although now almost voiceless, in a really sound state of health.

There is little doubt that the attitude of the Irish Nationalist members over the Education and Agricultural Grants questions seriously offended a large body of English Liberals. Englishmen, and especially their politicians, are eminently practical, and when they make a concession they invariably expect a *quid pro quo*. In this businesslike way, when the chances are that the kicks will be rather more numerous than the halfpence, they frequently manage to reconcile their consciences and humanity with a show of benevolent neutrality. Therefore, although the attitude of the Irish representatives on other questions could not really furnish any substantial argument against the justice of their claim for Home Rule, it certainly furnished several very strong ones against its expediency. That, on the whole, the Liberal party has received more kicks than halfpence in the cause of Home Rule I am inclined to admit, and this probably explains their being pleased with any reasons for deserting their allies and their cause. Then again, the Roseboryite or Imperial cult has naturally had no support from the Irishmen, who have had too much of Imperialism at home to be over-anxious to see its principle extended abroad. Markets and Imperial responsibilities may be very soothing medicine for our rather plethoric neighbour, John Bull, but they are mighty poor food for a nearly bankrupt country, growing poorer in people and wealth day by day. The Liberal Leaders, such as they are, see that Home Rule is not at all likely, especially in the present quiescent state of Ireland, to arouse any great enthusiasm in the British elector, and they would

fain put it in the background and push forward some cause more likely to gain a greater measure of popular support, some questions where pocket and conscience can alike be reconciled.

If the Irish people were disposed to place any great reliance on England's sense of justice, and on the faith of her statesmen, they would view with apprehension the shelving of those Liberals who have been most steadfast in advocating the concession of the Irish claims. But I certainly think it highly improbable that any countrymen place any undue value either on the English conscience or on the pledges of English statesmen. The past has been too fertile of hopes betrayed and justice defeated to leave much ground for delusions in the breast of any one in the full possession of his senses. And although for the present the Irish factions do not unite, Dillonites, Healyites, and the other ites know quite well that Home Rule will not be granted to Ireland because it is just, but because it is expedient. They know full well that the only way to make it expedient is to make matters hot for the English Government and its party, and I have no doubt that in a little time they will proceed to put that knowledge into practice. The sentiments of the people have not changed one *iota*. If anything, the national feeling has become intensified during the year now past. County Councils will not satisfy that sentiment, they will in time inflame it. When the people become accustomed to the novelty of governing themselves in a small way, when they have tasted the sweets of a little power, their appetite will sensibly increase. Besides, the Councils themselves will put a very strong lever in their hands with which to press their other claims. The day is not far distant when we shall have, through the agency of these bodies, real National Conventions, and then the means of pressure will be enormously increased. I hail as a good omen the general desire of the landed classes to take part in the local government of the country. It will tend to broaden their minds and give them a truer conception of their own responsibilities and rights and of the wrongs of their fellow-citizens. They will be brought more into contact, and in a different way from heretofore, with the autocracy and incompetency of Dublin Castle. Presently they will refuse to obey its mandates. They must recognise that the Government has strained a point in their favour in granting them such a large remission of taxation, they must have the common sense to recognise that the English Government can do nothing further for them, and that their only chance now lies in conciliating, not defying, their neighbours at home. The Financial Relations question has shown that there are several men with real patriotism among the upper classes, men who are not ashamed to be Irishmen, and defend the rights of their country according to their lights. Of these men we may mention Lord Castletown as a type and an example. The University question has

also contributed to our enlightenment in that respect. Men like Lord Emly do not lightly repudiate the past. They are not professional politicians with an interest in agitation. They are men with a stake in the country, who revolt against the Government only when they recognise the degradation of their position. I hope and believe that there are many eminent men in Ireland who are prepared to follow the lead of these noble peers when the proper time arrives.

Now, the real strength of the demand for Home Rule lies in the fact that the British Parliament has not time to deal adequately with Irish affairs; and in consequence the Chief Secretary for Ireland is to a very great extent an autocrat. The British Parliament is only susceptible to Irish popular opinion in a very slight degree indeed; Dublin Castle is not susceptible at all. The Imperial Parliament is only concerned with questions of Imperial policy, and to a lesser extent with questions of commercial and social policy. It stands to reason that the overwhelming majority of British representatives in the House of Commons are very ignorant indeed of the real state of Ireland, its wrongs and its rights. It would be strange if it were otherwise. The average Englishman and Scotchman enters Parliament to look after the interests of his constituency and of the Empire generally. Unless he is very ignorant indeed, he knows fairly well the necessity of fostering British commerce and manufactures. The country being rich, and being, in consequence of a Free Trade policy, but little dependent on agriculture as an industry, the social question in Britain is not very acute. The distress in agriculture is largely counterbalanced by the prosperity of trade.

Labourers, who find their occupation in the fields gone, flock to the town and enter the unskilled labour market, where their services generally command a higher wage than they did in the country. But take the case of Ireland, and we see at once that everything there is fundamentally different. The main reliance is on agriculture—a declining interest. Trade there is none; the people are wretchedly poor; population and wealth are rapidly decreasing. Now, how could the average English and Scotch M.P. be able to prescribe for the ills of a country in such a state as this, and which possibly he never saw? If it were a question of affording relief to a very poor person, and we wanted to do it with the minimum of cost and maximum of advantage to the person concerned, would we go for advice to the Duke of Westminster or Lord Rothschild? Should we not rather go to a clergyman or physician, or some such experienced person residing in a poor neighbourhood, and who was not in affluence himself, and ask him to advise us from his experience? Yet in governing Ireland Britain acts on her own experience and disregards that of Ireland. Of course, it should not

be an utter impossibility for an English Parliament to govern Ireland justly and in accordance with the wishes of its people. But "there is no way of judging of the future but by the past, and, judging by the past, we know" that it is almost an impossibility for England to govern Ireland well from Westminster. Let us look at a few obvious cases.

English corporations have been reformed for some generations; Irish corporations have only just been reformed. County Councils were granted to England in 1888; they were granted to Ireland in 1898.

The justice of the Roman Catholic demand for a denominational University is almost universally admitted by English politicians, but in deference to the feelings of a bigoted minority nothing is done. These instances might be multiplied indefinitely.

If Ireland had no real grievance to be redressed the demand for self-government might probably exist, but it would in all likelihood remain an academic one. Has she real grievances? Let us glance at a few of the things she should be able to do, but which she has not the power to do.

She should have the right, possessed by almost all the colonies, of regulating her own tariffs. She should be able to raise a large share of her revenues by levying import duties on articles which could be produced as cheaply at home. She should be enabled to foster her trade by protecting infant manufactures until they had acquired a permanent hold in the country. For instance, she exports large quantities of commercial produce to pay for tweeds, boots, cottons, tobacco, tea, sugar, &c. Now why should she not be able to manufacture most of these articles at home and import the others direct? This would then create an increased demand for agricultural produce at home, and benefit the farmers. The profits would remain in the country instead of going over to England to make John Bull fatter and more selfish than ever. But to do this she should be able at the outset to protect her infant manufactures.

She should be able to levy a tax on absentee landlords, and thus stop in a great measure the present serious drain on her resources through absenteeism.

She should be able to establish a Roman Catholic University and a good system of secondary education to provide for the proper enlightenment of the people.

She should be able to establish a proper and complete system of technical training, including training in agriculture.

She should be able to enormously reduce the expenses of the administration of justice. The number of judges of every kind, and of minor officials connected with the Courts, could be greatly reduced, and competent men got to perform the work at greatly reduced salaries. It is monstrous paying an Irish judge as much, or



nearly as much, for doing about half the work done by his brother in England, where the cost of living and salaries are so much higher.

She should be able to reduce the force of Constabulary by at least one-half, and also reduce their wages and privileges, and put them under local control—in fact, make them the servants, not the masters, of the people. Their billets are at present so comfortable that it frequently happens that National school teachers resign their appointments in order to join the police force. What a commentary on the government of the country!

She should be able to reorganise her Civil Service, and reduce the number of officials and their salaries. It is unjust that a poor country like Ireland should have to pay her officials as highly as a rich country like England.

She should be able to provide for a thorough system of arterial drainage.

She should be able to devote money to improving harbours, making piers, &c.

She should be able to compel the railway companies to adopt a reasonable tariff instead of the present exorbitant one, and compel them to provide efficient services, and make extensions where necessary, or, failing that, she should be able to take over the railways and work them herself.

She should be able to help the fishing industry by loans for boats, &c., and provide proper accommodation for the fishing fleet in the harbours, and for the prompt despatch of the proceeds of the fishing by land or water.

She should be enabled to deal with the congested districts, to provide farms for those displaced, to introduce improved breeds of cattle, horses, sheep, pigs, poultry, &c., to work model farms, which would be object-lessons in the advantages to be derived from careful farming.

She should be able to reduce greatly her taxation. Irishmen have at present to pay practically the same taxes as Englishmen. The expenditure of the United Kingdom is now nearly £113,000,000 a year. Of this the National Debt charges and the maintenance of the Army and Navy absorb about £70,000,000 sterling. Now I greatly doubt if any one can honestly say that for this expenditure of £70,000,000 Ireland is one penny the gainer. Irishmen have only the consolation of knowing that out of every £1 paid in taxation there is absolutely no return for more than twelve shillings.

Ireland, since the Act of Union, has decreased in wealth and population, and any benefits she derives from England's costly wars in the past and from her insurance against future wars are altogether visionary. England's expenditure on her Army and Navy is

simply a gigantic insurance of her trade, but Ireland has no trade, and consequently needs no insurance.

There are many other things she wants the power to do ; but the above is a big list in itself. ' Who is there that believes that, in the absence of Home Rule, these subjects will receive proper attention in our time, in the time of our children, or even in the time of our grandchildren ? Yet every one of them constitutes in itself the substantial grievance against the Government, and at any moment any one of them might give rise to a strong popular agitation.

The spread of the United Irish League, the strong stand taken by eminent Irishmen over the question of excessive taxation, the agitation in favour of a Catholic University, and the general discontent at the inadequate reductions in rent made by the Land Commissioners alone show that there are storms ahead, and that popular discontent is only slumbering. It cannot be long before the discontent will find a full expression in popular organisation, probably through the medium of the United Irish League, which has recently been so successful in reconciling warring factions and showing the people the way in which they must walk if they wish their grievances righted. Whether the new agitation, when organised, will dispense with the old leaders it is difficult to say, but there is every indication that the time for work is rapidly approaching. The coming leader will be, I am certain, a man who has held aloof from the wars of the factions, a man young enough to be vigorous and old enough to be wise.\* He must, above all, be a true Nationalist. He must be the exponent of Irish opinions and ideas, not the comrade of English politicians. If he is wise or able enough to reconcile the orange and green then the rest will be easy. I have always thought it of the utmost importance to attract the sturdy sectarians of the north to the side of their country. I do not mean the bigoted Orangemen, who, though noisy, are only few. I refer to the Presbyterians and Episcopalians who have so often before contributed their share to the fight for national freedom. It is more vital to our cause to conciliate these than the Liberals. The one are our brothers ; the others may be our friends if they fulfil their obligations.

While Irish grievances remain, so long will Irish discontents. Many of the people from time to time, despairing of redress of the country's grievances, follow a policy of despair and seek to obtain by force what is denied to their entreaties. I do not believe in that policy ; but I believe that Ireland united can wring justice from the hands of England, even though English political parties be temporarily united against her. You cannot permanently govern a civilised country by the sword, and the English Constitution makes no provision for the imposition of slavery. If the Irish people present a bold front and take full advantage of the Constitution, they are

invincible. Let them place reliance on none but themselves, and they will inevitably conquer. Let England try brute force again, let her try once more to crush their spirit, and she will and she must fail. The Turk could not enslave the Cretan, though Christian Europe brutally stood aside. The Spaniard could not crush the Cuban nor the Filipino, though he was the stronger. ' In fact, so long as the Irish people preserve the lofty sentiment of freedom that distinguished their ancestors in the past, so long will their slavery be impossible—and Government from Westminster through an autocrat of Dublin Castle is slavery, however much the pill may be gilded. Let us all be of one heart to preserve our spirit of independence and bring our long-enduring struggle to an issue, and despite Liberal or Tory or both we shall triumph.

M. DALTON.

## INDEPENDENT SECTION.

[Under the above title, a limited portion of THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW is occasionally set apart for the reception of Articles which contain opinions at variance with the particular ideas or measures it advocates. The object is to facilitate the expression of opinion by writers of high mental power and culture, who, while they are zealous friends of freedom and progress, yet differ widely on special points of great practical concern, both from the Editor and from each other.]

### A PLEA FOR IRELAND'S TRUE PROGRESS.

HAVING had dear Irish friends for many years past, and being much attracted by the vivacity, the genial, witty ways, and the sympathetic temperament of their race, I have always deeply felt about the harm that would accrue to that people if the present Legislative Union with England and Scotland were dissolved. Perhaps I may refer here at once to a classic witness. It is John Stuart Mill, of whom Mr. John Morley has often proudly said that he had "sat at his feet."

Mill was a thorough Land Reformer, if ever there was one. In a remarkable pamphlet, *England and Ireland*, written after the great Fenian alarm in 1868, he urged Government in the most serious words of warning to take the solution of the land problem earnestly in hand. Mill was in favour, too, it need scarcely be said, of the disestablishment of the State Church, which then still existed. He prophetically foretold the scenes of riot and sedition which would follow if the agrarian revolution, as it might be called, were not effected on legal lines in proper time. For all that, he added :

"Let it not, however, be supposed that I should regard either an absolute or a qualified separation of the two countries otherwise than as a dishonour to one and a *serious misfortune to both*. The mere geographical position of the two countries makes them far more fit to exist as one nation than as two. Not only are they more powerful for defence against a foreign enemy combined than separate; but if separate, they would be a standing menace to one another. Parted at the present time and with their present feelings, the two islands would be, of all countries in Europe, those which would have the most hostile disposition towards one another. . . . All enemies of Great Britain would not the less confidently look forward to an Irish alliance, and to being allowed to use Ireland as a basis of attack against Great Britain. Ireland would probably become, like Belgium formerly, one of the battlefields of European war."

Then Mill said : "In all this I am assuming that Ireland would succeed

in establishing a regular and orderly Government; but suppose that she failed? Suppose that she had to pass through an interval of partial anarchy first? What if there were a civil war between the Protestant and Catholic Irish, or between Ulster and the other provinces? Is it in human nature that the sympathies of England should not be principally with the English Protestant colony?

"For generations"—Mill went on—"it is to be feared that the two nations would be either at war, or in a chronic state of precarious and armed peace; each constantly watching a probable enemy so near at hand that in an instant they might be at each other's throat. By this state of their relations it is almost superfluous to say that the poorer of the two countries would suffer much. To England it would be an inconvenience; to Ireland a public calamity. . . . I see nothing that Ireland could gain by separation which might not be gained by union, except the satisfaction, which she is thought to prize, of being governed solely by Irishmen—that is, almost always by men with a strong party animosity against some part of her population: unless, indeed, the stronger party began its career of freedom by driving the whole of the weaker party beyond the seas. For these reasons it is my conviction that the separation of Ireland from Great Britain would be most undesirable for both, and that the attempt to hold them together by any form of federal union would be unsatisfactory while it lasted, and would end either in re-conquest or in complete separation."

I have given the above extracts because I have found that these wise words of an advanced Liberal, or Radical, are scarcely known at present. At least, this has been my experience with many a prominent politician. Mill was an opponent of any dissolution of the Legislative Union, whether in the form of Fenianism, of Federation, or of Home Rule. He was convinced that, in the end, any of these schemes would bring misery upon Ireland herself. His pupil, John Morley, once expressed similar views. As a candidate for Westminster, formerly represented by Mill, Mr. Morley said: "I will not vote for a separate Parliament for Ireland, and I will not vote for any measure, or proposition, or inquiry, which would lead to be supposed that this is an open question in my mind." He declared, identically with Mill, that such a separation would be a dishonour and a disaster to this country. He wrote that the question was made more difficult by the existence of two nations in Ireland, a Protestant nation in Ulster, and a Catholic nation in the south; and he wound up by adding that any English statesman would think twice, nay, thrice, before he would invite "a squalid and reduced version of the Thirty Years War."

I will not investigate the motives which made Mr. Morley or Mr. Gladstone turn their backs upon themselves. I will only say that the arguments they used in those former days remain as good as they were then. For the sake of a gifted, but too impulsive, easily misled, and, unfortunately, priest-ridden people, I trust the day will be far when the fatal gift of a Parliament and a Government of their own, would be made to them. In time of peace, I am afraid, such a constitution would result in a deplorable display of those personal bickerings which have undermined what is called the

Irish party. In time of war—that is, if England were harassed from abroad—undoubtedly some “uncrowned King” would arise, who, with funds supplied by foreign enemies of this country, might try to “beat England to her knees,” and so “destroy the last link” connecting Ireland with England—as Parnell said should be done in case of war, when a “good chance” did present itself.

Having had full experience of civil war and the sufferings entailed thereby, the prospect of such a conflict—which would come home with terrible effect upon numerous households on this side of the St. George’s Channel, where English and Irish are intermixed by marriage, or as close neighbours, in all the large towns—seems truly ghastly. What deeds of treacherous surprise, of hateful spying, of sanguinary revenge might not be expected! Yet who can doubt, when remembering the many significant speeches made in the heyday of the Irish movement, that the establishment of a separate Irish Parliament and Government, far from resulting in a quieting down, would, on the contrary, in the emergency of a foreign war prove to be “the plant of an armed revolution”?

In these very words the Fenian Brotherhood, in one of its secret circulars, described the demand of Mr. Parnell for an Irish Parliament. From this point of view, it was stated in the circular, “the restoration of a Parliament is part of our programme,” for it “gives us a footing upon Irish soil; it gives us the agencies and instrumentalities of a Government *de facto*.” This was quite in keeping with what Mr. Patrick Egan, the treasurer of the Land League, said at an Irish commemoration banquet at Versailles, when “Irish independence by the sword” was proclaimed. There he declared: “Let us hope that another Hoche will arrive to invade Ireland with an army, not of 15,000, but 100,000 Irishmen, sworn not to turn back!”

In almost all the countries which Mr. Gladstone, though by quite erroneous analogy, once quoted as Home Rule models—in Sweden-Norway, in Austria-Hungary, in Finland-Russia—we see at present bitter strife, verging either upon hostilities or despotic overthrow. No “union of hearts” has been created there by what he called the “almost magical working of the system we recommend.” He has not shown himself a good prophet or a safe guide. And those who try to make out that Parnell was working simply by constitutional means forget that, in more than one instance, he and his associates openly declared:

“We will work by constitutional means as long as it suits us. . . . If it could be shown that there was a fair prospect of success from the sacrifice, I ask my reverend and lay friends whether they would not consider it their highest duty to give their lives for the country that gave them birth. . . . None of us—whether we are in America, or in Ireland, or wherever we may be—will be satisfied until we have destroyed the last link which keeps Ireland bound to England.”

Parnell knew only too well how dependent ~~he was~~ on the one hand, upon the Fenian element; on the other, upon the priesthood. The former always tries to drive things to extremes. The priesthood persistently represents mediævalist obscurantism. Whether it is a question of England's security against attack, or a question of intellectual progress, both these agencies constitute a danger.

This same situation will always recur whenever a serious agitation begins in Ireland. Mr. Parnell had a curious personal experience of that state of things when going to a great demonstration at Cork. Before reaching the town he was actually arrested for a short time by armed Fenians, and liberated only with some difficulty. Afterwards, at the banquet given at Cork, where he himself introduced Father Greene as a speaker, he had to hear that benighted priest say:

"I here declare openly that, as the Pope of Rome denied the right of Victor Emanuel to rob him of his dominions, and was ready to throw him out by armed force (great cheering), so we Irishmen have the same right to kick out John Bull from Ireland, even as the Pope of Rome had the right to kick out Victor Emanuel (cheers)."

This utterance in favour of the destruction of Italian Unity was received with enthusiasm in presence of the "Protestant" leader of the party. It is true, Parnell once indignantly let himself go, in confidential intercourse, against what he called the "Popish rats" of his party. To a friend of mine, who had given a hundred pounds as a subscription for the Home Rule cause, Parnell, when having him at dinner at his country house in Ireland, bitterly complained of the hopeless fight he had to carry on in private against the overwhelming influence of the Roman Catholic clergy.

Here, again, may be quoted what Mill wrote. "In any Continental complications," he said, "the sympathies of England would be with Liberalism, while those of Ireland are sure to be on the same side as the Pope—that is, on the side opposed to modern civilisation and progress, and to the freedom of all, except Catholic populations held in subjection by non-Catholic rulers."

Who can doubt the correctness of this view, when remembering that in *United Ireland*, under the editorship of Mr. William O'Brien, the then M.P., all the Italian patriots were lumped together as "the revolutionists and assassins who have helped to rob the Holy Father of his temporal authority." And who can wonder that the mass of Continental Liberals and Democrats, whilst always regarding Land Reform as absolutely necessary in Ireland, should for ever so many years have looked askance at the Nationalist movement in that country? Only some of those in France who wish to see England beaten to her knees, and who think they might use an Irish party, established as a Government, as an ally in case of war, hold an opinion different from that which prevails in Italy and Germany among the best friends of progress.

Cavour, Mazzini, Garibaldi, all expressed themselves against any form of Irish Secession, Federalism, or Home Rule. Mazzini maintained that anything of that kind would split up this country into several Powers, each of secondary or third-rate importance in the world, and that it was "not wise to break up into fractions the large amount of beneficial power which England possesses, and so inscribe a *retrograde* aim on her flag." Garibaldi, at the time of his triumphal reception in London, could not have ventured upon a visit to Ireland. His very life would not have been safe there. Older men well recollect the hideous scenes of anti-Garibaldi riots in Hyde Park, in which an Irish mob indulged against English workmen.

I can testify, in this respect, to a remarkable fact. A number of French friends of mine, Republicans, Liberals and Socialists, who each and all had gone to Ireland with a prejudice in favour of the revival of what they thought was an oppressed nationality, invariably came back with strong opinions against Irish Secession or Home Rule. They all said that they had found, in what is called the "Isle of Saints," the spirit of clericalism, bitterly hostile to all intellectual progress, the masterful tendency of an unbending theocratic priesthood, the utter absence of really Liberal aspirations—in fact, a kind of Vendée.

As to speaking of the people of England and Ireland as "the two Democracies"—a phrase used, for a time, by some Land League and Nationalist agitators—these converted French friends thought it a strange misnomer in the case of the Irish party. The cry in the early fifties: "MacMahon our King!" and the later favourite phrase: "Our uncrowned King!" (Parnell) seemed to them rather odd indications of Democratic leanings. In short, they did not believe that it would be advisable, for those aiming at real political and intellectual advancement, to set up a separate State which would constitute a reactionary force.

Frenchmen, as a rule, even the most enlightened and advanced, have certainly no particular love for England. It was, therefore, all the more remarkable that, so far as my experience of a great many years goes, so quick and thorough a cure should have been effected among those who came back from a visit to Ireland. Several of them had, as I know, the amplest opportunity of studying matters at close quarters, being provided with good introductions to all kinds of "inner circles."

To have a Vaticanist thorn put in her side, in the shape of an independent or semi-independent Irish State, would not conduce to the advantage of England. To perpetuate the Upas-tree of ultramontane Obscurantism in Ireland would not be for the real benefit of that troublesome "Sister-Island." I am not one of those who despair of its highly gifted people being weaned from the blighting influence of priestcraft. But when I recollect what outrageous



things were said in leading journals of the Home Rule cause, even at a time when it would have been their interest not to offend rising nationalities, and not to alienate the sympathies of the Protestant population of Ireland, I simply stand aghast.

Being, as a freethinker, without religious bias, I can speak impartially enough on that subject. Thus, when Ricasoli, one of the most eminent and modern Italian statesmen, died, the *Freeman's Journal* wrote :

"The gang of intriguers and free-lances who created a bankrupt Italy from unscrupulous confiscations, is rapidly thinning. After the other associates of Ricasoli had been drawn before the judgment-seat of God, he himself fell down dead, by an apoplectic fit, in the midst of the town whose rightful king is a prisoner in the Vatican, whilst the puppet of the Revolution bears a crown weighing on his brow in the Quirinal."

The *Freeman's Journal* was owned, at that time, by a Protestant; yet he thought it fit to play up in this way to the prevailing opinion of the Home Rule party! Another paper, calling itself the *Catholic Progress*, said, after the assassinations in the Phoenix Park :

"The woes of Ireland are all due to one single cause—the existence of Protestantism in Ireland. The remedy could only be found in the removal of that which caused the evil. . . . Unless Ireland is governed as a Catholic nation, and full scope given to the development of the Catholic Church in Ireland by appropriating to the Catholic religion the funds given to religion, a recurrence of such events as now are taking place cannot be prevented. *Would that every Protestant meeting-house were swept from the land!* Then would Ireland recover herself, and outrages would be unknown; for there would be no admixture of misbelievers with her champions."

Do we not seem to hear an echo, in such utterances, of the voices which in France called for the massacres of the night of St. Bartholomew and for the *dragonnades*, and which in Ireland itself brought about the sanguinary deeds of 1641? In the various Home Rule journals I read at the time, and in the speeches of the leaders of that party, I never found the slightest expression of blame for such horrible sentiments as those contained in the *Freeman's Journal* and the *Catholic Progress*. Be it well noted, also, that that latter paper used the significant word "removal." In those days it was the technical term for murder!

Butt, Skaw, Parnell were Protestants. It served the interest of the priesthood behind the scenes that they should belong to that creed; for public opinion in England could thus all the more easily be deceived. The apparent tenure of power of Protestants, as temporary leaders of the Irish party working for disruption, was, however, only allowed by the wire-pulling clergy on condition of these leaders obeying the priestly behests.

In England, where Irish journals are scarcely read, I have met with prominent politicians, writers, Cabinet Ministers, each of whom

confessed, when I asked them, that they had never looked at an Irish Nationalist or Home Rule paper. They were quite astonished when being told some of the facts here given. They did not even know that one of the foremost Irish leaders, a Catholic himself, when resigning his seat in the House of Commons, did so by handing back his mandate into the hands of a Roman Catholic Archbishop, instead of addressing his resignation to his constituency. There is not in all Europe any country where such a thing could occur in the most bigoted Ultramontane district. But as there is a habit in Ireland of convoking meetings of electors "in the name of the priests and the people," we need not wonder too much.

All this fits in with the demand for a Catholic University. Though the existing University at Dublin has, for years past, been free to all denominations, it is denounced by clericalist Home Rulers as a "Godless fabric." Now the very name of "Catholic University" is a *contradictio in adjecto*; a University, in the proper acceptation of the word, implying freedom of teaching. What freedom of teaching there is under the Papal Church we know from the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* and the action of the Inquisition still flourishing in the Vatican. The sorry spectacle of the way in which Professor Schell at Würzburg has just been dealt with, and the degrading submission he finally performed, after he had been expected to become a minor Luther or a second Döllinger, may serve as an indication of what a Catholic University in Ireland, for which funds from this country's budget are to be asked, would turn out to be.

If Romanists want more training colleges for their theologians, there is no hindrance to their establishing colleges of that kind out of their own means. But to ask England to create a new nursery for Ultramontanes holding views like those above described, is certainly not what sensible men can accede to. You do not, as a rule, supply the knife to one who wishes to cut your throat.

The recklessness of party warfare between English Conservatives and Liberals is undoubtedly a great cause of the increase of power of a Church whose blighting spirit of dominion—as Mr. Gladstone himself once acknowledged in a famous pamphlet—has remained ever the same from the Middle Ages down to our days. *Semper eadem.* Owing to that reckless party warfare, the non-denominational National schools of Ireland were allowed to be practically diverted from their original purpose by the never-ceasing encroachments of the Romanist clergy.

Now a Catholic University is going to be proposed. It looks as if some Conservative, thinking himself a fine Machiavellian, wished to dish the Liberals, whilst in point of fact he would rather dish England. Any man with a grain of common sense may truly have more than a "philosophic doubt" about the wisdom of such a policy.

"The state of Ireland is not, and ought not to be, a matter of party," Mr. Gladstone once said. Would that he had kept to that maxim! It would have been better both for England and for Ireland. I may here mention, lest I should be misunderstood, that the cause of land reform, of full religious equality, of proper municipal self-government in Ireland has had my active sympathies a good many years before Mr. Gladstone ever moved in any of those questions.

As to the dissolution of the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland, we need only look at the results of the former loose federative constitutions of Switzerland, of the United States of America, and of Germany—which were praised by Mr. Gladstone as Home Rule models!—whilst in each of these cases the consequence was civil war, and a subsequent closer binding together of the constitutional tie. The war against the Jesuitic Sonderbund of Switzerland in 1847; the prolonged and sanguinary war against the Southern Confederacy, when Mr. Gladstone's sympathies were unfortunately on the slave-holders' side; the war of Prussia against the German Bund in 1866, when the Austrian Federal Provinces were ejected from the common Fatherland, are certainly not very alluring examples for this country. To quote Germany, with her nearly two dozen dynasties still left, as a model of a Home-ruling country to be imitated by England, is absurdity almost beyond description.

A separate Parliament and Government for Ireland would endanger England's security, organise civil war between the two islands, and destroy every hope of intellectual progress in Ireland. To establish the happily still United Kingdom on the basis of federation would soon make an Englishman—and for that matter, a Welshman, a Scot, and an Irishman as well—a stranger in his own country, for the inevitable consequence would be to make English, Welsh, Scottish, and Irish legislation gradually diverge, until there would be conflict and, in certain circumstances, downright hostility and armed conflict between the various "nationalities."

The plain fact cannot be got over that—as John Stuart Mill said, and as Mr. Morley acknowledged before he turned his back upon himself—there are two nations in Ireland, racially and religiously opposed to each other. In so far, "Ireland a Nation!" is certainly a misnomer. Through the maintenance of the English connection, civil war between the two antagonistic sections is fortunately avoided; and that, in itself, is a great blessing. From that point of view, it may truly be said that, if "Home Rule is not dead," it ought to be.

Those who say that the Turks could not put down the Cretans, nor the Spaniards the Cubans and the Filippinos, certainly choose their illustrations about Ireland rather unwisely. Who does not know that the Cretans were at civil war among themselves from religious antagonism; the Mohammedans of that island being by no

means Turks in race, but of equally Hellenic origin and speech as the Christians of Crete? Now, is this religious civil war among the inhabitants of the same isle to be quoted as a prototype for coming Irish affairs, with the additional prospect of armed interference on the part of foreign Powers?

Again, what about the Cubans and the Filipinos? Surely there has been sad Spanish misgovernment. But considering how the United States of America, in which a feeling of military aggression and of Imperialism has come up with unpleasant suddenness, now look upon and treat the Cubans and the Filipinos themselves: is that the way Irishmen would like to be treated by foreign invaders? I am afraid the agents of any foreign Power coming to the rescue of that "distressful country" would soon declare that, after all, they found the discontents there a very unsatisfactory element or bad lot—as they might unceremoniously express themselves. After such experience, even dissatisfied Irishmen might perhaps find out that they had only exchanged masters for harsher ones, even as the Cubans and the Filipinos at present say they have done; the war and the bombarding of whilom friends going on day by day.

Is it to be denied that a great many grievances want redress in Ireland? By no means! Much might be done for the tillers of her soil and her fisher-folk. Agricultural schools ought to be established. Railway companies should be made to introduce tariffs facilitating the growth of home industries. But these are grievances existing not only on the Irish side of the St. George's Channel. In truth, Ireland, with her 500,000 small farmers, however much many of them may suffer, is in that respect better situated than the dwindling class of agricultural labourers or hinds in England, where there are mainly great landowners and large farmers; the small farmers being comparatively most insignificant in numbers.

It is easy to speak of "John Bull" as "overgrown and fat." But is not the labouring agricultural class of England, with its utter want of land and its weekly tenancy of a cottage, in the most abject plight? And is there not an immense proletariat in her large manufacturing towns? Why falsely reserve all the light of prosperity for England, as if there were no suffering popular classes there; and why paint Ireland alone in dark shades?

There are many subjects concerning the land question on which Englishmen, Welshmen, Scots, and Irishmen, wishing to better the condition of suffering classes, ought always to stand together. In the same way they ought to combine for making the administration of justice cheaper, which is shamefully expensive all through the United Kingdom. But such common efforts will certainly be hampered if another Parnell is to be called up, ready to cut the last link between the two islands, even with the aid of a foreign foe. Those

who hanker after such a new uncrowned king; who at the same time want to reduce the Irish Constabulary, and to place it under the command of Nationalist Disruptionists; and who, furthermore, wish to see the army and the navy of the United Kingdom diminished in presence of the ever-growing armaments of France and Russia, both of which Powers are latent foes of this country—well, those who profess such aims must not wonder if they are looked upon rather as enemies than as friends of sensible progress.

To declare, forsooth, in the name of Liberalism, of justice, and of the lofty sentiments of freedom that the next thing to be done is to establish a clerical, denominational, "Romanist University as the correct means of enlightening (!) the people; to characterise those as "bigoted," who oppose such mediæval bigotry; to proclaim, furthermore, the necessity of a war of tariffs against England: these are strange principles of liberty indeed. Nothing proves better than such avowals into what a reactionary slough of despond Ireland would fall if Home Rule were granted.

In the heyday of the Land League movement even the "boycotting of all English literature" was formally advocated in *United Ireland*, with the open remark that in this way the larger perusal of the works of a well-known nun might be promoted! An Irish Parliament was, no doubt, expected to take the proper protective and prohibitive measures against English literature.

In the interest of the progress of all the parts of the common country I hold that Legislative Unity should be strictly preserved, but municipal rights of self-administration be extended. To give political semi-independence to Ireland would make her the play-ball of foreign intrigue in times of war. In times of peace it would throw her wholly into the hands of the priesthood, which comes out mainly from the ranks of a peasantry that forms the overwhelming majority of the population. In the towns the secessionist Fenian element would be increased by emigrants flocking in again from America, and trying to force on absolute disruption. The intellectual culture, the peace, and the prosperity of the country would thus go down more and more; and this is a prospect which I, from true sympathy with real grievances, look upon with feelings of utter dismay.

A WELLWISHER OF IRELAND.

## THE INDIAN CURRENCY.<sup>1</sup>

SINCE Bimetallism was given up in 1872, the currency of the world has been thrown into confusion, as there has been no common measure of value. One nation has used gold as measure, another nation has used silver; thus when transactions have taken place between the citizens of two nations using different metals, the prices have usually been fixed by the seller's currency, and the purchaser has then had to obtain this currency by a process which has been dignified by the name of Exchange, but which really differed from exchange as generally understood, and which much more nearly resembled the primitive system of Barter.

The inconvenience of this state of things has been generally felt, and the consequence has been that one nation after another has sought to avoid it by following the great nations and adopting the gold currency, and giving up the use of silver as currency. This has been done at very great expense and inconvenience, and it may be said that in few of the nations that have adopted gold in place of silver have we seen the end of this expense and inconvenience, while some have found their finances so deranged that they are even contemplating a return to their silver currency again.

It was in these circumstances that a Committee was appointed last May to consider the matter of the currency in British India, and a proposal made by the Government of India; and also to submit "any suggestions of their own which they may think advisable for the establishment of a satisfactory system of currency in India, and for securing as far as practicable a stable exchange between that country and the United Kingdom." The Committee sat from May 23 to July 25, 1896, and has published the Minutes of Evidence taken before it between those dates. It then adjourned, and resumed sitting in November, but the evidence taken since November has not been published at the time of writing. It is the Minutes of Evidence taken between May 23 and July 25 to which we wish to draw the attention of our readers, and we think that in the published Minutes of this evidence questions are raised which are well worthy of anxious thought.

We find that various plans for the reform of the currency of

<sup>1</sup> Minutes of Evidence taken before the Committee appointed to inquire into the Indian Currency.

India were submitted by the witnesses heard; and it is proposed to consider the chief plans and the objections which may be urged to them; and to put forward a plan which seems to have special merits.

There is first of all the plan of the Government of India, the details of which are laid before the Committee by Mr. J. F. Finlay, the Secretary to the Government of India in the Finance Department. This plan is for the purpose of introducing a gold currency into India, or rather to hasten the accomplishment of the plan which was started when the Mints were closed in 1893. Mr. J. F. Finlay tells us that the Government thinks that as soon as exchange rises to about 1s.  $4\frac{3}{4}$ d., gold will be sent to the Mints; and he says that to shorten the time that it would take for the rupee to rise to that amount, the Government of India propose to withdraw rupees from the currency and melt them down, if necessary; and that simultaneously they propose to borrow gold and ship it to India to form a gold reserve (Qs. 2642-3).

Another plan which is put forward is that of Mr. A. M. Lindsay, who is Deputy Secretary of the Bank of Bengal. This plan is for the introduction of a gold standard without a gold currency—that is, to leave the currency as it is at present, a silver rupee currency; but, by means of a fund of gold provided in London, to hold out to all who wish to convert large sums of rupees (Rs. 15,000) into sterling money that they can do this at the exchange of 1s.  $3\frac{1}{2}$ d. per rupee, and to hold out to those who wish to convert sterling money into rupees that they can do this at 1s.  $4\frac{1}{8}$ d. per rupee. Mr. Lindsay is himself examined by the Committee, and he says that he considers £10,000,000 held in London would be a sufficient fund for the purpose, and that he considers the plan could not fail to keep the rupee at a steady exchange value which would not fall below 1s.  $3\frac{1}{2}$ d. or rise above 1s.  $4\frac{1}{8}$ d.

A modification of Mr. Lindsay's plan is put forward by Sir W. Hely-Hutchinson, who, while he is in favour of Mr. Lindsay's plan, lays stress upon the fact that gold should not be received in India as currency.

We also have evidence given by Sir Edgar Vincent with regard to the currency of Egypt and of Turkey, and by Mr. Edward Clouston with regard to the currency of Canada. This evidence seems to be taken with regard to the currencies of Egypt, Turkey, and Canada, because they show us, in working order, systems of gold standards without a gold currency, and to this extent resemble the schemes put forward for India by Mr. A. M. Lindsay and Sir W. Hely-Hutchinson; and these currencies also resemble the currencies proposed for India in the fact that much over-valued silver coins are used.

Then Lord Rothschild gives evidence. He expresses himself as

opposed to all artificial treatment of currency, but still he says that he was in favour of the closing of the Mints, since he considered that the Government were forced into it, as they were compelled to take action, and there was nothing else that they could do. He thinks also that the closing of the Mints might not have had an injurious effect if the mistake had not been made of fixing a maximum value of the rupee, and if the Government had been ready to come to the assistance of trade in times of stringency. Lord Rothschild, however, seemed to be in favour of none of the schemes which have been put forward for introducing a gold standard without a gold currency, and he lays it down that the only way to introduce a gold standard is to introduce a gold currency also, and for this purpose to amass the large quantity of gold that would, without doubt, be required for a gold standard and currency. The chief objection that he puts forward to these schemes for the introduction of a gold standard without a gold currency is that they provide for a withdrawal of rupees, and he lays down the doctrine that a Government is not justified in restricting the volume of the currency for the purposes of exchange.

We have now put forward a short outline of the most practical schemes suggested, and we must next consider if these schemes are likely to put the currency of India on a sound basis. On this point it may be said that if the establishment of a gold standard is the desideratum, the scheme of the Government of India would carry this out, but that Mr. Lindsay's scheme would also carry it out, and at less cost, while the amendments of Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson on Mr. Lindsay's scheme would introduce the gold standard at still less cost.

It seems to us that the adverse criticism that has been passed on these schemes by Lord Rothschild and other eminent authorities was in no way merited, and that these authorities themselves have failed to keep before them the peculiar nature of the case in India at present, and to observe that the principles which they have applied, though in most cases sound, are in no way applicable to this peculiar case. It is necessary then to consider what is the fault which has been found by these authorities with these schemes, and it will be found that in nearly every case the fault found has turned upon the restrictions of currency—in the Government scheme by at once melting down rupees; and in Mr. Lindsay's scheme by melting them down so soon as the gold provided in London for exchange had fallen so low that confidence in its sufficiency for the purpose might be affected, which he terms apprehension-point. And restriction of currency in either of these ways is objected to on the ground that it is ill-advised for a Government to restrict currency for purposes of influencing exchange or for any other reason.

We can certainly agree in the soundness of this general principle,  
VOL. 151.—No. 6.



that it is ill-advised for Governments to interfere with a currency either by restricting it or otherwise; but, before we find fault with these schemes as being opposed to this principle, we must consider the purpose for which they are put forward. They are put forward not for the purpose of continuing a sound system of currency in India, but for the purpose of carrying out a system of currency which, according to the doctrine taught by this principle, must be itself unsound. We beg to maintain, therefore, that, for the purpose of carrying out an unsound system, it may be reasonable to adopt, and may, in fact, be necessary to adopt, measures which may be opposed to sound principles.

Now we mean most strongly to affirm that the system of currency in India, depending as it does upon closed Mints, is an unsound system, and is unsound just because it is a restriction of the currency by the Government; and it appears to us that Lord Rothschild and others, who approve of restriction through closing of the Mints, should not on this ground condemn these schemes, which only carry out the restriction contemplated when the Mints were closed.

Thus it seems to us that the schemes which have been put forward for the introduction of a gold standard without a gold currency would be successful, always supposing that it is desirable to introduce a gold standard into India. But it is our very strong opinion that this is not advisable, since we think that it is always most ill-advised for a Government to restrict the currency of a country, and that doing this is specially ill-advised when this country has just beside it a rival whose currency is in no way restricted.

Thus we are not in favour of patching up the policy of 1893 by introducing a gold standard at as little expense as possible; but we are in favour of reversing that policy and of opening the Mints to the coinage of rupees, and of also opening them to the coinage of a gold piece of the value of fifteen rupees, and of the same value as the British sovereign.

Of course it will be at once seen that this cannot be done if gold and silver are left in their present position and at their present value. We therefore propose to tie these two metals together for exchange purposes by an international agreement which shall declare that the Mints of the agreeing nations shall always be open to the coinage of gold and silver, the gold coins being twenty-two times the value of the silver coins of the same weight.

In fact, what we propose is just Bimetallism pure and simple, is just the system of currency which kept the exchange between India and Great Britain in a steady and satisfactory condition up to 1872, from which date this exchange has been most unsteady and ever going from bad to worse. It may be asked how it is that we advocate this system of currency which has had so much attention drawn to it, and which has been so universally condemned? To this we

should answer that though it has been to a large extent condemned, it has been condemned because, at the ratio of  $15\frac{1}{2}$  to 1, which has hitherto been proposed, it was thought that it would interfere with contracts, bring down the price of gold, and flood the currencies with silver; such, at least, has been the most weighty reason for condemning this system. Now, we think it could easily be shown that these objections were to a large extent exaggerated, but at the same time it was impossible to deny that Bimetallism, at this ratio, would to some small extent bring down the price of gold, would increase the use of silver as currency, and also would interfere with some contracts; though other contracts, that had been interfered with by the high price put on gold through Monometallism, would be brought back to their proper position. Bimetallism, at  $15\frac{1}{2}$  to 1, was, on this account, condemned by some, while others who did not understand the system properly joined in the chorus and maintained that it was impossible to fix the ratio of value of two commodities in this or any other way.

Now, as we have said, it has always seemed to us that the first objection to Bimetallism was much exaggerated, but it would seem that there is no place for it if the ratio at which it is proposed to establish Bimetallism is reduced to 22 to 1, which approximately assigns a value of 1s. 4d. to the rupee, for there are few contracts which such a ratio would interfere with to a sensible extent, while there are contracts which it would tend to reinstate in their rightful position.

With regard to the second objection, that it is impossible to fix the price of two commodities by establishing this price at the Mints or by any other means, we intend to maintain that this is founded on a fallacy, and is only maintained by those who persist in regarding the question from one and that a wrong point of view. This is well exemplified by a book, *Indian Currency*, which has lately been published by Mr. Dunning McLeod, in which he most forcibly maintains that it is quite impossible to fix the value of one commodity in terms of another; and to give force to his arguments he goes back to the writings of Copernicus, of Locke, and of Petty, which writings we are quite ready to admit most convincingly show that the price of commodities cannot be fixed by any authority. But we should ask Mr. McLeod to consider whether silver and gold used for exchange in many countries by an international agreement should be regarded economically as more than one commodity. In the sense in which Copernicus, Locke, and Petty spoke, we cannot but presume that these philosophers were referring to commodities used for two different purposes. Now, we think that it will be plain that if by international agreement silver and gold were used at a fixed ratio for exchange, they would only be used for one purpose, since their other uses would be infinitesimal when compared with their

use for exchange. It seems, therefore, that, in the sense of these authorities, silver and gold should be regarded as used for but one purpose, and therefore economically but one commodity. Silver and gold then would have no market price different from their price for exchange purposes, since their use for exchange would be so much greater than their use for other purposes that their price for exchange would regulate their price for other purposes in the market. We just wish to draw attention to the fact that under these circumstances silver and gold would be regarded economically as the exchange commodity and as but one commodity; and that this exchange commodity would, like other commodities, vary in price or value with supply and demand, but, as these two components of this one commodity would have a fixed ratio of usefulness one towards the other for the use to which they were both put, they would not vary in price or value as measured by each other. An example of other two commodities which have a similar relation of value may be found in beetroot and cane sugar: these are two different commodities which are regarded economically and otherwise as but one commodity—namely, sugar or sweetening commodity. Let us suppose that cane sugar has, roughly, double the sweetening power, and so double the usefulness, of beetroot sugar; then cane sugar, if this is the case, should command double the price of beetroot sugar. Now let us suppose there is a very much-increased supply of beetroot sugar: this will bring down the price of the compound commodity, sugar, but it will in no way affect cane sugar as measured in value by beetroot sugar; the cane sugar having double the sweetening power of the beetroot sugar will still have double the value and double the price of beetroot sugar. It seems, then, that we may take it that, if gold and silver are used as the exchange commodity to a sufficient extent, the one will always command the fixed value as measured in the other.

It would seem, too, that, as the United States of America and France were willing eighteen months ago to enter into an agreement for the use of silver and gold at the ratio of  $15\frac{1}{2}$  to 1, a proposal might be made to them for the use of silver and gold at this new ratio; and a proposal might be made to all countries on a gold standard to make all their silver coins at this ratio of weight for the future.

If some such international agreement could be come to, it seems unquestionable that this would be the most satisfactory means of settling the Indian currency question.

With regard to a gold standard without a gold currency, it has been pointed out that the Lindsay scheme, as amended by Sir W. Hely-Hutchinson, would establish this at the least expense, but it must be remembered that both Mr. Lindsay and Sir W. Hely-Hutchinson are of opinion that the scheme would cost roughly

£10,000,000 or so to put it in operation, and, though it is probable that it would not cost more, they themselves quite allow that they cannot accurately calculate the cost, and that it might be considerably more. Then it must always be remembered that the success of such a scheme entirely depends upon its being possible to prevent the spread of illicit coinage, though there is no doubt that the scheme would give a high premium to such illicit practices with the minimum of risk of detection; so that, though evidence was given before the Committee that there has been no increase of illicit coinage in India, this by no means proves that it might not take place when the temptation might be greater; and again, considering the great difficulty of detection, it is possible that there is more illicit coinage than the authorities in India know of. On these accounts it seems that these schemes for a gold standard without a gold currency have elements in them which might cause them to fail; and, though I cannot find in them the faults which have been put forward, it still seems that there would be risk in adopting them. But, though these objections to a gold standard without a gold currency might be found not to apply, there are other objections which certainly do apply, and would seem to be most weighty. The objections to which I now refer are two: firstly, that the large quantities of silver possessed by the natives of India would be greatly depreciated, and would no longer be useful for purposes of money; and it certainly seems that this looks very like a breaking of faith with these owners of silver, that what they had been led by Government to look upon as equivalent to money should, by an edict of the same Government, lose this position and thereby greatly depreciate in value; and, secondly, that, through the rise in the value of the Indian rupee which would take place on its being thus made worth 1s. 4d. in gold, the Chinese traders would gain a great advantage in their competition with Indian traders. The Chinese money, being silver, would fall in value with silver; Chinese traders would be able to obtain produce at silver prices, and which had been produced by workmen paid with silver wages which had in no way risen, and which would take a long time to rise to a level with gold wages. It is certain, then, that Chinese traders would have an immense advantage over Indian traders, as they would be able to sell their produce at a much lower price; and this is of great importance to India, since nearly all the produce of India can be produced in China, and so it might happen that the competition of China would ruin the trade of India.

Then most of these objections to a gold standard without a gold currency would apply to a gold standard with a gold currency, while there is no doubt that this latter scheme would be enormously expensive.

It will be seen, then, that to the schemes for a gold standard there

are many objections, while to that for a joint standard of silver and gold at the ratio of 22 to 1 none of these objections can be urged.

Of course it will be said by some that to this bimetallic arrangement greater objections apply than to gold currency schemes, since it is their opinion that the ratio would not work, and they might maintain that the international agreement could never be made. I have shown, however, that a ratio was maintained for the first seventy years of this century, and I have shown the reason according to economic science why it was maintained. Then with regard to the difficulty of getting the nations to agree, there seems to be no good reason for preventing us from making to these nations a proposal similar to the proposal which two of the largest and richest nations made to us only a year and a half ago.

Of the schemes which have been advanced it would seem that all of them with the exception of that for the establishment of a bimetallic currency would be likely to lead to confusion. On this account we wish very strongly to put forward as a remedy for the present state of things that our Government should at once take steps to bring about an international agreement for the establishment of Bimetallism at a ratio of about 22 to 1. The difficulties may be considerable, but it is quite worth undertaking them for the object in view.

G. J. FORSYTH GRANT.

## VACCINATION AND DR. GARRETT-ANDERSON.

"SIR,—I have trusted that more competent critics would handle this most illogical letter in a manner befitting the subject, but I feel impressed to ask your permission to put a few queries before your readers, who may desire *unbiassed* and *disinterested* testimony on one of the most unjust enactments of the British Parliament. Carlyle says: 'To decree *injustice* by a *law*—inspired prophets have long since seen, what every clear soul may still see, that of all Anarchies and Devil-worships there is none like this; that this is the "throne of iniquity" set up in the name of the Highest, the human apotheosis of Anarchy itself.' And can there be a greater injustice done than this cruel, arbitrary, and *useless* fraud upon the helpless innocents who are thus sacrificed to the ignorance, the lust of power, and the greed of gain in a body of men and women, whose proverbial difference of opinion is for once ignored in sight of their fear of losing not less than £2,000,000 per annum in fees that would have been saved to the parents of the helpless victims? But the doctors are *not* all agreed upon this question; and truth *will* prevail before long, when the public—the *ignorant* public, whom Dr. Garrett-Anderson sneers at, have realised their responsibility and given their decision, as if all wisdom was shut up, scheduled, and tabulated in the archives and text-books of the Medical Faculty! When thieves cast out, honest men will keep their own; and when doctors differ the public may begin to think for themselves, *pace* the duly qualified medical practioner. Does Dr. Garrett-Anderson forget that we are living in a different age to that of Jenner; that we have Board schools and sanitary associations, municipal water works, and health societies? Does she ignore the tremendous progress we have made as a nation in the arts and sciences of domestic and civic life? And if we have much yet to learn, and much yet to unlearn, both of domestic and municipal sanitation, surely she must comprehend that we owe our vast improvements to the labours of sanitarians, to the constant lessons of experience, bitter though these may be in our families and in our cities. She speaks of the fifty children each year who are *believed* to die of vaccination. But what of the hundreds, the thousands, who die of diseases which were scarcely heard of before

vaccination was made compulsory? Nearly thirty years ago, in discussing this point with the late Dr. Charles Sidey, of Edinburgh, I learned how very little faith *many* of the medical men of the time placed in vaccination as a protection, and how many *new forms* of *disease* had become alarmingly prevalent. In 1870-71 there was a great epidemic of small-pox in London, and in the school in which I was residing with a young sister we were ordered to be re-vaccinated. I refused to allow my sister to be touched, and wrote to our family physician for advice. His reply was: 'To vaccinate during an epidemic of small-pox is highly dangerous—best leave well alone.' Very much to the astonishment of both the lady principal and her duly qualified vaccinator, we were not vaccinated (neither were the principal nor her sister!), but every pupil and governess had to submit to the rite. Some of these were quite as ill as I have known in the case of small-pox patients; but no one took small-pox, which I ascribe to the extremely well-sanitised condition of the house and the district—not to the protective power of the vaccinator. May I ask how often doctors and sanitary officers are vaccinated? Nurses, I know, have to submit, *nolens volens*, as, without, they are refused employment. Yes, it will be a grand time for free-born Britons when doctors have the right—the legal right—to starve their fellow-citizens by boycotting them from every decent employment, by this test of manliness, of moral courage! It is bad enough already. I have many letters from poor women who ask me how to *evade* the present law (in Scotland), as to frankly refuse would mean loss of employment for the bread-winner. Now, what I want to ask Dr. Garret Anderson is this: If vaccination protects the person who is vaccinated, why trouble about the poor *ignorant* fools who refuse to be vaccinated? But alas! vaccination is not the wonderful preventive of small-pox that she believes it, or says she believes it, to be. I was in Gloucester shortly after the epidemic there in 1896, and saw with my own eyes, and heard with my own ears, the sufferers' account of that awful time. The story of that terrible and disgraceful epidemic has yet to be written and held up to the shame of the medical profession in the town of Gloucester. The condition of the sewerage and the domestic arrangements in the poorer parts of the town were the grief and disgust of the minority in the council, whose advice to enforce more sanitary conditions was overruled and ignored. The wonder was not that over 400 deaths resulted from small-pox, but that 4000 were not removed by the plague. The small-pox hospital, we are told, was too small, but the hospital itself was a hotbed for the virus; the cases were nearly all confined to it and the surrounding insanitary district; the patients were taken into the hospital in order 'to isolate the cases,' and in very many of these cases *nothing more was done*. The disease 'must run its course,' 'nothing could be done.' Yet where the noble band of

voluntary nurses, with John Pickering at their head, stepped in and devoted themselves night and day to the work of *cleansing* this filth-disease out of their midst, what encouragement did they receive from the qualified (?) authorities? They were hindered from using a hall in which they could have nursed their patients in decent comfort. They had to bathe and treat every case in their own poor and inconvenient homes; and, in spite of bitter and unjust hindrance, they saved, out of 200 cases, 178; leaving 11 per cent. of deaths against 26·88 in hospital, and 19·78 in the private practice of the medical practioners in the town. Of this 11 per cent. of fatalities, three were those of notoriously intemperate men, *all vaccinated*; three were young children, *recently vaccinated*; three were vaccinated adults who suffered from very serious complications; and ten were unvaccinated children living close to the hospital, 'which was belching forth infection night and day.' 'This infection was the principal ingredient accounting for the severity of epidemic'—it was infection double distilled. I saw many cases which had been treated in the hospital, now blind or suffering from 'the treatment,' or want of treatment. I saw healthy adults and children who had passed through the 'water-treatment' and were *not* in any way *marked* or *injured*. But this is all a matter of history now, and one result of the experience in Gloucester is that the *ignorant* people there are stronger anti-vaccinators than before the epidemic. True, many had to give in to the compulsion of necessity and submit to the *wisdom* of the doctors; but what will a man not do when his daily bread and the daily bread of his wife and children is in question? Of two evils he chooses the least, and starvation seems more terrible for the time than *possible* harm through vaccination. Yet I learned that the man who removed the patients to the hospital and the man who disinfected the houses were *not vaccinated*, and *neither took the small-pox*. And now, if vaccination did save us from small-pox, one might be induced to think favourably of it. But there is a *large* number, an increasingly large number, of (even) medical men who have written and spoken and *sworn* against it as useless and hurtful. And if so, what must *ignorant* persons, not trained in the pro-vaccination ethics of the medical schools, do but simply prefer that they and their children should put their trust in sanitation, in healthy, decent lives, and in the word of Him who has promised to all who will obey His commands, 'obey and live.' This new 'religion of fear' is sapping the health and morals of the nation, and the common sense of the medical profession, who are proclaiming, on the one hand, the dangers of tuberculosis (consumption?) from the use of milk from (possibly) tuberculous cattle, yet are not afraid to inoculate delicate infants with pure (?) calf lymph; which may or may not have tuberculosis as well as cow-pox, or whatever they now call it, to add to the trouble. Why, it seems now a legal sin, if not



a moral sin, to be sound in wind and clean in blood; the man or woman who does not need a doctor or medicine for themselves or their children is looked on by their neighbours as an anomaly, and not just the thing—not natural, don'tcher know, and bad form, and all the rest of it. But they who have nursed and buried the little victims of vaccination can tell another story. How many are there who have died not of vaccination—oh dear, no!—but of some insidious poison that has sapped the strength and left them open to the assault of the next petty epidemic—petty only because not judged worth a special inoculation of its very own. By-and-by we shall think little of vaccination, for there are half-a-dozen or more diseases equally deadly, and some of them equally loathsome, which will be honoured by a special Act of Parliament and a special inspector (women will be the best!); and then, perhaps, mothers may rebel against the weary vanity of bearing children only to be clinical material for the vivisector and the vaccinator. In Leicester, the least vaccinated town in England, I am assured, there are no small-pox cases, except when some vaccinated tramp arrives from a protected city, such as Sheffield or Manchester. It does seem strange that as the vaccinator ceased his weary work the deaths from other causes also became less and less: there must be some screw loose—perhaps the fact of a large number of believers in clean water and pure food and decent living has done for small-pox what never was done where compulsory vaccination was the rule. Anyway the years when the largest numbers were vaccinated showed the heaviest bills of mortality, and *vice versa*. The town of Leicester spends much time, money, and consideration on this subject, and have their reward in a freedom from small-pox unique in the annals of the country. And after all, what is small-pox? What but Nature's supremest attempt to cast out the gathered filth of disease, by the skin, which she cannot persuade the abused body to clear out by the usual channels. If John Pickering cured his patients by simple baths and sent them out into the world 'fit to be seen,' and this after a few days' treatment, why should we live in constant dread of this pestilence or any other? If the so-much-worshipped Lister theory of antiseptic treatment is correct, why should the doctors not apply it here as well as in surgical cases? For what is the principle of Listerism but perfect purity in the patient, and in the nurses, and in the hospital? And all this can be attained without so much red tape and professional fuss and abnegation of parental responsibility. So rest assured, O ye parents! if your child dies in spite of or because of professional treatment, you may escape the rigours of the law, but still lose your child. Only last week I heard a clergyman assert to a mother whose child was being cared for by doctor and nurse, "You are always safest to hand your child over to them; you have no responsibility." Yes, that's so; but if your child

dies while under their wise or unwise care, *neither are they responsible*, and it is *you* who suffer. Do not mistake: it is to you the child belongs—from you that God will require him, and no one, neither priest nor presbyter, can absolve you for giving up *your* responsibility to any one else. You have been given reason and intelligence to bring up your child to play his part and gain his share of the world's experience, and no man can absolve you from your contract. Dirt and disease go hand in hand—cleanliness of body ensures health both of body and mind. The day is past when dirt was synonymous with sanctity, and John the Baptist is come again in the new gospel of sanitary science. Who among our rich brewers and distillers will ease their troubled conscience by building and endowing public baths in their native towns? We have plenty half-empty churches; why not utilise them on week-nights to give lectures to the ignorant people on the 'laws of life,' on practical means of maintaining health, on wholesome ways of enjoying life? I feel assured before many years the present hospitals would then be found more than ample for accidental or vagrant cases, and the mortality bill would be greatly reduced. But, first, we are resolved to educate the people against all poisonous attempts to hinder Nature in her efforts to cast out the devils of disease, by anti-vaccination meetings throughout the country, by men who can give full proofs for what they do assert—that sanitation, not vaccination, is the cure for small-pox.

"A. S. HUNTER."

## CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

### SCIENCE.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK has chosen an appropriate time of the year for the publication of his work *On Buds and Stipules*,<sup>1</sup> and no doubt many of his readers will seize the opportunity afforded by the awakening of vegetation to investigate, personally, some of the interesting phenomena described in the book before us. The greater part of the matter has already appeared in the Linnean Society's Journal; but as that publication is not in the hands of every lover of nature a much wider circulation of the author's views may now be looked for. The detailed study of buds has led Sir John Lubbock to divide them into eight categories, this classification being based chiefly upon the means by which the tender portions of the bud are protected. The stipules, which are the chief protective agents, act in at least ten different ways, some of which are most ingeniously adapted to the end in view. Especially interesting are the hollow thorns and bladders developed by some plants, apparently for the benefit of the ants which inhabit them. These ants, in return for the lodgings provided for them, protect the whole plant from herbivorous quadrupeds, and even man himself hesitates to face them. The marvellous adaptations of some stipules as water reservoirs have often awakened the admiration of botanists, who are not yet agreed whether these small cup-fulls of water are not at the same time traps for insects. In the case of the teasel, for instance, organs have been detected which may serve for the absorption of nourishment obtained in this way. The illustrations are numerous and excellent; but the absence of reference numbers on the four coloured plates renders it difficult for any one who is not an expert botanist to identify them. No one who takes up this book will lay it down again without having learnt something interesting about the vegetation which surrounds us in every country walk.

The fifth volume of the Columbia University Biological Series fully sustains the reputation of this collection of biological essays. The subject is: *The Foundations of Zoology*, which is ably treated

<sup>1</sup> *On Buds and Stipules*. By Sir J. Lubbock, Bart., M.P. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd. 1899.

by Mr. W. K. Brooks.<sup>1</sup> The work is divided into thirteen sections, each of which was originally a lecture delivered at the Johns Hopkins University. One of the best of these sections is on Huxley, and the Problem of the Naturalist, in which full justice is done to the memory of that able naturalist. On the subject of evolution the author fairly states both sides of the case—in fact, the objections are rather magnified. For instance, in describing the loose cocoon woven in its cell by the larva of the queen bee Mr. Brooks terms this a provision made by the royal larva for its own murder. It is true that the loose network lining a queen cell is more easily penetrated by the sting of a rival queen than the cocoon of a worker cell; but there is another side to the question which does not quite agree with Huber's view as adopted by the author. In unfavourable weather, which prevents the old queen leaving the hive with a swarm, the young queen is imprisoned in her cell, the wax covering of which is gnawed away by the workers. The loose cell lining enables the captive to breathe freely, while the impervious cocoon of a worker cell would cut off the necessary supply of air. The danger of asphyxia is a serious one, while the chance of a sting from a rival is under the circumstances mentioned very remote, because the worker bees surround the queen cell and will not let the old queen approach it. May we not therefore conclude that the royal larva did that which was best for it when it constructed a porous lining to its cell? The chapter on Natural Selection, and the Antiquity of Life, is a suggestive one, and clearly explains the modern views of geologists as to the enormous lapse of time since the first appearance of life upon the globe. When we call a thing "as old as the hills" we appear to have almost exhausted our standards of antiquity. Yet, in the little lingula shell we have an organism which is far older than any range of mountains. It has lived its placid life beneath the waters of the ocean while whole continents have come and gone, and is to-day identical with its ancestors of Lower Cambrian times. We think the author gives somewhat excessive prominence to teleologists, such as Paley and Berkeley, whose views do not now gain many adherents. No one will deny that Darwin's views on evolution were to some extent tentative; but they will have to be modified by facts: they cannot be explained away.

<sup>2</sup> *The Foundations of Zoology*. By W. K. Brooks. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1899.

---

## PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY.

As Mr. Bailey Saunders' *Quest of Faith*<sup>1</sup> is, in the main merely critical and, as he admits, leads to no positive results, it offers few, if any, points for criticism, except on the part of those he himself criticises, and who—at least those of them who survive—can answer him for themselves. The subject Mr. Saunders deals with is almost exclusively the Theistic problem, as it is called, and he passes in orderly review the theories which have been set forth by a series of distinguished writers: the late Professor Huxley representing Agnosticism; Mr. A. J. Balfour and the Argument from Scepticism; Professor Campbell Fraser and the Philosophy of Theism; Teleology, as defended by the Duke of Argyll and the late Professor Drummond; and other contributors to the discussion. Mr. Saunders is a calm and unprejudiced critic, and gives his opinions in a fair and open spirit; but it is manifest that a writer who puts under examination so many divergent theories and comes to no definite conclusions of his own, cannot be particularly helpful, but leaves things as they were, and the reader in quest of a faith will have to look further for a guide.

We have heard from pulpit and platform quite sufficient denunciation of the Catholics, sacerdotalists, or priests in the Church of England; their treachery, as it is called, exposed, and their superstitions ridiculed. What we have been waiting for is some satisfactory presentation of principles on the side of the Protestant party, in opposition to the claims of the Catholics. Most of the Protestant clergy and Nonconformists are no more in favour of real religious liberty than those to whom they are opposed, and they are but beating the air. Low Churchmen, as well as High, keep Dissenters at a distance, while the Evangelical Free Churchmen refuse to co-operate with any other Nonconformists who will not pronounce themselves "Evangelical." They are fighting the enemy with their own hands tied. This is particularly the case with the Free Churchmen; their great ambition at the present moment is to form a great Church in opposition to the State Church, and in doing this they have thrown away the advantages coming from individuality, freedom, and toleration, which was once the strength of Nonconformity. We commend to them Dr. Adolf Harnack's pamphlet, entitled *Thoughts on the Present Position of Protestantism*,<sup>2</sup> After referring to the threatening attitude of Catholicism as a religion and an ecclesiastical spirit, Dr. Harnack says: "In the struggle with this

<sup>1</sup> *The Quest of Faith. Being Notes on the Current Philosophy of Religion.* By Thomas Bailey Saunders. London: Adam and Charles Black. 1899.

<sup>2</sup> *Thoughts on the Present Position of Protestants.* By Adolf Harnack. Translated by Thomas Bailey Saunders. London: Adam and Charles Black.

enemy, true Protestantism has a hard task; for by its very constitution it cannot fight in serried ranks, and it is always in a state of internal crisis. Yet there is no room for timidity or despair. Protestantism has only to remember its original principles, and the duty incumbent upon it to shut its ears to no form of truth, and then it is impregnable. These are the principles which demolished Mediaevalism; which produced men of individual character; which helped to found and develop modern Culture. These principles are inseparably bound up with an element of Puritanism and independence—even in places where there are no Puritans and no Independents." The chief object of the book is to exhibit these principles, and it ought to be read carefully and its suggestions taken to heart by all English Protestants, and again we say, especially by all Nonconformists.

The author of *Theories of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ*,<sup>1</sup> describes himself on the title-page of this work as "sometime Evidential Lecturer to the Barking Rural Deaneries and the Christian Evidence Society," but we have no intimation of the cause of his relinquishing the office. Had we been the society we should have suggested his resignation. Mr. Marchant begins by saying that "the legal or historical evidence of the bare fact of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ should not be given undue prominence in Christian apologetics"—a lecturer on evidences who does not make the most of his evidence cannot be regarded as a very useful advocate. Our author lays more weight upon what he calls the "spiritual evidence," which seems to mean that certain persons believed the "bare fact" on what appears to us to be insufficient evidence. The Resurrection, if it occurred, is an historical fact, and historical evidence is the only kind of evidence that applies to the case. Mr. Marchant not only has loose ideas of the nature of evidence, but curious notions of facts. He says: "There are a multitude of known facts of which we are individually ignorant, and a greater multitude of which every living man is ignorant." How facts can be described as "known" of which we are all individually and collectively ignorant passes our comprehension. Mr. Marchant accuses those who are not satisfied with the lack of evidence with having a prejudice against a miracle. We have no prejudice against miracles: we have rather a partiality for them; our only regret is that they never occur, in spite of a "widespread belief" to the contrary.

The theories which Mr. Marchant discusses are the "Swoon Theory," advocated, so we are told, by the "courageous and genial pastor" of the Theistic Church, the "Vision" and "Apparition" theories, and the curious "Conspiracy Theory" of Mr. John Vickers. Our author meets these and other "cold and heartless demands of

<sup>1</sup> *Theories of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ*. By James Marchant Williams and Norgate, London, Edinburgh, and Oxford. 1899.

the intellect" by simply repeating the Gospel story. The book scarcely deserves serious notice except by way of protest against such feeble arguments being offered for the consideration of intelligent people. One serious point requires notice: Mr. Marchant in a note (p. 64) says, "Keim, with every other sober critic, admits that the first Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians," takes us back to a date "which was separated by only four years from the great events of the death and resurrection of Jesus." We are not able at this moment to refer to Keim, but so sober a commentator as Dr. Cunningham Geikie gives the date 57 as the year when the Epistle was written. Mr. Marchant is therefore out by about twenty years.

As a specimen of some of the peculiarities of seventeenth-century religious epistolatory literature the Letters of Samuel Rutherford are interesting reading. A short selection from Dr. Andrew A. Bonar's edition of the Letters is now published.—(Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier.)

*Christian and Jewish Pilgrims to the Holy Land* is rather topographical than theological; but as most people regard anything relating to Palestine as religious we may mention that we have received a copy.—(Church Newspaper Company.)

*A Brief Account of the Foundation and History of the Protestant Dissenting Meeting House, Barton Street, Gloucester*, by Walter Lloyd, contains a great deal of matter interesting to religious historians. The Meeting House owes its origin to James Forbes, M.A., who was appointed Lecturer in Gloucester by Oliver Cromwell in 1654, and soon after formed an Independent Congregation which has had a continuous existence down to the present day, though ministers and congregations have for more than a hundred years been known as Unitarian. The author is the present minister of the chapel, which was erected in 1699. To the account of the history of the first minister and his successors the author has added an interesting sketch of John Biddle, the distinguished Socinian, who was for some years Master of the Crypt School in Gloucester, and whom Dr. John Owen undertook to confute by order of the Council of State. The pamphlet throws a good deal of light upon the state of religion in the country during the Long Parliament and under the Protectorate of Cromwell, and contains original extracts from the Gloucester Corporation records and parish registers never before printed.—(Published by the Author, Gloucester.)

---

## SOCIOLOGY, POLITICS, AND JURISPRUDENCE.

THIS is one of the numerous works at once political, economical, and historical, which we owe to the Spanish-American War.<sup>1</sup> M. Yves Guyot is to be congratulated upon his clear examination of the situation, and upon the courage which he has shown, by no means for the first time, in opposing his own views to the general trend of opinion amongst his countrymen. The author first deals with the finances of Spain and the United States, and shows that if those of Spain are in a lamentable condition, those of the United States are by no means in the most flourishing state. One of the most interesting chapters in the book is that in which M. Guyot examines the racial characteristics of France, and denies any close affinity between Frenchmen and Spaniards. Frenchmen are not, he contends, in any proper sense of the words a Latin race, but, relying upon the authority of M. Lagneau, he ascribes their ancestry to Celts, Aquitaines, Ligurians, Galatians, Cimmerians, Belgians, Franks, Goths, Burgundians, Saxons, Normans, Phœnicians, Jews, Saracens, Moors, Greeks, Romans! We wonder after this how he has escaped lynching! "Spaniards have only known how to exploit their colonies by generals and priests"—in this lies the great secret of their ill success. M. Guyot examines the condition of things in Manila and Havana, and closes a really admirable little book with a critical study of Spanish politics during the present century.

Notwithstanding all modern improvements and ameliorations—improved sanitary conditions, reduced hours of labour, protection against dangerous machinery, restrictions upon the labour of women and children, increased supervision, improved educational facilities, cheap means of locomotion, cheap food, cheap clothes, and a cheap Press, increased holidays, amusements, and recreations—notwithstanding all these things, only gained, by the way, after a fierce and prolonged struggle, the factory system of to-day is still an ugly evil. The machine has become almost human, whilst the man is tending to become a mere machine. The individualist capitalist is as eager to-day to make profits out of his machine as in the worst days of the "white slavery," and he is still only too apt to regard his "hands" as the mere servants of his machine, to be replaced as quickly as they are used up. That these observations are correct will be acknowledged after a perusal of *The Effects of the Factory System*,<sup>2</sup> by Mr. Allen Clarke, once a factory lad at Bolton and now a journalist. Allowing for all the improvements we have mentioned,

<sup>1</sup> *L'Évolution Politique et Sociale de l'Espagne.* By Yves Guyot. Paris: Bibliothèque Charpentier, 11 Rue de Grenelle.

<sup>2</sup> *The Effects of the Factory System.* By Allen Clarke. London: Grant Richards. 1899.



he still maintains the effects of the factory system are bad physically, mentally, and morally. "The labour in the cotton factories is harder," he insists, "more worrying, owing to the greater speed of the machinery; the swelling numbers of the unemployed make it difficult for a man to get in again when once thrown out; the struggle for existence under individualistic conditions has become keener and keener, as not alone the workers but dwindling tradesmen and even pinched middlemen can testify out of their troubles."

In addition we have overcrowding in huge, ugly towns, a high death-rate, a population in a chronic state of ill health and disease, and steadily deteriorating in physique. Truly an ugly system, for which, under the pretence of spreading Christianity and civilisation in foreign lands, but in reality to find a market for the products of this system, our statesmen play the game of grab, with the Bible in one hand and brandy flask and rifle in the other, and then, like the nation of hypocrites we are, we floutish the former and affect not to see the latter.

As a supplement to the above book, *Our Industrial Laws*,<sup>1</sup> by Miss Mona Wilson, may be usefully read. From this valuable little work those interested in so doing will learn how the present factory laws may be enforced, which, in spite of the army of inspectors, are habitually evaded. Good laws without good administration are almost worse than useless, since they tend to a false sense of security.

*The Law of Partnership*,<sup>2</sup> by Mr. Arthur Underhill, the well-known legal text-book writer, consists of six lectures delivered by the author under the scheme of the Council of Legal Education. It has now become customary for such lectures to be published in book form, and Mr. Underhill has followed the fashion, not regarding his work as a text-book, for have we not already Lindley and Pollock? but with the hope "that law students and commercial men may find in it a readable, concise, and accurate view of the main principles of the law of partnerships." We need scarcely add that both those classes will find in this little book a broad and bold sketch of the great principles underlying this branch of the law, a sketch which should appeal especially to laymen, so simple is its language, and so free from technical terms. On page 65 there is a bad printer's error in the word "signature."

<sup>1</sup> *Our Industrial Laws. Working Women in Factories, Workshops, and Laundries, and How to Help them.* By Mona Wilson. Edited, with a Preface, by Mrs. H. J. Tennant. Issued by the Industrial Law Committee. London: Duckworth & Co. 1899.

<sup>2</sup> *The Law of Partnership.* Six Lectures delivered in the Old Hall, Lincoln's Inn, during the Hilary Sittings, 1899, at the request of the Council of Legal Education. By Arthur Underhill, M.A., LL.D. London: Butterworths. 1899.

## VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

'BARON GOSTKOWSKI' has written a very pleasant account of an interesting journey which all his readers, we are sure, would have been delighted to make in his company. It was on December 25, 1896, that the Baron started from Havre on board *La Normandie*, landing at New York on January 4. Soon after arriving he is introduced to the delegates of the Cuban rebels, and the opinion is forced upon him that Spain might by wise foresight and impartial rule have retained Cuba as "a respectful and submissive son." From New York, through Washington, New Orleans, Texas, and the Northern States of Mexico we are taken to that city itself, being entertained *en route* with some highly interesting personal details of the death of the Emperor Maximilian. The account of Mexico city is full and clear, and accompanied by some excellent illustrations.

## HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

HERR GUSTAV WOLF'S work, *Deutsche Geschichte*,<sup>1</sup> which has now been completed, will be invaluable to students of German history. Herr Wolf has dealt very elaborately and thoroughly with the circumstances which led to the Reformation in Germany. He has taken the utmost pains in collecting all the available authorities on disputed points. Indeed, his work is a monument of learning.

The *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution*,<sup>2</sup> with regard to the United States National Museum, has much archæological and historical interest. The volume extends to about 1100 pages, and contains elaborate accounts of the various departments of the museum. In the department of Prehistoric Art we find some interesting plates illustrating the Neolithic period in Europe. There is also an account of curious spearheads found in Illinois. Interest will also be taken in the reference to the grotesquely-shaped pottery whistles found in Mexico, which throw some light on Aztec civilisation.

The *Legitimist Kalender for 1899*<sup>3</sup> is a pathetic example of the perversity of those who, in the teeth of progress, live in the past. The volume is edited by the Marquis de Ruvigny and Raineval and Mr. Cranstoun Metcalfe. In the "Foreword" we are told that "Legitimism in this penultimate year of the nineteenth century

<sup>1</sup> *De Paris à Mexico par les États-Unis*. By Baron Gostkowski. Paris: P. V. Stock.

<sup>2</sup> *Deutsche Geschichte im Zerteter der Gegenreformation*. Von Gustav Wolf. Band i. abt. 2, 3. Berlin: Oswald Seehagan. London: Williams & Norgate.

<sup>3</sup> *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1898*. United States National Museum. Washington: Government Printing Office.

<sup>4</sup> *The Legitimist Kalender for 1899*. Edited by the Marquis de Ruvigny and Raineval and Cranstoun Metcalfe. London: A. D. Innes.

may fairly be said to be a vigorous and actual principle." Perhaps the editors meant "active." At any rate, the statement is grotesquely opposed to the truth. Monarchy is a dying cause, and its complete extinction as an institution is only a matter of time. The editors of this book are only harmless enthusiasts.

*Slav or Saxon*,<sup>1</sup> by Mr. W. D. Foulke, is a very readable work on the question of Russia's history and her future share in civilisation and conquest. The writer, who deals with the subject from what may be called the extreme Anglo-American point of view, is scarcely just to Russia. We do not agree with his view that "France has seen its best days." The inherent energy and splendid recuperative power of the French genius and character must be always taken into account. Moreover, it is evident to any keen observer that Russia, in spite of its system of government, is making much progress. It is a fallacy to assume that the struggle of the future will necessarily be a duel between the Anglo-Saxon and the Slavonic races.

Mr. Hector MacPherson's monograph on Adam Smith in Messrs. Oliphant, Anderson, and Ferrier's series of Eminent Scotsmen, presents the career of the great author of *The Wealth of Nations*<sup>2</sup> in a most luminous and comprehensive form. Mr. MacPherson points out that Adam Smith's life is a notable exception to the general experience that "the blood of the martyred thinker has been the seed of civilisation." During his own existence that gifted economist and moralist reaped the reward of his greatness, and to-day his ideas are still vital and influential. The book will be most useful as a summary of Adam Smith's career, and will, no doubt, lead many readers to take up that more elaborate work on the subject—Mr. Rae's splendid biography.

How profound is the interest taken not merely in France but all over Europe in the life and achievements of the First Napoleon! The number of books written on his campaigns may be regarded as a test of the curiosity universally felt in everything relating to "The Man of Destiny." M. Henry Houssage, a member of the French Academy, has written a very learned and masterly book on Waterloo,<sup>3</sup> in which he endeavours to show that Napoleon's calculations with respect to that "world-shaking" battle were worthy of his genius, and that his failure was due to the limitations of his position, which prevented him from properly carrying into effect his splendid plans. This work will be read with avidity by all admirers of Napoleon.

One of the most interesting of recently published autobiographies is *Fragments of an Autobiography*,<sup>4</sup> by Felix Moscheles. The chapters

<sup>1</sup> *Slav or Saxon*. By W. D. Foulke. New York: Putnam's Sons.

<sup>2</sup> *Adam Smith*. By Hector MacPherson. Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier.

<sup>3</sup> 1815—*Waterloo*. Par<sup>t</sup> Henry Houssage. Paris: Librairie Academique, Perrin et Cie.

<sup>4</sup> *Fragments of an Autobiography*. By Felix Moscheles. London: Nisbet & Co.

about Leipsig, the author's acquaintance with Mazzini and Rossini, and his trip to America are especially interesting. It is to be hoped that Mr. Moscheles will not make us wait long for his volume of *Fragments*.

A new popular edition of the *Life of Sir Richard Burton* has been published by Messrs. Duckworth. Mr. W. H. Wilkins has revised the original edition of two volumes, so that, the book being now in one volume, and therefore cheaper than the first edition, it is hoped it may be enjoyed by a larger number of readers, who might otherwise never have read the life of one of the most remarkable personalities of this century.

The third edition of Baedeker's excellent *Handbook to Northern France* has appeared; this Handbook does not include Paris.

#### BELLES-LETTRES.

MESSRS. JARROLD AND SONS have issued an English translation of Maurus Jókai's beautiful novel, *The Nameless Castle*.<sup>2</sup> Those who have not read the work—and, after all, it is only the privilege of "the happy few" to read Hungarian—will find the translation, which has been admirably done by S. E. Boggs, not only quite faithful but full of the spirit of the original. It would not be easy to convey an adequate idea of the charming simplicity of the narrative, the dramatic force of the principal scenes, or the wonderful vividness of the characterisation. The opening chapters, in which the French spy system of the early portion of the century is described, are full of thrilling interest. The scene in which Vavel and Cambray, two men engaged in carrying out a desperate political enterprise, are entrapped by the instrumentality of a child is in itself extraordinary and unique. The character of the Countess Helmière Déalha, so sphinx-like and sinister, and yet with a background of noble womanhood, is quite a new study in modern fiction. The strange life led by the girl Marie, and Ludwig, as she has been taught to call Vavel, in the Nameless Castle in the depths of Hungary, is an example of literary workmanship of which Flaubert or Turgenev might well be proud. The book, in fact, is a masterpiece, and is in many respects Maurus Jókai's greatest work. The volume has been handsomely brought out by Messrs. Jarrold and Sons, and it contains an excellent portrait of the gifted author.

<sup>1</sup> *Handbook to Northern France*. Ten Maps and Thirty-four Plans. Karl Baedeker. London: Dulau & Co.

<sup>2</sup> *The Nameless Castle*. By Maurus Jókai. Translated from the Hungarian by S. E. Boggs. London: Jarrold & Sons.

*Selam*<sup>1</sup> is the title of a volume containing some exceedingly interesting and characteristic tales of Bosnian life by Milena Mrazovic. The story of a cast-off wife, told under the suggestive title of *Born out of Time*, is very pathetic. *A Bosnian Semiramide* is a terrible and perhaps overstrained story. The work has been translated in a very creditable manner by Mrs. Waugh.

Those who desire to learn what experiences at sea are like in reality should read Mr. F. T. Bullen's book, *Idylls of the Sea*<sup>2</sup>. Mr. Bullen has the advantage of writing about what he actually knows, and some of the sketches in the volume—notably *A True Shark Story*, *Truth about the Merchant Service*, and *A Nineteenth Century Jonah*—have not merely literary merit but a permanent interest owing to the light they throw on a subject about which too little is known by the general reader.

The popularity of the late Major Whyte-Melville's novels is proved by the issue of a handsome new edition of his works by Messrs. Ward, Lock & Co. The most popular, perhaps, of his novels was *Market Harborough*,<sup>3</sup> and the edition of it now given to the public will, therefore, be appreciated by all the admirers of Major Whyte-Melville. In the same volume is included the spirited story, *Inside the Bar*, which is such a favourite with all lovers of hunting.

The work entitled *Mathematical Essays and Recreations*,<sup>4</sup> by Prof. Hermann Schubert, contains some important views on the functions of arithmetic, showing that it is a system of logical forms which have consistency and coherency amongst themselves. The article on *Magic Squares* is on the borderland of science and literature. The theme is a curious one, and Prof. Hermann has treated it exhaustively. The discussion of "The Fourth Dimension" and of "The Squaring of the Circle" will also be found most interesting. The book has been translated from the German by T. J. McCormack.

Mr. T. E. Young has written a book *On Centenarians*<sup>5</sup> which must be acknowledged to be an addition to the increasing number of out-of-the-way works. The duration of the human race is rather a perplexing problem. Mr. Young, however, relies on statistics and on the historical method of investigation in support of his views. It is gratifying to learn that intellectual pursuits do not tend to shorten life, and that energy of brain when allied to vigour of body ensures comparative longevity. The author discusses the patriarchal

<sup>1</sup> *Selam*: Sketches and Tales of Bosnian Life. By Milena Mrazovic. Translated by Mrs. Waugh. London: Jarrold & Sons.

<sup>2</sup> *Idylls of the Sea*. By Frank T. Bullen. London: Grant Richards.

<sup>3</sup> *Market Harborough* and *Inside the Bar*. By G. J. Whyte-Melville. Illustrated by John Charlton. London: Ward, Lock & Co., Ltd.

<sup>4</sup> *Mathematical Essays and Recreations*. By Hermann Schubert, Professor of Mathematics in the Johanneum, Hamburg, Germany. Translated by T. J. McCormack. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Company.

<sup>5</sup> *On Centenarians*. By T. E. Young, B.A. London: C. & E. Taylor.

ages in a somewhat sceptical vein. We need not criticise his treatment of this particular question, which is not of much practical importance. The book is worth reading.

Two new sections of the *Oxford English Dictionary*<sup>1</sup> have appeared. Vol. IV. (GERMANO—GLASS-CLOTH) contains 920 main words, 386 combinations explained under them, and 385 subordinate entries. About one-fourth of the section is taken up with the articles on the verbs *get* and *give* and their derivatives. The explanation given of the word "gingerly," used both as an adverb and an adjective, is scarcely convincing. Another section continues the letter H as far as Horizontal. This section contains 1008 main words, 387 combinations explained under them, and 239 subordinate entries. The section shows examples of the principal elements in the current English vocabulary.

Mr. Cunningham Grahame is a delightful writer in spite of his eccentricities. The *Ipané*<sup>2</sup> is a collection of sketches in which life in Paraguay, Texas, Argentina, Iceland, and other places whose geographical position is widely apart, is realistically depicted. Every page is interesting.

The second volume of the Eversley Series<sup>3</sup> of Shakespeare's works contains *The Taming of the Shrew*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Twelfth Night*, and *As You Like It*. The introduction to *The Taming of the Shrew* shows that before Shakespeare's time a popular play on the same subject had been brought out in England. The third volume of the series contains *Much Ado About Nothing*, *All's Well that Ends Well*, *Measure for Measure*, and *Troilus and Cressida*. The introductions and notes to the various plays are admirably done.

A good edition of the *Hellenica*<sup>4</sup> of Xenophon has been published by the Cambridge University Press. There is an excellent introduction by Mr. G. M. Edwards, M.A.

*Les Justes*<sup>5</sup> is an excellent novel, in which an attempt is made to describe a noble and single-minded type of humanity. The book is written in a vigorous and impressive style.

In *Idylls of Old Greece*,<sup>6</sup> Mr. Ambrose N. Blatchford has given a very interesting collection of sketches of life in ancient Greece. The account of the battle of Marathon is both accurate and picturesque. There are also some spirited verses in the volume. The author, in the article on "The Making of Traitors," shows that the

<sup>1</sup> *A New English Dictionary*. By Dr. J. A. H. Murray. Vol. IV. (GERMANO—GLASS-CLOTH). Vol. V. (HORN—HORIZONTAL). Oxford: Clarendon Press.

<sup>2</sup> *The Ipané*. By R. B. Cunningham-Grahame. "Overland Seas." London: T. Fisher Unwin.

<sup>3</sup> *The Eversley Shakespeare*. Vols. II. and III. London: Macmillan & Co.

<sup>4</sup> *The Hellenica of Xenophon*. Bks. I. and II. Edited by G. M. Edwards, M.A. Cambridge: University Press.

<sup>5</sup> *Les Justes*. Par Champollion. Paris: Librairie Plon.

<sup>6</sup> *Idylls of Old Greece*. By Ambrose N. Blatchford. Bristol: Arrowsmith.

Spartan system, with its draconic methods, tended to produce falsehood and treachery of character, whereas Athens, owing to its free institutions, fostered amongst its citizens the spirit of independence and integrity.

The essays by Mr. Francis Grierson on *Modern Mysticism*, and other subjects exhibit a rare intuition and a profound knowledge both of art and human nature. Many of the aphorisms in the volume are not only most original, but also most penetrating from the standpoint of the artist and of the student of life. In his essay on Tolstoy, Mr. Grierson says: "A man's temperament is all the man. It is more than his style, because a gifted writer can vary his style, but his temperament never. Indeed, when Count Tolstoy changed his mode of living, when he set aside worldly pleasures, vices, and ambitions, he could not lay aside the domineering temperament with which he was born. Used to commanding people in his younger days, he expects to command still. This student of men will never consent to learn from others; he would compel people to learn from him." Surely the matter could not be put more effectively! The dialogue on "Macbeth" has all the Greek qualities of distinction, simplicity, and philosophic insight. The little volume is indeed a treasure-house of thought and critical acumen.

We have received Mr. Richard Whiteing's novel entitled *No. 5 John Street* (London: Grant Richards), a notice of which will appear in the next number.

Mr. Robert Bridges is a poet of rare talent, if not genius. His *Shorter Poems*, just published in a shilling volume by Messrs. George Bell and Sons, contain some exquisitely beautiful verses. Sometimes a quaint thought is expressed with a kind of childlike simplicity—the mark of a born poet—as in the following lines:

"But were I thou, O ocean,  
I would not chafe and fret  
As thou, because a limit  
To thy desires are set.  
I would be blue and gentle,  
Patient, and calm, and see  
If my smiles might not tempt her,  
My love, to come to me."

This little volume will be treasured by lovers of poetry.

*Modern Mysticism and Other Essays.* By Francis Grierson. London: George

*Allen.*  
*The Shorter Poems of Robert Bridges.* London: George Bell & Sons.

